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President Charles Edison in his keynote address points out that democracy should begin in our own backyards.

460 Leaders Tackle Civic Issues

(Continued from page 1)

plicity of separate local governments in metropolitan areas. Pennsylvania, Indiana, Illinois and Rhode Island were cited as among the many states where municipalities are straitjacketed by the legislature. In contrast, New Jersey cities have won considerable freedom under an optional charter law, the byproduct of a 16-year crusade for the council-manager plan in Montclair.

Civic teamwork can alleviate the problems of inter-governmental relationships, it was emphasized.

Conference speakers stressed the urgency of making democracy effective at home if the democratic ideal is to survive abroad. President Edison pointed out that "the dominance of local political machines in our national political system" is a handicap in "the war we are now in." Vice President George Gallup advocated a much enlarged global program of information on the real meaning of democracy. Spencer Miller, Jr., president of the American International College, declared that effective citizenship is crucial in the present world conflict.

One panel session, arranged with the cooperation of the State Department and the Department of the Army, analyzed the American civic education program for visitors from Germany and Japan. Several Germans and Japanese listened as good and bad points were weighed.

Judge Richard Hartshorne of New Jersey told how the American Legion was giving boys and girls real civic experience. An unusual example of adult education was supplied in the person of Mayor T. Nelson Parker of Richmond who once opposed a council-manager charter and then changed his opinion.

County government, the most backward area of American politics, was thoroughly discussed. Experts met in a clinic on the League's new *Model County Manager Charter*, to be published this year.

Principal speeches at the Buffalo meeting are being published from month to month in the *National Municipal Review*.

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Editorial Comment

Democracy's Funny — in Jersey City

JERSEY City was kept in the newspaper headlines for a generation by the dictator act of Boss Frank Hague. People all over the country found something both fascinating and comforting in reading from day to day how he got away with his ruthlessness. Many were happy, of course, that things were not that way in their town.

When "freedom" came to Jersey City in 1949 with the overwhelming defeat of Hague by a former ally, John V. Kenny, the wire services sent out stories about the fall of "the last of the old style bosses"—as they have done for any number of others.

Mayor Kenny had a golden opportunity to give long-suffering Jersey City something new and different, something commonly termed good government. If he didn't know what that is—and there was no reason why he should know—he could readily have obtained the help of some of the outstanding authorities who are always willing to lend a hand to any newly arisen champion of "the peepul."

But, as things turned out, it became apparent that Mayor Kenny was devoted to the same old things —power and the spoils of office.

Lest readers distant from New Jersey misunderstand the general basis of Jersey City's government, in view of the obvious strength of the men who have worn the title of mayor, it must be pointed out that it is supposed to be the commission form of government. This provides five commissioners, all theoretically of equal strength. These commissioners divide up the city departments among them. Collectively they function as a city council. Individually each is "king" in his own department.

Practically, however, one of two things happens: a boss like Hague or Kenny cracks the whip over the other four or each of the commissioners engages in a costly scramble for his share of the spoils—which, naturally, produces a spending machine with no brakes.

Earlier this year Mr. Kenny chose his candidate for Congress. Two of his commissioners had the temerity to oppose him. Recently the ax fell. Mr. Kenny, with the backing of the two remaining commissioners, stripped his two rebellious colleagues of their power, relegating the commissioner of parks and public properties to supervision of a solitary public bath house. The other rebel, formerly in charge of city police and firemen, was limited to supervision of street lamps.

The grim and ugly old city hall was transformed into a scene reminiscent of the comic opera. The commissioner of public baths, complete with wife and a newspaper reporter who was willing to risk everything to be at the front, barricaded himself in the offices of the commissioner of parks and public properties, charging that he caught someone trying to change the locks on the doors. A cordon of police was thrown around the city hall and in the corridors.

The mayor hastily threw on his

cloak of dignity and said only that he had no intention of trying this case in the newspapers.

Actually, the recalcitrant commissioners are out of luck. The shortest of memories can recall other instances in New Jersey communities, many of which are chronically afflicted with the commission form of government, in which a minority of the commissioners have been, for good or ill, stripped of all real authority. There was the famous case, for instance, in which a commissioner was put "in charge" of a tiny park which had room for a single park bench on which he could sit and contemplate the strange ways of democracy as practiced in some places.

It was exactly this kind of foolishness that brought into being the New Jersey Commission on Local Government which, after thorough study, roundly condemned the commission form of government and proposed a set of outstanding enabling acts for various forms of local government which was adopted last May by the legislature.

With the kind of political leadership they have, however, it will be many dreary years before the people of cities like Jersey City can take advantage of these acts.

The Better Way

AMERICAN communities don't have to put up with politics, Jersey City style. There is such a thing as municipal statesmanship, to say nothing of municipal dignity and efficiency.

A fine exhibition of these attributes is put on each year at the conference of the International City Managers' Association. The mood of these conferences and the essential character of council-manager government were well expressed at the recent Houston meeting in the opening address by President Robert W. Flack, city manager of Durham, North Carolina. Here are just three sentences: "The first responsibility of city managers is to improve their own proficiency on the job and to take all possible steps to make local government more effective. This in turn will result in better government at the state and national levels. . . . Local government is the foundation of democracy; if it fails, democracy will fail." How many politically elected mayors and commissioners, charged with personal responsibility for administering the affairs of their communities, recognize it as their first or even their tail-end responsibility "to improve their own proficiency on the job"? Most of them act as if just winning a municipal popularity contest with the aid of workers, paid in public money, threats and hope of favors to come, made them experts in administration of the complex and technical affairs of a modern city government or department.

Fortunately for the future of the local "foundation of democracy," the council-manager plan, with its emphasis on responsible and efficient government, comes nearer every year to the point where, as the prevailing system, it will set the standard for local government generally.

I Ran a School in Democracy

Advertising man, ordered to run Seoul, let Koreans do their own thinking, develop own style of government.

By LIEUTENANT COLONEL JAMES E. WILSON
as told to Karl Detzer*

THE general pointed through the window of the old Japanese barracks, our temporary headquarters.

"There's the town," he said, scowling across the drab Korean landscape. "Seoul, the capital. Big place. You go and take over. Run it."

Seoul, I was to find, really was a big place, a little larger than Philadelphia. We could see its outskirts from the window. Our spearheads, inside Seoul, were digging Japanese stragglers out of basements. This was in 1945.

"Restore order," the general went on. "Get utilities going. Distribute food. Clean the place up." He paused. "You will introduce democracy." I started to ask a question but he shook his head. "That's all they told me," he said. "They didn't tell me how. So, good luck, colonel, and good-bye."

I had no way of knowing then what I know now, that give a Korean a chance to govern himself and he will do it. In civil life I'd been an advertising man, had publicized pianos, perfumes and plumbing, boosted banks and brassieres. For a few weeks I had gone to a military government school but my practical experience in how to run a town had been confined to voting and paying taxes. I had never taught anybody anything. I believed in democracy but had a hard time defining it.

"Good-bye, sir," I said.

With two young captains I started up the road in my jeep, bouncing from mudhole to mudhole. Three of us, on our way to introduce democracy to 2,000,000 Koreans who probably didn't want it! We came to the big triangular granite city hall and I went in. I didn't come out, except for brief intervals, for three years.

It's those three years I want to tell about, how a big city that never had known democracy except in its dreams actually works at it when it gets a chance. I don't mean that we set up a replica of a western style city government. Running a democracy is a good deal like making love; the same system doesn't work everywhere with everyone. We didn't try to recreate the Koreans in the American image. We didn't tell them what to think, we just gave them a chance to think. We ran interference for them against bandits and communists and kept the strong-arm boys from pushing them around. We showed them how to do what they were trying to do—

---

*Colonel Wilson was with the U. S. Army Military Government at the time of his assignment to Seoul in 1945. Mr. Detzer, member of the Council of the National Municipal League and roving editor of *Reader's Digest,* was a colonel with the General Staff Corps, assigned to Headquarters Army Services Forces of the War Department during World War II.

when they asked us to show them. We didn't talk much about democracy, we just gave them a few tools and let them work it out.

That first morning I explored the city hall. In one office I found an old Korean gent, silky polite and steeped in venerable culture.

"Who're you?" I asked.

"I'm the mayor," he bowed.

"No," I corrected him, "I'm the mayor. You're my temporary assistant."

That first move was strictly undemocratic because it had to be. I issued an order in the name of the United States Army, appointing myself boss. The people understood that. They had seen such orders in Chinese, Manchurian, Russian and Japanese. They had learned how to go through the motions of obeying their conquerors but down underneath they kept a prickly core of independence.

There was just not time that first day to think of self-determination or theories of municipal planning. Three hundred thousand refugees filled the streets. They had to be fed, clothed, sheltered, cleaned, inoculated, classified and sent on their way to where they belonged. There would be 300,000 more the next month, a million before we were done. Luckily we couldn't guess that our first troubled day.

We also had on our hands 150,000 Japanese civilians left behind when the Jap army fled. We bundled them off to Japan but it took work and planning. Meanwhile we had to set the municipal wheels in motion. The Japanese had left a bumbling bureaucracy with 10,000 Korean payrollers. They had also left a polluted water system, stopped-up sewers, a paralyzed light plant, billions of worthless Korean currency, widespread disease, starvation, banditry.

My own staff, at its height, consisted of about 30 American officers and perhaps 200 enlisted men, and a scattering of civilian advisors. We had to pick the members of the first temporary city council which held things together till we ran off some elections. We tried to give every political party a place on that first council, including the communists. The Koreans hollered about that. But there were only three communists on a council of 32 and they never showed up for a meeting. The word got out that the other 29 city fathers would be waiting for them.

Town Meeting

In order to give the people the opportunity to pick their own administration we evolved a sort of town meeting. The council chamber at the city hall held 750. When the problem was education we called on the city's teachers; if we had a health problem we called the doctors; if the question had to do with entertainment we sent out for the movie-theater managers and everyone else in that field. They'd jam into the room and I'd tell them, through an interpreter, what the situation was.

"Pick a committee of the best qualified persons here," I'd say. They were a little timid at first but before long these committees were working in a dozen fields.

PERIODICAL

By this means we began our changes, not in the top brackets of government but in the daily lives of the people. There was the matter of the fire department, in itself not too important but part of a pattern. Under the Japanese the firemen had been sort of flunkies to the police department. If a fireman forgot himself and did not halt, bow and take off his hat when he passed a policeman, the fireman found himself in jail.

Using a few old professionals as a nucleus, we set up a volunteer department. I announced on the radio and in the papers that we needed young huskies. They turned out by hundreds. We brought in American firemen to train them, gave them bright red trucks, set up a fire school. Pretty soon the Korean firemen weren't taking off their hats to policemen or anyone else. A fine professional organization grew out of this volunteer group.

Educating the Masses

We used the same technique with teachers, doctors, housewives, merchants. We encouraged them to be proud of whatever they were. Whenever I got a group together I'd make a little speech.

"We're directing your government," I'd say, "on the basis of what *you* want. This is *your* town and *you* have to run it. It will be the kind of town the majority of you want it to be. You have a lot to learn about the job, through no fault of yours, and we're here to help. Now, just what kind of a city *do* you want?"

That was something no one had ever said to them before. Their answers, uncounted thousands of them, set the pattern for democracy, Korean style. But we did run into one tough obstacle. To achieve democracy one of the first requirements is a fair level of education.

The day we took over, 87 per cent of the people of Seoul couldn't read or write a word of Korean. Many of the younger ones knew Japanese for the conquerors had taught it in the schools. Day after day I met with groups of educators and they worked out a plan. When I left Korea three years later 85 per cent of the people of Seoul could read and write simple Korean sentences. The 166 public schools were running full blast, handling 380,000 children adequately. Child-labor laws, passed by the Koreans, pulled girls nine and ten out of the factories and put them in classrooms. More important, 700,000 grown-ups were studying avidly in night schools. I challenge any other city anywhere to touch that record.

The only press we had on which to print Korean school books was the one which turned out our paper money. So between press runs of *wons* and *yens* we printed readers, spellers and history texts. We got millions of books.

The people of Seoul had waited not years but generations for democracy. They wanted to vote. When they got the opportunity they did vote. Eighty-eight per cent of the entire adult population turned out on the first election day.

They stood in long lines outside the polling places. Some of them waited hours for that opportunity so long denied them, the opportunity to take part in their own government. No city in America in the last election surpassed the record they made that day.

Remember, all this was accomplished in the midst of troubles which threatened, hour after hour, to flare into violence. Not all the people wanted democracy. Besides the communists there was a handful of rich hoodlums who maintained private armies and took what they wanted by force. Venal Japanese administrations had permitted them to swagger through the country for years. There were 67 such armies, ranging in size from a few squads to thousands of well armed, well trained men. All their headquarters were in Seoul.

Our GIs wiped out those 67 armies without a single fatality on either side—some bloody noses, perhaps, and some cracked skulls, but not one death. The GIs would descend on a headquarters, quickly capture the leaders and haul them off to jail before the troops realized what was happening. Leaderless, the native soldiers then were easy to handle. They lost any will to fight.

'Boy Scouts' with Guns

Of course the old brigands died hard. Some even tried using youth groups as screens for their efforts to take over the country. One unpleasant man named Um Hang Sup had submitted a proposal to start a troop of Boy Scouts. I thought it a good idea. He soon had 7,000 enrolled. Then the grapevine brought the truth. The Boy Scouts, almost to a boy, wore long black whiskers and carried lethal weapons under their shirts. We broke them up. Mr. Um was most distressed. The boys, he said, had got out of hand. He hoped that he might start another troop later. I decided that it would have to be a lot later and not in my town. Several months passed before I heard of him again and then it was after he had started a riot. A Korean judge gave him five years in jail, a fine of two million yen.

A native judge came to me one day to seek advice about a case that was coming up in his court. The mayor always had been the big boss of the town and had "instructed" the courts. This judge on the following day was to try a particularly repulsive character who had caused us all a lot of trouble.

"What shall I do?" His Honor asked.

"I wish you could give him five years in jail!" I said. "However, you will have to decide this case on its merits. You'll have to give the man a fair trial and make your decision on the evidence. You understand that, don't you?"

"Oh, yes, Colonel-Mayor," he bowed. "It is as you direct. A fair trial. A decision based on the evidence. He will get five years."

Korea, of course, was full of traditions that have no place in any modern democratic state. For years the citizens had come to the mayor with all their problems, even the most personal of them, and he would settle them—often for a price. Every day they swarmed into my office.

I remember, for example, the

young fellow, dressed in his native best, who doggedly waited for me at the door till I had finished a long committee meeting. Then, almost on his knees, he begged, "Mister Colonel-Mayor! Please, sir, I desire to marry my cousin. I beg your permission."

He got it. I hope they're happy.

Also I remember a rich Korean who owned banks and department stores, was a pillar of the community. But we soon found that he was a crook. Afraid I might try to send him to jail, he sent emissaries to argue with me. I wouldn't talk with them.

Then one evening when I went home I found I had guests. One of the big businessman's secretaries bowed low. Behind him stood the most beautiful woman I'd ever seen.

"My master sends you kindest regards and this precious gift," the secretary said, bowing again. "She is yours. . . ."

"Wait a minute!" I said.

The Korean held up his hands.

"Mister Colonel-Mayor does not comprehend. My master has bought this woman, after diligent search. He has paid cash. Now he presents her to you."

After I'd got him and the beautiful present out of the house I went to members of the assembly and suggested that they prohibit the buying and selling of women. They hurriedly introduced and passed a bill making it illegal to "sell any female"—and did that cause a rumpus! My office was crowded in the morning. The chicken, sheep and cattle industry was crushed and it was all my fault. Hadn't I said that the sale of females should be stopped? Weren't cows and hens females?

Before the day passed the assembly amended the law to specify "female persons," and everyone apparently was happy.

The ladies themselves were particularly enthusiastic at being recognized as persons rather than chattels. Suffrage came to them at the same moment it came to the men who for so long had been their masters. Fifty-two per cent of the voters in the first election were women. There was one woman in particular, Mrs. Ough Sung Sil, who in her girlhood had been befriended by missionaries, had gone to college in the United States. She proved to be one of democracy's staunchest friends.

Women Organize Clinics

She was standing beside me in my window at the city hall one afternoon when thousands of women were converging with their babies on the one clinic we had set up.

"Some of those mothers," she said, "have carried their children twenty miles. If we only could have other clinics!"

"Who would run them?" I asked.

"The women of Seoul," she said.

I tossed her suggestion right back at her and she began to organize women's clubs. She spotted them all over town and each club sponsored a clinic for its neighborhood. Before she was through 300 clubs were teaching sanitation, cooking, sewing and child care to the million women of the city.

Before I was thrust into that job in Seoul I'd never seen a city charter. I knew that there were such things but did not have the remotest idea of what a charter looked like. What's more, Seoul never had a charter in all its long history. Now it needed one and it was up to me to write it.

Members of the National Municipal League probably would consider it a strange document and I'm sure that any resemblance to the *Model City Charter* was only coincidental. I did happen to have a young man on my staff who was a lawyer. He knew how to write up a document with "whereas" and that sort of thing in it. So he took the basic ideas I gave him and whipped it into shape. All I can say for it is that it worked.

Ideologies, however, were of less hour-to-hour concern than such mundane matters as water supply. We had to rebuild it fast and had to chlorinate at the pumping plants. GIs handled the chlorine and everything went well. Then, thinking that it was time for the Koreans to keep their own water pure, we taught the pumphouse crews and pulled off the GIs. At once the water became dangerously contaminated. We put the GIs back and the chlorine flowed again. After several such attempts I called the leaders of the workers together.

"It's this way," a spokesman for the men said. "For a thousand years we have known one thing. All life flows to men from the pure, clear water. If you mix other things with the water it no longer is pure and clear and the people will die."

I talked fast. Far from spoiling the water, I explained, the chlorine took out all the things that kept it from being clear and pure. That night they poured ten times too much chlorine into the mains. Chlorine at once became one of my greatest problems. The tests often showed that we had a thousand times too much and the water tasted and smelled like a chemical plant. When you once convince a Korean he's hard to unconvince.

Democracy Works

I think we succeeded in what we were trying to do—encourage self-government, Korean style, in Seoul. Many Americans shook their heads. They wanted perfection. But I look back on my three years as mayor with much satisfaction. I think that the United States failed badly in one respect — and not only in Seoul.

Some civilian administrators and a few army officers, sent out to help a beaten and helpless people, act disgracefully. They play the black market, they get drunk, they make us ashamed to face the people we are trying to teach. It takes only a few to discredit the entire occupation.

In spite of all obstacles we were able to convince the people of Seoul that democracy is the best of all governments. We did leave democracy functioning—not in all respects American democracy but democracy Korean style. It's the kind of government they want.

One War We Are Losing

Winning converts to our way of thinking, regardless of cost, held more vital to safety than victory in combat.

By GEORGE H. GALLUP*

IF ONE were to make a careful study of the opinions of the inhabitants of this globe, I am sure he would come inevitably to the conclusion that, in the present war of ideas, the United States is losing badly. Only the famous remark of Vinegar Joe Stillwell adequately describes the situation. In the world-wide struggle to sell our ideals and ideas "we've taken a hell of a beating."

Compare our position today with Russia's. How many nations of the world are willing to send their troops into a war against Russia or her satellites merely at our bidding and without the support of our own armed forces? How many millions of fanatics do we have on our side—ready and willing to die to advance our cause in all nations of the world? How many hundreds of millions of people in Asia and in Europe passionately tie their hopes of a better life to democracy?

The most important struggle during the next fifty to one hundred years will be the struggle to win the minds of men throughout the world.

Suppose we were to succeed in liberating the satellite nations and, as a consequence, insisted upon their setting up democratic election machinery. What do we do if the people of these nations take full advantage of our democratic processes and promptly vote in a communist regime?

Think of the nasty situation we might find ourselves in some day if governments of nations important to us manage to stay in office only by means of the economic aid which we provide. What a temptation to demand help on every conceivable occasion—with the constant threat that unless we do give and give generously that nation will surely go communist?

The worst folly is to assume that everywhere in the world the superiority of our system of government and our way of life have been clearly established. The truth is that many people in countries allied to us in Western Europe see little advantage in democracy as opposed to communism, certainly not enough to warrant fighting to save their homelands from communist domination.

An American reporter, in a dispatch from Korea, told this story. One Korean had asked another about the importance of a United Nations victory in his country. The reply was that if you are a blade of grass it makes little difference whether you are eaten by a cow or by a horse. In this Korean's mind—and in the minds of millions more—it makes little difference who wins.

Another type of self-delusion is

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*Dr. Gallup, Council member of the National Municipal League, is director of the American Institute of Public Opinion. This article is his address before the League's National Conference on Government, Buffalo, November 22, 1950.

that the world judges us solely by our actions. Since actions are supposed to speak louder than words, followers of this theory hold that we need do little more to win the support of mankind than to carry on in our accustomed way. Perhaps in an ideal world—a world in which every person is well educated, a world in which the press and radio are absolutely free to report fully and objectively all sides of every case to all people, a world in which men search constantly for truth—this would be the case. Unfortunately, this kind of world seems pretty far off. Meanwhile we find that such simple and generous acts as the Marshall aid plan become so distorted by Russian propaganda that even many of our European friends think we are glad to appropriate this money for the purely selfish reason of building up and monopolizing foreign trade.

New Concept Needed

What do we do about this situation? First, we must develop a wholly new concept of the vital importance of this goal of winning the minds of men.

Prime Minister Nehru of India, in a recent interview, singled out one of our basic weaknesses. He said that in dealing with world problems people of the United States were inclined to think only in terms of armed force or in terms of money. To put it more bluntly and less diplomatically, we try to get our way by threats and bribes. In Nehru's opinion, we have overlooked the natural aspirations of people in other areas of the world and we have neglected to give them a better understanding of our own point of view. In short, we have neglected the route of reason and persuasion.

It is true that this country has begun to recognize the necessity of selling our point of view to the world and, in fact, the last Congress increased the appropriation for our international information program to one hundred million dollars.

That sum may seem like a lot of money but in my opinion no successful business man in this country would undertake to carry out such a program as is needed to offset Russian efforts with an appropriation of less than five billion dollars.

Do you know anyone in this country who would contract to tell hundreds of millions of people in Europe and Asia the story of democracy—as often and as effectively as the communists tell their story—for a lesser amount?

Is there any one in this country who, for a lesser sum, would agree to reach the millions of people of Western Europe who are either communists or communist-inclined with a daily message effective enough to offset the personal missionary efforts of five to ten million party workers and to counteract the influence of scores of communist-owned and controlled newspapers?

I have no criticism whatsoever to make of our present information program, and specifically of the Voice of America. In fact, I know of no department of our government which has spent its funds more intelligently and frugally. Edward Barrett is doing a fine job. The trouble is that we have given our information section an assignment which is impossible with the funds available. Figuratively speaking, we have asked this department to convert millions of people to our point of view by sending out penny postcards of the Brooklyn Bridge. We have sent out forces into this new type of warfare armed only with pea-shooters and BB guns.

If the job could be done as easily and as inexpensively as we have assumed, then a lot of hard boiled American business leaders have been squandering hundreds of millions of dollars on advertising. If any person in this nation can sell products or ideas anywhere in the world for substantially less than the great companies of this country have been spending, then fame and fortune await him.

Excel Communists' Efforts

In the field of military operations we try to equal or to excel the fire power of the enemy. That is the safest formula, in my opinion, for winning the war of ideas. We must equal and excel the efforts of the communists. We must reach more people, more often, and more persuasively than our enemies.

At this point you—and a few senators—may well say: "Yes, but where de we get the five billion dollars. The taxpayers of the nation are already overburdened and the worst is yet to come." There is certainly no denying this fact. Yet, I should like to be so bold as to suggest that the five billion dollars should come out of our present economic aid program and from our defense budget.

I believe that, after certain minimum requirements are met in our defense program, the safety and future of this nation can be ensured to a greater extent by winning converts to our way of thinking than by adding to our stock of arms. By the same line of reasoning I believe that after we have given a certain minimum amount of economic aid to other nations, additional amounts will not return the same increment of good will to us or strengthen our cause as much as the same amount of money spent in winning the minds of the people of these nations.

I am not advocating direct help or subsidies. Give a Hottentot a quart of milk and the first day he is grateful. The second day he begins to question your motives. The third day he says you are stingy and should give him two quarts. The fourth day—or the 40th—when you can no longer afford to give him any milk, he says you are a liar and a welsher because you promised to give him milk the rest of his life.

Certain help in the way of machinery, tools and technological aid may be absolutely essential to bolster up a flagging economy, or food may be required in a period of famine, but nothing more, in my opinion, should be given or promised in the way of economic subsidies. Proof that this is not necessary is to be found in Russia's policies today. Russia has sold millions of people her doctrines—yet Russia usually takes away goods and products from nations she overwhelms. Certainly Russia does not follow the policy of giving substantial aid to those nations which come under her domination.

How should the five billion dollars be spent?

May I repeat that the colossal task of winning over the world to our way of thinking is so important —and will require so many years and so much effort—that a new department in our defense setup should be created. It might be called the department of world relations and it should be staffed with the best brains of the country drawn from the fields of publishing, broadcasting, public relations and advertising.

Our program must be based upon truth. Herr Goebbels — and his many imitators in Russia today—have shown that big lies constantly repeated eventually come to be accepted. But truth, repeated as constantly, can be even more convincing and devastating.

The art of persuasion has never changed. Success grows out of a complete understanding of the hopes and aspirations of the people one tries to influence and the sympathetic desire to aid these people in reaching these goals.

Nothing is more boring than to talk about oneself—a sin which we have committed too often in our information program in recent years. The typical person—be he an illiterate peasant or a member of the intelligentsia—has usually one question only to ask: "What's in it for me?"

That is the question which we must answer.

Here is a peasant in Italy, a farm worker in France, an impoverished and hungry native of China—all of whom have been offered land and a better way of life if they turn communist.

How do we win in this competition? Certainly we won't get very far by telling these poverty stricken people and the hundreds of millions like them that life in America is wonderful—that workers here own cars, homes, refrigerators, television sets and everything else. Their answer is likely to be: "So what? How do we get to America and what do we do to get these things when we get there?"

Telling the Story

No, our problem is to show how democracy and our form of economy actually will raise the standard of living in their own country; and how, along with a higher standard of living, they can enjoy the freedoms which man has fought to gain over the centuries and which would be denied under communism.

To tell this story to the great masses of people of the world we must use every means of communication. Especially we must use those media which are best suited to reach the illiterate because it is this group which has proved to be most susceptible to communist propaganda the world over.

A friend of mine who was stationed in Iran during the war told me this story of Russian propaganda efforts in that country. He told about the Russian mobile motion picture units which toured the country showing the peasants how Russia would improve their standard of living. The motion pictures showed how agricultural practices in Iran could be improved, how the wonderful farm machinery made in Russia would reduce the labor of the farmer, how the building of dams would increase greatly the areas of the country which could be put into crops. The effect would be to improve the lot of all the people of Iran.

Can you imagine an approach more effective than this in winning converts to communism?

Motion pictures obviously should play a great part in our selling program. We should produce pictures to show how the advances made in this country can be utilized in other nations. More important still pictures can show how the aspirations of other nations parallel our own. The Garibaldis, Masaryks, the Sun Yat Sens all got their inspiration from this land of ours. The revolution that began in the early days of this country is the only real and lasting one in the world. Communism, as is often pointed out, is merely a counter-revolution.

Motion pictures are needed to counteract communist propaganda. People need to know what the technique of the big lie is and what a world dominated by the Russians would really be like and the most effective way to do this is by way of motion pictures.

I believe we should provide picture books, and many of the text books for the children of the world —not only to make certain that the youth of all nations is not indoctrinated by Russian philosophy but to share our knowledge with the people of the world and to make certain that our ideals are known to everyone. If the Chinese communists have found that comic books are effective in spreading Russian propaganda, then we should make certain that we distribute far more, and far better, comic strips to tell our story.

We should support newspapers throughout the world which daily give the truth about world events and which present our point of view. How else can the people of many countries ever achieve any understanding of our point of view in world affairs. The communists have scores of newspapers in the highly populated areas of the world. Can we afford to overlook their influence on large segments of the population of these areas?

We should encircle the globe with a radio network which will give everyone who chooses to listen—even the people inside Russia and the satellite nations—an opportunity to hear our side of the case. And if people do not own receiving sets then we should do everything we can to see that they have them.

Teach Students, Leaders

We must bring students and leaders to this country by the tens of thousands to let them see for themselves what we think and how we live. Likewise we must send thousands of teachers and technologists abroad to make certain that people understand our willingness to help them.

All of this may sound like a very ambitious program. But dare we undertake less?

Do we dare let Russia continue to tell the world that she alone wants peace and that we want war?

(Continued on page 62)

Tax Rates of American Cities

Assessed valuations and property tax rates for 1950 show no appreciable increase for first time since World War II.

By **BUREAU OF GOVERNMENTAL RESEARCH (DETROIT)***

THE year 1950 produced a leveling off of the upward trend in property tax rates and assessed valuations which has characterized the postwar years. The total assessed valuation of 232 cities, reporting for each year 1946 through 1950, has increased 21.4 per cent during the last five years. The greatest increase during the period was 11.3 per cent in 1947, a continuation of a rising trend of the immediately preceding years. The increase for 1950, however, was only 2.2 per cent. The average unadjusted tax rate also shows only a negligible increase for 1950.

Table I, which is continued from last year, shows the annual change in the total assessed valuations, the average unadjusted tax rates and the average adjusted tax rates for the group of 232 cities. This is the first year in this period in which there has not been a sizeable increase of either the assessed valuation or the tax rates.

An increase in either tax rates or assessed valuations produces an increase in the money available for city expenses. The absence this year of any appreciable increase in either means that little increase in the cost of local government is being supported by the property tax.

This may be the result of greater use of other forms of local taxation such as payroll taxes, licenses or amusement taxes and possibly may be coupled with an expansion of state aid to local units. If the latter is the case, it inevitably carries with it a lessened control by local residents of the activities of local government.

Per capita assessed valuations for 1940 and 1950 are given in Table II. The increase in the total assessed valuation, which has been reported in studies of this and the several preceding years, has been greater than the population increase of the cities. Each group of cities shows a higher per capita assessed valuation in 1950 than it had a decade ago. Groups I and VI have the greatest increases—30 per cent and 34 per cent respectively—in per capita assessed valuations. Group II was lowest with a 6 per cent increase. The per capita assessed valuation for cities in excess of 30,000 population rose 24 per cent in the ten-year period.

There was a 1.8 per cent increase reported by a total of 284 cities in average assessed valuation from last year (see Table III). Group III was highest with a 6.5 per cent increase, while Groups I and II were lowest with 1.1 per cent and 2.1 per cent respectively.

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*The following Lent D. Upson Fellows in public administration compiled and tabulated the data in this article as part of their field training with the Bureau of Governmental Research, Detroit, under the supervision of the Bureau staff: Edmund G. Ahrens, Herbert N. Jasper, Alan F. Kiepper, Julian Grant Martin and Arthur M. Wisehart.

Tax Rates

Unadjusted rates per thousand dollar valuation rose by less than 2 per cent for the 256 cities reporting both in 1949 and 1950. The average increase amounted to only 67 cents (see Table IV). Each group of cities had an increase in unadjusted rates with the exception of Group II which showed an average decrease of fifteen cents or about three-tenths of 1 per cent. The largest increases were $1.02 in Group IV and $1.30 in Group I.

Adjusted Rates

The average adjusted tax rate for 1950 is lower than in 1949, but this does not represent a decrease in the real total of property taxation. The decrease of 10 per cent is due at least in part to the fact that the adjusted tax rate is based this year on the ratio of assessed valuation to "current market value" and not "true value." (See comments on tabulation.) The average adjusted tax rates decreased in all except Group II. However, it should be noted, had it not been for the large decrease of $10.72 in Philadelphia's adjusted tax rate, Group I also would have increased.

Adjusting tax rates to a 100 per cent basis by the use of the ratio of assessed valuation to current market value in place of true value provides only a rough comparison of 1950 figures with those of previous years. The new method for adjusting tax rates used in 1950 does, as it will in future years, provide a more valid comparison between cities of the property tax burden than have either unadjusted rates or rates adjusted on the basis of the ratio of assessed valuation to true value.

Increase in School Rates

School rates increased slightly over last year in proportion to general municipal rates. With 241 cities reporting separate rates for school and city in both 1949 and 1950,

TABLE I

ANNUAL CHANGE IN ASSESSED VALUATION, UNADJUSTED AND ADJUSTED TAX RATES FOR 232 AMERICAN CITIES, 1946-1950[a]

(Indicating per cent increase over preceding year)

	1946	*1947*	*1948*	*1949*	*1950*	*Per Cent Increase 1946-1950*
Total assessed valuation (in millions of dollars)	$66,233	$74,687 (11.3%)	$78,482 (4.8)	$82,492 (4.9)	$84,308 (2.2)	21.4%
Average unadjusted tax rates	$40.75	$39.92 (—2.1%)	$42.36 (5.7)	$43.56 (2.8)	$43.92 (.08)	7.2%
Average adjusted tax rate[b]	$27.72	$28.07 (1.2%)	$29.18 (3.8)	$29.29 (.04)	$26.08[b]	

[a] Tax information was reported for 342 cities this year. The number of cities included in the four summary tables varies according to the number reporting, in the years covered, the information with which the table deals.

[b] The figure for 1950 is based on the ratio of the assessed valuation to current market value and not to true value which has been used in the preceding years.

TABLE II

Per Capita Assessed Valuation in 1940 and 1950

	1940			1950			
Population Groupings[a]	*Assessed Valuation (in thou.)*	*Population (in thou.)*	*Per Capita Assessed Valuation*	*Assessed Valuation (in thou.)*	*Population (in thou.)*	*Per Capita Assessed Valuation*	*% Increase Assessed Valuation Per Capita 1940-1950*
I	$25,523,096	15,815	$1,614	$36,434,422	17,303	$2,106	30
II	10,144,608	6,439	1,575	15,282,462	9,112	1,677	6
III	9,076,487	7,810	1,162	10,209,459	7,659	1,333	15
IV	8,839,251	7,645	1,156	13,972,034	9,469	1,476	28
V	7,293,827	6,019	1,212	12,529,937	8,185	1,531	26
VI	4,520,505	4,062	1,113	7,048,589	4,731	1,490	34
Total	65,397,774	47,790	1,368	95,476,903	56,459	1,691	24

[a] Census Bureau groupings are used in this table. Group I includes all cities of 1,000,000 and over; Group II, 500,000 to 1,000,000; Group III, 250,000 to 500,000; Group IV, 100,000 to 250,000; Group V, 50,000 to 100,000. Group VI is defined by the Bureau of Census to include cities between 25,000 and 50,000 population but in this study cities under 30,000 are not included. The 1950 census places many cities in different groups from those in which they were in 1940, although group limits remained the same. The figures for each population group include all cities within the limits of the group for the year cited.

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Kansas City,

the school rates were 99 per cent of the city rates last year and 99.8 per cent of the city rates this year. In both years Group II had the lowest ratio of school to city rates. Its ratio was only 42.8 per cent in 1949 and 47.6 in 1950. Group VI was high in both years with ratios of school to city rates of 113.8 and 115.5 per cent respectively.

While Group VI added 1.7 percentage points to its ratio, it had a decrease in its rate for city purposes. The average unadjusted tax rate for all purposes for the cities in this group increased only six cents. The implication of the foregoing facts that taxes were being shifted from city to school purposes is supported by an examination of the tax rates for school and city purposes. With the exception of extraordinarily low figures for Group II, data indicate that the higher the population

TABLE III

Comparison of Average Assessed Valuation for 284 American Cities in 1949 and 1950 by Population Groupings Based on Preliminary Figures of the 1950 Census

Population Groupings[a]	*Number and Percentage of Cities Included*		*Average Assessed Valuation (in Millions of Dollars)* 1949	1950	Per Cent Change
I	5	(100%)	$7,207	$7,287	1.1
II	13	(100%)	1,194	1,219	2.1
III	21	(100%)	460	490	6.5
IV	61	(90%)	219	223	1.8
V	97	(76%)	105	109	3.8
VI	87	(50%)	59	62	5.1
Total	284	(69%)	330	336	1.8

TABLE IV

Comparison of Average Unadjusted and Adjusted Tax Rates for 256 Cities for 1949 and 1950

Population Groupings[a]	*Average Unadjusted Rates per $1,000 Assessed Valuation*		*Average Adjusted Rates per $1,000 Assessed Valuation*	
	1949	*1950*	*1949*	*1950*
I	$38.00	$39.30	$31.83	$30.63
II	49.70	49.55	29.97	30.97
III	49.46	50.36	25.84	21.36
IV	45.31	46.33	29.37	29.23
V	42.43	43.24	28.56	25.22
VI	42.13	42.41	28.57	24.40
Total	43.77	44.44	28.65	25.92

[a] 1950 census figures and groupings are used in this table. See Table II (footnote a) for groupings.

of the cities the lower the ratio of school rate to city rate becomes.

Tax collections for 1950 were slightly better than those for the preceding year for a group of 100 cities reporting a percentage of taxes collected for both years. Reports for 1949 indicate an average of 96.82 per cent while this year's average is 96.87 per cent. The small increase is not significant, for percentages of collections in recent years have fluctuated within narrow limits.

Current Market Value

In previous years the questionnaires sent to cities asked for the ratio of assessed valuation to "true value." This year the ratio of assessed valuation to "current market value" was requested. True value is too often determined on different standards to be accurate. The shortages and restrictions of the war years, the boom and inflation of the postwar period and the present military uncertainty have made it difficult to establish a standard for the determination of the true value.

In the replies of preceding years use of various bases for the determination of true value has been indicated. These different bases decrease the validity for comparative purposes for the translation of the reported rates into what they would be if the assessments were made at 100 per cent value. Use of current market value as the base provides a common base for the estimates on which the adjusted tax rates are determined.

Tabulation Explained

The following comments should be considered by the reader when examining the tabulation and summary tables.

In this year's tabulation and summary tables preliminary census figures of 1950 are used except where otherwise indicated. The 1940 census rank is indicated in parentheses following the new number of each city based on the 1950 census grouping.

The figure reported in the tabulation as the assessed valuation is the total amount of assessment rolls certified for city taxes and includes both realty and personalty. Assessments of those classes of personal property and utilities which are not taxed at the general city rate are not included in the totals.

All rate figures reported are based on $1,000 of assessed valuation. Many cities reported rates levied by special taxing units such as park, library, relief, sanitary and water supply districts. These rates have been included under the four general headings with footnotes to give the necessary breakdown and explanation. In this manner the total tax borne by property in a given city is reflected.

The estimated ratio of assessed value to current market value includes both the city and county ratios. In most cases the city and county ratios are identical because either one unit or the other does the assessing. In those cases where the city and county assessing separately have differed, the percentage reported is the weighted average of the two.

The figure listed as the adjusted tax rate shows what the tax rate would be if the ratio of assessed value to current market value were

100 per cent. The adjusted figure is derived by multiplying the total unadjusted tax rate by the reported city and/or county ratio.

The reader is cautioned against multiplying the assessed value by the total tax rate to derive the total tax levy for a city because of the varied ratios of assessment, the varied tax rates applying to real and personal property and the fact that special district taxes may affect only part of a city.

The tax rates reported in this study cannot be used as an accurate basis for comparing the governmental cost of one city with another. Tax rates by themselves do not indicate a quantitative or qualitative measure of municipal services. Consideration should also be given to the fact that in recent years many cities have received other forms of substantial income such as income and sales taxes, state aid, etc.

Acknowledgment

This is the 29th annual tabulation of tax rates of cities over 30,000 population. It has been made possible by the continued cooperation of city and county officials, bureaus of municipal research, chambers of commerce and other organizations in the cities to which questionnaires were sent.

Last summer questionnaires were sent to the cities included in the study and to private organizations that have aided in the collection of data in preceding years to determine the usefulness of, and interest in, the study. Use of the report for work or study was indicated by more than 60 per cent of those replying to the question on that point. When asked if they were interested in the report as a matter of general information 143 of the 165 replying said they were. One hundred twenty-seven of 154 answering replied in the affirmative when asked if the study was of sufficient use and importance to be continued.

Every attempt has been made this year as in the past to prevent omissions and eliminate errors. It is hoped that any discovered, and such other comments as may be thought helpful, will be sent to the Bureau of Governmental Research, Detroit, Michigan.

(See following pages for tabulation by cities.)

TAX RATES OF AMERICAN CITIES FOR 1950

Compiled by the Detroit Bureau of Governmental Research from Data Furnished by City Officials and Members of the Governmental Research Association

		City	Preliminary Census 1950	Assessed Value	Per Cent Personalty	Actual Tax Rate as Levied per $1,000 Assessed Valuation					Est. Ratio of Assessed Value to Current Market Value (Per Cent)	Adjusted Tax Rate on 100% Basis of Assessment	
						City	School	County	State	Total			
		Group I											
		Population 1,000,000 or over											
1		New York, N. Y.[1]	7,835,099	18,396,138,375	N	30.80	—	—	—	30.80	100	30.80	1
2		Chicago, Ill.[2]	3,606,436	8,075,604,288	23	17.12	11.98	3.40	N	32.50	100	32.50	2
3		Philadelphia, Pa.[3]	2,064,794	3,529,338,287	18	17.00	11.75	—	N	28.75	63	18.03	3
4	(5)	Los Angeles, Calif.[4]	1,957,692	2,480,144,170	21	17.86	23.04	24.40	N	65.30	50	32.65	4
5	(4)	Detroit, Mich.[5]	1,838,517	3,953,197,530	31	21.19	11.90	6.07	N	39.16	—	—	5
		Group II											
		Population 500,000 to 1,000,000											
6	(7)	Baltimore, Md.[6]	940,205	1,784,066,641	15	28.80	—	N	1.24	30.04	100	30.04	6
7	(6)	Cleveland, Ohio	905,636	1,734,380,643	27	17.50	11.00	4.20	—	32.70	100	32.70	7
8		St. Louis, Mo.	852,623	1,265,850,970	16	17.70	9.10	—	.60	27.40	100	27.40	8
9	(11)	Washington, D. C.[7]	797,670	1,938,826,408	16	—	—	N	N	21.50	70	15.05	9
10	(9)	Boston, Mass.	790,863	1,567,500,000	9	41.83	15.81	3.34	2.02	63.00	100	63.00	10
11	(12)	San Francisco, Calif.[8]	760,753	1,061,732,401	21	47.27	15.63	—	N	62.90	50	31.45	11
12	(10)	Pittsburgh, Pa.[9]	673,763	989,794,310	N	19.84	11.75	10.88	N	42.46	54	22.93	12
13		Milwaukee, Wis.[10]	632,651	1,160,750,840	22	16.67	14.02	12.90	.28	43.87	69	30.19	13
14	(21)	Houston, Texas‡	594,321	768,866,360	38	19.75	12.70	12.90	7.20	52.55	24†	12.63	14
15	(14)	Buffalo, N. Y.[11]	577,393	984,109,195	N	23.85	6.96	14.30	—	45.11	95	42.86	15

N = None.

— = Figures or breakdown not available.

‡ = Data applies to 1949 tax year.

† = These cities reported different assessment ratios for the city and the county. The figure shown is the weighted average (to the nearest integer) of the several ratios.

* = The reported estimate is on some base other than current market value.

() = The number in parenthesis indicates position of city in previous tabulations based on 1940 census figures. If no number is given in the parenthesis the position of the city is unchanged. Where "(new)" is reported this is the first year the city has been included in the study.

See also state notes at end of tabulation.

[1] **New York.** The equalization rates as per the report of the New York State Tax Commission for 1950-51 are as follows: Manhattan, 100%; The Bronx, 96%; Brooklyn, 98%; Queens, 93%; Richmond, 96%.

[2] **Chicago.** City rate includes $3.12 park district, $2.90 sanitary district, $.38 forest preserve district.

[3] **Philadelphia.** City and county are consolidated. Personalty rate is $4 per thousand.

[4] **Los Angeles.** County rate includes $1.95 flood control (levied on land and improvements only) and $3.10 metropolitan water district.

[5] **Detroit.** City rate includes $.66 library rate.

[6] **Baltimore.** There is no county government in Baltimore. No separate levy for schools. Budget appropriations for schools (exclusive of employees' pensions and debt service) are about 23% of total levy and general funds. Assessed value does not include shares of banks and trust companies, $69,562,400, taxed at the fixed rate of 1%, $393,000,000 deposits in savings banks taxed at fixed rate of 1.875 mills, $80,420,000 of certain securities owned by a railroad utility taxed at fixed rate of 3 mills.

[7] **Washington.** Rate shown is for real estate. Adjusted personalty rate is $14 per thousand.

[8] **San Francisco.** Assessed value does not include solvent credits of $496,181,500 taxed at $1 per thousand. City and county governments are combined.

[9] **Pittsburgh.** City rate is an average rate, determined by dividing total taxes levied by total assessed valuation.

[10] **Milwaukee.** City rate includes $.36 metropolitan sewerage area rate.

[11] **Buffalo.** City rate includes $.91 Buffalo Sewer Authority rate.

PERIODIC

		City	Preliminary Census 1950	Assessed Value	Per Cent Personalty	Actual Tax Rate as Levied per $1,000 Assessed Valuation					Est. Ratio of Assessed Value to Current Market Value (Per Cent)	Adjusted Tax Rate on 100% Basis of Assessment	
						City	School	County	State	Total			
16	(15)	New Orleans, La.[12]	567,257	651,000,838	34	23.78	10.00	—	5.75	39.53	100	39.53	16
17	(16)	Minneapolis, Minn.[13]	517,277	300,271,640	28	77.85	33.25	27.82	8.08	147.00	34	49.98	17
18	(17)	Cincinnati, Ohio[14]	500,510	1,075,312,430	23	11.72	11.09	3.29	—	26.10	50	13.05	18
		Group III **Population 250,000 to 500,000**											
19	(22)	Seattle, Wash.[15]	462,440	418,993,224	30	20.40	12.50	14.40	2.10	49.40	45	22.23	19
20	(19)	Kansas City, Mo.[16]	453,290	641,725,950	35	14.80	16.80	7.10	.60	39.30	35	13.76	20
21	(18)	Newark, N. J.	437,857	718,189,494	26	37.50	21.70	9.20	—	68.40	60	41.04	21
22	(31)	Dallas, Texas	432,927	684,007,140	37	18.50	12.30	8.60	7.20	46.60	31†	14.35	22
23	(20)	Indianapolis, Ind.[17]	424,683	627,338,640	36	20.48	14.30	7.84	1.50	44.12	30	13.24	23
24		Denver, Colo.[18]	412,856	577,255,900	42	21.60	25.00	—	3.86	50.46	35	17.66	24
25	(36)	San Antonio, Texas[19]	406,811	415,249,350	27	20.20	10.60	8.80	7.20	46.80	40†	18.60	25
26	(32)	Memphis, Tenn.	394,012	424,050,503	16	11.50	6.50	9.70	.80	28.50	70†	19.86	26
27	(29)	Oakland, Calif.[20]	380,576	379,646,375	15	26.20	24.78	24.72	N	75.70	23	17.41	27
28	(26)	Columbus, Ohio	374,770	556,212,715	22	5.90	11.10	3.00	—	20.00	35	7.00	28
29	(27)	Portland, Ore.[21]	371,011	518,938,420	23	17.90	20.30	13.30	—	51.50	61	31.42	29
30	(25)	Louisville, Ky.[22]	367,359	500,399,360	17	15.00	14.70	5.00	.50	35.20	50	17.60	30
31	(23)	Rochester, N. Y.	331,252	577,361,207	N	18.99	11.09	13.38	—	43.46	96	41.72	31
32	(28)	Atlanta, Ga.[23]	327,090	528,707,436	45	16.00	—	23.50	5.00	44.50	49†	21.57	32
33	(43)	San Diego, Calif.[24]	321,485	311,586,940	13	19.50	23.60	26.20	N	69.30	35	24.26	33
34	(33)	St. Paul, Minn.[25]	309,474	170,661,277	30	54.63	24.25	32.24	8.08	119.20	15	17.88	34
35	(34)	Toledo, Ohio[26]	301,358	571,306,421	25	3.45	12.58	3.97	—	20.00	33	6.67	35
36	(30)	Jersey City, N. J.	300,447	484,895,751	14	34.94	21.69	16.58	—	73.21	85	62.23	36

See also state notes at end of tabulation.

[12] **New Orleans.** City rate includes $5.50 Orleans Levee Board, $10.20 bond redemption (adjusted, actually levied on 85% of assessed value), and $8.08 city rate (adjusted, also levied on 85% assessed value).

[13] **Minneapolis.** City rate includes $.20 district housing authority rate. County rate includes $.55 district airport commission debt rate. State rate of $8.08 is for non-homestead property; homestead rate is $4.11.

[14] **Cincinnati.** County rate includes $1.03 parks and T.B. hospital rate.

[15] **Seattle.** County rate includes $3.06 Port of Seattle rate.

[16] **Kansas City.** Intangibles are state assessed and a 4% tax on the annual yield of such intangibles is collected by the state and returned to political subdivisions. A special tax of $2.50 per $1,000 on land only is levied for maintenance of parks and boulevards.

[17] **Indianapolis.** County rate includes $1.54 township poor relief rate.

[18] **Denver.** City and county are consolidated. City rate includes $7.21 special levies for parks, mountain park, bond service, pensions and public welfare.

[19] **San Antonio.** The school rate does not include rates for a number of independent school districts within the bounds and limits of San Antonio. County rate includes $.80 Junior College District rate.

[20] **Oakland.** County rate includes $3.60 water and sewer districts and $.72 park, mosquito abatement and flood control districts rates.

[21] **Portland.** County rate includes $.80 Port of Portland rate.

[22] **Louisville.** Assessed value does not include $34,388,965 for banks, $36,574,764 for whiskey, $8,553,147 for unmanufactured products, and $1,364,728 for exempt manufacturers which are taxed at special rates.

[23] **Atlanta.** County assesses city real estate for county purposes at 70% of city assessments.

[24] **San Diego.** County rate includes $1 County Water Authority rate.

[25] **St. Paul.** City rate includes $.97 housing and redevelopment rate. County rate includes $.55 metropolitan airport bonds rate. State rate of $8.08 is for non-homestead property; homestead rate is $4.11.

[26] **Toledo.** Intangible personalty taxed on basis of 2% of net yield.

		City	Preliminary Census 1950	Assessed Value	Per Cent Personalty	Actual Tax Rate as Levied per $1,000 Assessed Valuation					Est. Ratio of Assessed Value to Current Market Value (Per Cent)	Adjusted Tax Rate on 100% Basis of Assessment	
						City	School	County	State	Total			
37	(35)	Birmingham, Ala.[27]	298,720	290,000,000	23	11.50	6.50	11.50	6.50	36.00	40	14.40	37
38	(47)	Fort Worth, Texas[28]	277,047	390,935,130	28	16.70	11.00	12.00	4.20	43.90	33†	14.32	38
39	(38)	Akron, Ohio	273,189	422,000,000	25	12.49	14.11	3.58	—	30.18	32	9.81	39
		Group IV **Population 100,000 to 250,000**											
40	(37)	Providence, R. I.	247,700	802,332,573	44	28.00	—	N	—	28.00	70	19.60	40
41	(39)	Omaha, Neb.[29]	247,408	332,921,181	39	14.50	18.50	4.59	8.16	45.75	70	32.03	41
42	(49)	Miami, Fla.[30]	246,983	502,804,780	18	22.55	13.10	11.00	—	46.60	100	46.60	42
43	(54)	Long Beach, Calif.[31]	244,072	361,496,120	19	10.06	25.11	25.92	N	61.09	50	30.55	43
44	(40)	Dayton, Ohio	243,108	443,406,160	32	8.50	13.10	3.20	.20	25.00	30	7.50	44
45	(42)	Oklahoma City, Okla.	242,450	163,964,308	23	13.94	33.54	7.23	N	54.71	35	19.15	45
46	(45)	Richmond, Va.[32]	229,906	479,942,836	15	22.00	—	—	—	22.00	70	15.40	46
47	(41)	Syracuse, N. Y.[33]	220,067	356,820,559	N	27.96	—	15.00	—	42.96	75	32.22	47
48	(44)	Worcester, Mass.	201,885	310,624,200	7	35.79	11.27	1.68	.06	48.80	75	36.60	48
49	(48)	Jacksonville, Fla.[34]	198,880	183,656,360	25	15.00	18.05	16.85	—	49.90	100	49.90	49
50	(61)	Norfolk, Va.[35]	188,601	238,433,322	18	27.00	—	N	—	27.00	67	18.00	50
51	(58)	Salt Lake City, Utah[36]	181,718	191,330,803	25	19.50	17.85	10.40	8.05	55.80	20	11.16	51
52	(63)	Tulsa, Okla.	180,586	172,782,588	23	14.92	22.56	10.49	N	47.97	35	16.79	52
53	(46)	Honolulu, T. H.	179,358	249,670,074	N	33.06	—	—	—	33.06	33	11.02	53
54	(52)	Hartford, Conn.[37]	177,073	454,340,374	27	24.14	12.53	.83	—	37.50	100	37.50	54
55	(56)	Des Moines, Iowa‡[38]	176,954	169,937,431	22	27.14	35.93	14.56	N	76.73	98	75.19	55
56	(53)	Grand Rapids, Mich.[39]	175,647	290,705,540	28	10.15	10.50	5.50	N	26.15	75*	19.61	56
57	(51)	Nashville, Tenn.[40]	173,359	240,294,171	37	17.50	5.50	—	—	23.00	50	11.50	57
58	(50)	Youngstown, Ohio[41]	167,554	325,882,468	21	6.50	10.90	3.20	—	20.60	—	—	58

See also state notes at end of tabulation.

[27] **Birmingham.** Assessed value and personalty percentages are approximations.

[28] **Fort Worth.** County rate includes $3.20 water district rate.

[29] **Omaha.** City rate includes $1 Municipal University and $.50 metropolitan utilities district rates.

[30] **Miami.** City and school rates vary according to district; figures shown are averages.

[31] **Long Beach.** County rate includes $1.95 county flood control district, $3.10 metropolitan water district, and $1.52 sanitation district $3 rates.

[32] **Richmond.** In addition to assessed value shown, is $27,269,477 assessed value of taxable machinery for manufacturing taxed at a rate of $10 per thousand. City rate includes school rate.

[33] **Syracuse.** City rate includes school rate.

[34] **Jacksonville.** County rate includes $.10 navigation district and $.30 air base authority rates.

[35] **Norfolk.** City rate includes school rate. Personalty does not include $3,440,000 machinery taxed at $10 per thousand.

[36] **Salt Lake City.** County rate includes $.30 mosquito abatement district and $1 metropolitan water district rates.

[37] **Hartford.** City rate includes $1.13 metropolitan district tax.

[38] **Des Moines.** City rate includes $.73 special garbage levy, $.49 metropolitan light levy, and $1.22 city road levy. Total assessed value does not include $93,235,229 moneys and credits taxed at $5 per thousand, $4,089,088 building and loan shares taxed at $1 per thousand, or grain which is taxed at ¼ mill per bushel.

[39] **Grand Rapids.** County rate includes $1 public airport improvement assessment which will be terminated in two years.

[40] **Nashville.** City rate includes $2.15 park and pensions rate.

[41] **Youngstown.** City rate includes $.10 town rate and $1 Mahoning Valley Sanitary District rate.

		City	Preliminary Census 1950	Assessed Value	Per Cent Personalty	Actual Tax Rate as Levied per $1,000 Assessed Valuation					Est. Ratio of Assessed Value to Current Market Value (Per Cent)	Adjusted Tax Rate on 100% Basis of Assessment	
						City	School	County	State	Total			
59	(75)	Wichita, Kans.[42]	166,306	197,193,886	26	18.11	19.44	11.88	1.67	51.10	38	19.16	59
60	(55)	New Haven, Conn.	163,344	365,038,253	27	20.22	11.19	.59	—	32.00	75	24.00	60
61	(57)	Flint, Mich.[43]	162,800	307,838,420	23	10.68	11.61	6.00	N	28.29	96	27.18	61
62	(59)	Springfield, Mass.	162,601	289,876,955	10	26.47	15.76	2.67	.10	45.00	—	—	62
63	(69)	Spokane, Wash.	160,484	127,373,400	29	17.25	11.50	10.32	2.18	41.25	50	20.63	63
64	(60)	Bridgeport, Conn.[44]	159,352	344,089,915	37	23.06	8.62	.22	—	31.90	100	31.90	64
65	(62)	Yonkers, N. Y.[45]	152,533	316,072,640	N	18.07	11.05	7.75	—	36.87	100	36.87	65
66	(83)	Tacoma, Wash.[46]	142,975	87,253,150	32	20.02	32.30	16.10	2.13	70.55	—	—	66
67	(65)	Paterson, N. J.	139,423	184,012,059	10	21.11	21.73	8.83	—	51.67	100	51.67	67
68	(86)	Sacramento, Calif.[47]	135,761	190,754,380	23	18.80	23.60	19.50	N	61.90	53†	32.83	68
69	(66)	Albany, N. Y.[47a]	134,382	271,668,940	N	21.29	8.51	14.10	—	43.90	93	40.83	69
70	(92)	Charlotte, N. C.[48]	133,219	199,860,820	36	14.90	4.80	10.00	—	29.70	67	19.80	70
71		Fort Wayne, Ind.[48a]	132,840	210,000,000	29	17.80	12.60	8.10	1.50	40.00	33	13.33	71
72	(77)	Gary, Ind.[49]	132,496	160,680,310	44	26.50	24.60	7.80	1.50	60.40	30	18.12	72
73	(102)	Austin, Texas	131,964	152,124,930‡	21‡	13.80‡	13.70‡	9.00	7.20	43.70	33†	14.24	73
74	(67)	Chattanooga, Tenn.	130,333	146,000,000	—	25.00	—	—	—	25.00	55	13.75	74
75	(73)	Erie, Pa.	130,125	153,658,000	N	16.00	18.50	10.00	N	44.50	66†	29.15	75
76	(99)	El Paso, Texas‡	130,003	147,215,750	29	17.50	13.50	10.50	7.20	48.70	28†	13.87	76
77	(70)	Kansas City, Kansas	129,583	91,646,760	30	25.25	25.04	12.50	1.74	64.53	15	9.68	77
78	(68)	Trenton, N. J.	127,867	164,907,215	19	23.00	23.60	11.40	—	58.00	60	34.80	78
79	(119)	Mobile, Ala.	127,151	95,459,662	32	7.50	9.00	12.50	6.50	35.50	35	12.43	79
80	(95)	Shreveport, La.	125,506	161,589,333	36	18.50	12.25	2.75	5.75	39.25	67	26.16	80
81	(292)	Baton Rouge, La.	123,957	Not reported									81
82	(64)	Scranton, Pa.[50]	124,747	97,720,544	N	24.84	22.50	14.00	N	61.34	44	27.17	82
83	(72)	Camden, N. J.	124,543	145,279,992	16	25.88	19.63	14.09	—	59.60	—	—	83
84	(78)	Knoxville, Tenn.	124,183	168,963,115	25	17.20	9.20	20.50	—	46.90	51†	24.04	84
85		Tampa, Fla.[51]	124,073	201,085,437	21	20.80	18.60	16.20	—	55.60	75	41.70	85

See also state notes at end of tabulation.

[42] **Wichita.** City rate includes $3.21 Municipal University rate. Assessed value does not include utility valuations in the amount of $15,720,326, for which no breakdown into realty and personalty is available.

[43] **Flint.** School rate includes $.55 library operation rate.

[44] **Bridgeport.** City rate includes $2.75 welfare and $2.69 debt (including school debt service) rates.

[45] **Yonkers.** City rate includes $6.87 debt service rate (other than water and education).

[46] **Tacoma.** County rate includes $3.35 port district and $2.75 metropolitan park district rates.

[47] **Sacramento.** County rate includes $.30 Sacto-Yolo mosquito abatement, $.50 Sacto-Yolo port district, and $.40 American River flood control (on land only) rates.

[47a] **Albany.** Assessed value does not include an additional $1,359,749 assessment of pension exempt property.

[48] **Charlotte.** Figures on assessed valuation not final. City rate includes $.70 parks and recreation rate.

[48a] **Fort Wayne.** City rate includes $.10 township and $1.62 library rates. County rate includes $2.60 poor relief rate. Assessed value is estimated.

[49] **Gary.** City rate includes $1.83 sanitary district, $1.31 public library and $4.25 township rates.

[50] **Scranton.** City rate represents a weighted average of $35.31 on land and $17.65 on improvements. County rate includes $5.50 institutional poor rate.

[51] **Tampa.** County rate includes $.45 port authority, and $.20 navigation district rates.

		City	Preliminary Census 1950	Assessed Value	Per Cent Personalty	Actual Tax Rate as Levied per $1,000 Assessed Valuation					Est. Ratio of Assessed Value to Current Market Value (Per Cent)	Adjusted Tax Rate on 100% Basis of Assessment	
						City	School	County	State	Total			
86	(79)	Cambridge, Mass.[52]	120,676	209,871,300	9	28.53	8.05	1.47	1.65	39.70	100	39.70	86
87	(100)	Savannah, Ga.	119,639	Not reported									87
88	(84)	Canton, Ohio[53]	116,312	212,774,770	27	4.00	14.10	2.20	—	20.30	75	15.23	88
89	(90)	South Bend, Ind.[54]	115,698	184,359,800	42	15.40	16.45	5.65	1.50	39.00	60	23.40	89
90	(105)	Berkeley, Calif.[55]	113,217	128,825,724	10	17.12	26.76	24.72	N	68.60	52†	35.50	90
91	(82)	Elizabeth, N. J.	112,675	140,520,723	11	28.75	22.42	6.33	—	57.50	100	57.50	91
92	(74)	Fall River, Mass.	111,759	122,809,700	13	49.80	—	—	—	49.80	100	49.80	92
93	(87)	Peoria, Ill.[56]	111,523	360,693,250	30	9.10	9.70	1.20	N	20.00	100	20.00	93
94	(76)	Wilmington, Del.	109,907	181,110,700	N	17.78	3.82	6.00	—	27.60	60	16.56	94
95	(97)	Evansville, Ind.	109,869	Not reported									95
96	(80)	Reading, Pa.	109,062	141,805,000	N	14.00	19.00	6.50	N	39.50	50†	19.72	96
97	(81)	New Bedford, Mass.	109,033	115,747,350	15	32.65	12.10	3.00	.25	48.00	75	36.00	97
98	(178)	Corpus Christi, Texas	108,053	110,624,850	22	20.00	18.00	13.00	7.20	58.20	38†	21.92	98
99	(98)	Allentown, Pa.	106,233	116,448,247	N	15.00	18.00	7.00	N	40.00	57†	22.60	99
100	(150)	Phoenix, Ariz.	105,442	110,428,015	—	18.70	36.20	7.90	15.50	78.30	30	23.49	100
101	(121)	Montgomery, Ala.	105,098	60,455,457	31	12.50	7.00	7.50	6.50	33.50	60	20.10	101
102	(94)	Waterbury, Conn.	104,242	256,177,585	33	21.55	9.92	—	.53	32.00	63	20.16	102
103	(113)	Pasadena, Calif.[57]	104,087	213,159,435	10	11.10	24.13	22.70	N	57.93	55†	31.74	103
104	(91)	Duluth, Minn.‡	104,066	50,955,590	25	47.06	60.96	38.77	8.08	154.87	50	77.44	104
105	(88)	Somerville, Mass.	102,254	Not reported									105
106	(93)	Utica, N. Y.	101,479	152,924,258	N	23.54	11.40	13.92	—	48.86	100	48.86	106
107	(101)	Little Rock, Ark.	101,387	64,633,618	28	14.20	29.00	8.30	N	51.50	18	9.01	107
		Group V **Population 50,000 to 100,000**											
108	(96)	Lynn, Mass.	99,521	137,828,945	11	—	—	—	—	54.00	—	—	108
109	(New)	Richmond, Calif.[58]	99,218	81,081,055	24	27.50	33.51	24.01	N	85.02	30	25.51	109
110	(160)	Jackson, Miss.	97,674	131,981,248	31	17.50	13.50	13.25	2.00	46.25	67	30.68	110
111	(112)	Lincoln, Neb.[59]	97,423	130,665,205	31	11.83	23.68	3.81	7.07	46.39	44†	20.44	111
112	(286)	Albuquerque, N. M.	97,012	Not reported									112
113	(89)	Lowell, Mass.[60]	96,523	106,053,100	10	52.92	—	2.65	.23	55.80	100	55.80	113

See also state notes at end of tabulation.

[52] **Cambridge.** City rate includes $.43 overlays rate.

[53] **Canton.** City rate includes $.10 town, $.30 police pensions, and $.30 firemen's pensions rates.

[54] **South Bend.** City rate includes $.62 township rate. Indiana State Chamber of Commerce reports 33% as estimated ratio of assessed valuation to current market value for South Bend.

[55] **Berkeley.** County rate includes $3.60 utility districts, $.50 regional parks, and $.15 mosquito abatement rates.

[56] **Peoria.** City rate includes $1.22 park, $.45 G. P. sanitary and $.80 town rates.

[57] **Pasadena.** County rate includes $1.95 flood control and $1.40 sanitation district rates.

[58] **Richmond.** City rate includes $2.75 water districts and $1.55 hospital district rates.

[59] **Lincoln.** City rate includes $2 sanitary district rate.

[60] **Lowell.** City rate includes school rates.

		City	Preliminary Census 1950	Assessed Value	Per Cent Personalty	Actual Tax Rate as Levied per $1,000 Assessed Valuation					Est. Ratio of Assessed Value to Current Market Value (Per Cent)	Adjusted Tax Rate on 100% Basis of Assessment	
						City	School	County	State	Total			
114	(167)	St. Petersburg, Fla.	95,712	164,982,627	11	25.40	—	29.50	—	54.90	40	21.96	114
115	(142)	Madison, Wis.[61]	95,594	196,995,255	19	10.32	14.98	7.43	.27	33.00	70†	23.22	115
116	(110)	Glendale, Calif.[62]	95,398	124,660,670	14	10.30	26.17	21.30	N	57.77	50	28.89	116
117	(139)	San Jose, Calif.[63]	95,044	117,516,770	22	15.99	24.39	20.60	N	60.98	30	18.11	117
118	(154)	Dearborn, Mich.	94,529	358,154,250	45	12.89	14.00	6.66	N	33.55	100	33.55	118
119	(173)	Beaumont, Texas[64]	93,715	110,165,420	24	16.40	15.00	22.20	7.20	60.80	35†	21.48	119
120	(106)	Rockford, Ill.‡[65]	92,503	299,914,545	23	7.71	8.08	1.45	—	17.24	100	17.24	120
121	(109)	Saginaw, Mich.	92,352	137,846,525	24	12.08	8.64	5.38	N	26.10	70	18.27	121
122	(103)	Schenectady, N. Y.[66]	92,070	172,571,180	N	34.08	—	11.39	—	45.47	88	40.01	122
123	(118)	Lansing, Mich.	91,694	161,196,845	31	17.45	12.02	7.50‡	N	36.97	35	12.94	123
124	(135)	Roanoke, Va.	91,089	116,148,167	21	26.60	—	N	—	26.60	50	13.30	124
125	(122)	Niagara Falls, N. Y.	90,875	170,835,522	N	22.30	17.11	11.16	—	50.57	85	42.98	125
126	(168)	Fresno, Calif.[67]	90,618	101,372,070	24	20.00	31.25	17.17	N	68.42	50	34.21	126
127	(108)	Harrisburg, Pa.	89,091	100,772,775	N	14.00	17.50	8.00	N	39.50	58†	22.90	127
128	(133)	Hammond, Ind.[68]	87,423	116,723,635	—	22.67	29.74	7.28	1.50	61.19	28	17.13	128
129	(115)	Winston-Salem, N. C.	86,816	168,166,421	49	19.50	3.50	6.00	—	29.00	40	11.60	129
130	(117)	Huntington, W. Va.[69]	86,160	168,661,490	40	5.02	13.77	4.86	.10	23.75	35	8.31	130
131	(157)	Columbia, S. C.‡	85,949	33,814,015	40	39.00	41.50	47.00	—	127.50	10	12.75	131
132	(181)	Waco, Texas	84,300	92,281,900	32	16.80	12.50	6.90	7.20	43.40	50	21.70	132
133	(111)	Sioux City, Iowa	84,035	88,810,681	30	24.38	27.55	12.25	N	64.18	60	38.51	133
134	(124)	Quincy, Mass.	83,190	147,648,500	6	45.20	—	—	—	45.20	65	29.38	134
135	(123)	Manchester, N. H.[70]	82,581	114,938,691	24	36.15	—	3.75	.10	40.00	95†	38.12	135
136	(127)	East St. Louis, Ill.[71]	81,950	168,648,104	21	12.76	13.14	2.00	—	27.90	100	27.90	136
137	(125)	Pawtucket, R. I.	81,180	186,721,860	32	21.00	—	—	—	21.00	—	—	137
138	(120)	Binghamton, N. Y.[72]	81,132	118,064,671	N	27.86	9.99	5.75	—	43.60	100	43.60	138
139	(134)	Newton, Mass.	80,996	Not reported									139
140	(128)	Springfield, Ill.[73]	80,832	209,567,856	15	9.03	10.80	2.49	—	22.31	80	17.85	140

See also state notes at end of tabulation.

[61] **Madison.** City rate includes $.94 library and $.25 metropolitan sewer district rates.

[62] **Glendale.** County rate includes $1.95 Los Angeles County flood control rate.

[63] **San Jose.** Water conservation district rate of $8.80 (on land only) is not included in total rate.

[64] **Beaumont.** County rate includes drainage districts and common school district.

[65] **Rockford.** City rate includes $.71 sanitary district, $.64 airport district, $.42 park district, and $1.60 town rates.

[66] **Schenectady.** City rate includes school rate.

[67] **Fresno.** County rate includes $.57 mosquito abatement district and $1 library rates. The city tax rate in some divisions of the city exceeds the $20 base rate, the balance being used for bond redemption.

[68] **Hammond.** City rate includes $2.67 township, $1.10 library, $2.73 sanitary district rates.

[69] **Huntington.** Rate shown is for Class IV property.

[70] **Manchester.** City rate includes school rate.

[71] **East St. Louis.** City rate includes $1.13 town, $.55 east side health district, $3.12 levee and sanitary district, and $2.04 park district rates.

[72] **Binghamton.** Assessed value does not include $935,885 of pension exempt property on which a tax rate of $13.28 is levied.

[73] **Springfield (Ill.).** City rate includes $.49 sanitary district, $.58 park district, $.65 airport, and $1.27 town rates.

		City	Preliminary Census 1950	Assessed Value	Per Cent Personalty	Actual Tax Rate as Levied per $1,000 Assessed Valuation					Est. Ratio of Assessed Value to Current Market Value (Per Cent)	Adjusted Tax Rate on 100% Basis of Assessment	
						City	School	County	State	Total			
141	(107)	Lawrence, Mass.	80,427	Not reported									141
142	(190)	Columbus, Ga.	79,510	Not reported									142
143	(296)	Burbank, Calif.[74]	78,318	107,622,315	20	16.04	24.15	21.30	N	61.49	35	21.52	143
144	(137)	East Orange, N. J.	78,057	114,856,972	11	16.52	24.10	9.28	—	49.90	—	—	144
145	(131)	Springfield, Ohio[75]	78,029	135,271,412	30	5.40	13.00	3.60	—	22.00	80*	17.60	145
146	(141)	Topeka, Kans.[76]	77,827	83,225,346	19	19.67	18.23	7.67	1.73	47.30	35	16.56	146
147	(129)	Portland, Me.[77]	76,936	94,987,125	30	35.35	14.47	1.34	5.24	56.40	—	—	147
148	(114)	Altoona, Pa.	76,844	73,720,645	N	12.00	18.00	9.75	N	39.75	61†	24.38	148
149	(116)	Bayonne, N. J.	76,657	135,643,037	18	30.84	21.72	17.09	—	69.65	100	69.65	149
150	(104)	Wilkes-Barre, Pa.‡	76,638	83,192,592	8	17.00	19.00	—	—	—	—	—	150
151	(126)	St. Joseph, Mo.[78]	75,572	66,940,410	29	23.50	15.60	8.80	.60	48.50	55	26.68	151
152	(193)	Amarillo, Texas[79]	73,737	117,715,410‡	39‡	14.70	12.80	8.00	7.20	42.70	36†	15.56	152
153	(170)	Greensboro, N. C.[80]	73,703	146,438,598	33	16.70	3.90	9.80	—	30.40	85	25.84	153
154	(138)	New Britain, Conn.	73,663	129,087,753	22	—	—	—	—	38.20	100	38.20	154
155	(147)	Davenport, Iowa	73,640	70,593,511	12	22.00	24.03	12.31	N	58.34	60	35.00	155
156	(210)	Stamford, Conn.[81]	73,584	195,529,816	24	24.15	14.55	—	—	38.70	70	27.09	156
157	(146)	Pontiac, Mich.	73,112	145,119,775	33	13.98	12.04	5.80‡	N	31.82	75	23.87	157
158	(151)	Evanston, Ill.‡[82]	73,030	205,473,440	11	8.80	14.41	3.42	2.90	29.53	100	29.53	158
159	(140)	Charleston, W. Va.[83]	72,818	161,784,100	43	5.05	11.56	6.50	.07	23.18	30	6.95	159
160	(159)	Cedar Rapids, Ia.	72,149	82,233,807	30	22.59	31.25	7.19	N	61.03	60	36.62	160
161	(143)	Mt. Vernon, N. Y.[84]	71,837	151,987,440	N	16.63	16.03	8.94	—	41.60	100	41.60	161
162	(185)	Stockton, Calif.	71,660	88,793,130	20	25.90	—	—	—	—	—	—	162
163	(132)	Troy, N. Y.	71,559	73,408,051	N	29.56	13.47	17.54	—	60.57	89	53.91	163
164	(149)	Augusta, Ga.	71,507	61,437,632	35	27.00	22.50	10.00	5.00	64.50	54†	34.51	164
165	(323)	Lubbock, Texas	71,390	105,661,570	20	15.00	11.00	7.20	7.20	40.40	43†	17.32	165
166	(189)	Santa Monica, Calif.[85]	71,299	91,125,770	14	19.90	23.67	24.40	N	67.97	50	33.99	166
167	(196)	Portsmouth, Va.	71,294	52,475,244	8	25.00	—	—	—	25.00	50	12.50	167
168	(144)	Racine, Wis.	70,749	126,791,660	20	10.30	15.52	6.85	3.39	36.06	57†	20.49	168
169		Durham, N. C.	70,307	135,497,181	40	13.20	3.30	5.00	—	21.50	50	10.75	169
170	(177)	Macon, Ga.	70,106	55,751,000‡	39‡	13.00	—	—	5.00	—	50	—	170

See also state notes at end of tabulation.

[74] **Burbank.** County rate includes $1.95 county flood control rate. City rate includes $1.24 metropolitan water district rate.

[75] **Springfield (Ohio).** City rate includes $.03 township rate.

[76] **Topeka.** County rate includes $1.79 county school levy. City rate includes $2.65 Municipal University and $.92 library rates.

[77] **Portland.** City rate includes $2.19 capital improvements and $3.69 debt service rates, including school debt service.

[78] **St. Joseph.** City rate includes $5 park improvement rate.

[79] **Amarillo.** City rate includes $1.70 Junior College rate.

[80] **Greensboro.** City rate includes $.70 parks and recreation rate.

[81] **Stamford.** Rates shown are for Taxing District "A." Adjusted rate for District "B" is $24.71; for District "C", $21.35.

[82] **Evanston.** City rate includes $.52 unclassified rate.

[83] **Charleston.** Rates shown are weighted rates of four property classes. County rate includes $2.42 county airport rate.

[84] **Mount Vernon.** City rate includes $1.37 library rate.

[85] **Santa Monica.** Total assessment rolls exclude $6,149,600 unsecured personal property to which previous year's tax rate is applied. County rate includes $3.10 metropolitan water district and $1.95 county flood control (levied on real property only) rates.

		City	Preliminary Census 1950	Assessed Value	Per Cent Personalty	Actual Tax Rate as Levied per $1,000 Assessed Valuation					Est. Ratio of Assessed Value to Current Market Value (Per Cent)	Adjusted Tax Rate on 100% Basis of Assessment	
						City	School	County	State	Total			
171	(130)	Charlestown, S. C.	68,243	21,966,074	39	62.00	40.00	24.00	—	126.00	11	13.86	171
172	(136)	Lakewood, Ohio‡	67,878	112,824,500	9	10.50	17.30	4.20	—	32.00	50	16.00	172
173	(171)	Decatur, Ill.[86]	67,801	150,186,104	20	9.38	16.07	.95	—	26.40	70	18.48	173
174	(220)	Wichita Falls, Texas[87]	67,709	56,358,460	44	19.50	18.90	8.00	7.20	53.60	30	16.08	174
175	(152)	Cicero, Ill.[87a]	67,195	193,229,210	28	6.82	13.62	9.34	—	29.78	100	29.78	175
176	(164)	Springfield, Mo.[88]	66,302	50,131,000	32	16.40	26.50	8.00	.60	51.50	23	11.85	176
177	(155)	Medford, Mass.	66,109	89,706,550	5	51.80	—	—	—	51.80	100	51.80	177
178	(174)	Bethlehem, Pa.[89]	66,027	82,863,094	13	14.00	17.50	11.00	N	42.50	33†	14.06	178
179	(166)	Galveston, Texas	65,898	87,082,000	23	16.50	13.50	—	7.20	37.20	80	29.76	179
180	(172)	Chester, Pa.[89a]	65,824	65,072,528	N	17.70	19.00	6.00	N	42.70	54†	23.12	180
181	(215)	Raleigh, N. C.	65,123	98,027,658	28	13.50	7.80	3.40	—	24.70	50	12.35	181
182	(206)	Clifton, N. J.	64,567	77,127,373	11	15.96	26.45	9.39	—	51.80	75	38.85	182
183	(192)	Waterloo, Iowa[90]	64,354	80,106,000	22	18.50	22.17	7.14	N	47.81	49†	23.55	183
184	(161)	Covington, Ky.	64,282	62,009,325	7	17.40	15.20	—	—	32.60	70	22.82	184
185	(156)	Terre Haute, Ind.[91]	64,047	70,630,740	43	20.72	20.58	12.00	1.50	54.80	33	18.26	185
186	(163)	Lancaster, Pa.[92]	63,601	100,094,250	N	8.50	14.00	5.00	N	27.50	54†	14.85	186
187	(191)	Pueblo, Colo.[93]	63,561	37,502,912	N	37.70‡	30.54‡	12.80‡	3.86‡	84.90‡	33	28.30	187
188	(282)	Alameda, Calif.	63,425	41,423,685	18	15.19	2.01	—	N	—	—	—	188
189	(148)	Oak Park, Ill.‡[94]	63,175	161,196,543	10	12.86	15.54	3.40	—	31.72	78	24.74	189
190	(158)	Brockton, Mass.	62,856	79,164,300	11	30.59	18.76	4.45	—	53.80	80	43.04	190
191	(228)	San Bernardino, Calif.[95]	62,792	54,365,880	11	13.20	34.60	22.80	N	70.60	50	35.30	191
192	(145)	Johnstown, Pa.[96]	62,723	71,820,865	N	15.00	19.00	10.00	N	44.00	65†	28.80	192
193	(153)	Atlantic City, N. J.	61,642	95,514,733	9	39.20	21.30	14.50	—	75.00	—	—	193
194	(305)	Alexandria, Va.[97]	61,604	99,673,937	24	27.50	—	N	—	27.50	50	13.75	194
195	(176)	Malden, Mass.	59,779	Not reported									195
196	(179)	York, Pa.	59,704	120,000,000	N	7.00	11.50	10.00	N	28.50	52†	14.83	196
197	(175)	New Rochelle, N. Y.	59,626	165,089,500	N	21.60	14.40	8.30	—	44.30	100	44.30	197
198	(183)	Irvington, N. J.	59,142	76,603,400	13	—	—	—	—	61.60	42	26.18	198

See also state notes at end of tabulation.

[86] **Decatur.** City rate includes $.84 road and bridge, $.67 sanitary district, $1.12 park district, $.39 T.B. Sanitarium, and $1.43 town rates.

[87] **Wichita Falls.** City rate includes $4 water importation district rate. School rate includes $3.90 college rate.

[87a] **Cicero.** County rate includes $.38 forest preserve rate, $2.90 Chicago sanitary district rate, $.20 poor relief, $1.68 Clyde Park District rate, $.78 T.B. sanitarium rate. Total rate shown is for Clyde Park District. Total rate for Hawthorne Park District is $29.26.

[88] **Springfield.** County rate includes $3.50 road and bridge rate.

[89] **Bethlehem.** The city lies in two counties. Rate shown is for Northhampton County. Lehigh County rate is $7.

[89a] **Chester.** County rate includes $1.50 institution district rate.

[90] **Waterloo.** Total assessment rolls exclude $22,000,000 of moneys and credits assessed at 100% and taxed at $5 per thousand.

[91] **Terre Haute.** City rate includes $1.68 town rate.

[92] **Lancaster.** County rate includes $2 institution district rate. County also has a $4 rate on intangible personalty such as stocks and bonds.

[93] **Pueblo.** City rate includes $2.10 Junior College rate. City and school rates shown are for School District ‡1. Rates for School District ‡20 are: city, $36.60; school, $29.41.

[94] **Oak Park.** City rate includes $1.14 park, $2.98 sanitary district, $.38 forest preserve, $.78 T.B. Sanitarium, and $.34 miscellaneous rates.

[95] **San Bernardino.** County rate includes $1.80 flood control rate.

[96] **Johnstown.** City rate includes $.50 library rate.

[97] **Alexandria.** Rate shown is for real estate. Personalty rate is $30 per thousand.

		City	Preliminary Census 1950	Assessed Value	Per Cent Personalty	Actual Tax Rate as Levied per $1,000 Assessed Valuation					Est. Ratio of Assessed Value to Current Market Value (Per Cent)	Adjusted Tax Rate on 100% Basis of Assessment	
						City	School	County	State	Total			
199	(184)	Cleveland Heights, Ohio	58,782	119,562,533	3	7.80	16.70	4.20	—	28.70	72	20.66	199
200	(165)	Wheeling, W. Va.[98]	58,447	147,780,600	51	5.00	8.57	3.72	.07	17.36	20	3.47	200
201		Muncie, Ind.	58,364	Not reported									201
202	(291)	Greenville, S. C.	57,932	19,919,700	52	60.00	38.00	43.50	—	141.50	5	7.08	202
203	(162)	Passaic, N. J.	57,851	93,614,657	21	28.01	21.54	8.75	—	58.30	60	34.98	203
204	(197)	Hamilton, Ohio	57,717	95,301,770	29	6.65	16.69	2.23	—	25.57	50	12.78	204
205	(219)	Port Arthur, Texas[99]	57,377	75,000,000	16	17.00	15.00	13.90	7.20	53.10	64†	33.85	205
206	(187)	Kalamazoo, Mich.[100]	57,326	112,814,043	35	10.41	15.71	4.90	N	31.02	50	15.51	206
207	(200)	Brookline, Mass.	56,952	154,665,500	10	—	—	—	—	37.00	75	27.75	207
208	(227)	Ogden, Utah[101]	56,910	46,230,074	22	18.50	25.04	9.55	8.05	61.14	20	12.23	208
209	(275)	Gadsden, Ala.	55,528	32,779,386	20	5.00	5.00	—	—	—	30	—	209
210	(180)	Union City, N. J.[102]	55,322	63,430,644	8	33.64	23.21	17.22	—	74.07	90	66.66	210
211	(214)	Cranston, R. I.[103]	55,130	118,241,460	28	25.00	—	N	—	25.00	85	21.25	211
212	(204)	Lexington, Ky.	54,449	72,041,025	16	16.90	12.00	5.00	.50	34.40	71†	24.43	212
213	(188)	Holyoke, Mass.	54,441	79,212,010	6	34.84	—	2.48	.18	37.50	100	37.50	213
214	(207)	Kenosha, Wis.[104]	54,360	85,741,280	15	9.34	18.49	11.82	.35	40.00	68	27.20	214
215	(186)	East Chicago, Ind.[105]	54,124	131,455,955	54	17.65	15.70	7.95	1.50	42.80	33	14.13	215
216	(202)	Pittsfield, Mass.	53,055	97,044,095	8	34.08	—	3.25	.47	37.80	50	18.90	216
217	(234)	Joliet, Ill.‡[106]	52,460	132,907,983	N	6.17	17.29	1.71	—	25.17	85	21.39	217
218		Green Bay, Wis.[107]	52,443	92,134,440	16	12.01	14.87	8.88	.31	36.07	63	22.71	218
219	(209)	Bay City, Mich.	52,372	66,097,580	27	19.98	13.47	6.33	N	39.78	33	13.26	219
220	(194)	Asheville, N. C.	52,203	67,926,666	26	15.30	9.30	9.40	—	34.00	40	13.60	220
221	(243)	Sioux Falls, S. D.	52,161	65,485,883	25	21.97	24.11	4.97	2.00	53.05	25	13.26	221
222	(New)	San Angelo, Texas[108]	51,889	55,000,000	22	13.90	15.00	—	7.20	36.10	50	18.05	222
223	(279)	Orlando, Fla.[109]	51,826	100,564,425	16	18.00‡	—	30.70	—	48.70	49†	23.98	223
224	(258)	Laredo, Texas	51,694	Not reported									224
225	(260)	Alhambra, Calif.[110]	51,284	73,158,070	22	11.12	24.55	22.70	—	58.37	50	29.18	225

See also state notes at end of tabulation.

[98] **Wheeling.** Rates shown are for personal property (Class I). See state note for West Virginia.

[99] **Port Arthur.** County rate includes $2.90 drainage district rate.

[100] **Kalamazoo.** City rate includes $.21 collection fee.

[101] **Ogden.** County rate includes $.60 mosquito abatement and $.50 water conservancy district rates. Although levied by the state, the $8.05 rate is for schools.

[102] **Union City.** City is a consolidation of towns of West Hoboken and Union. Rates shown are for Union District. Rates for West Hoboken District are as follows: city, $34.22; school, $22.47; county, $17.22; total, $73.91.

[103] **Cranston.** City rate includes school rate.

[104] **Kenosha.** City rate includes $1.19 library rate.

[105] **East Chicago.** City rate includes $2.30 township and poor and $.77 library rates.

[106] **Joliet.** City rate includes $1.95 town (includes road and bridge) and $.84 park district rates.

[107] **Green Bay.** City rate includes $1.89 metropolitan sewer district rate.

[108] **San Angelo.** Total rate shown does not include county rate which was not reported.

[109] **Orlando.** County rate includes school district rate.

[110] **Alhambra.** County rate includes $1.95 county flood control and $1.40 county sanitation district rates.

		City	Preliminary Census 1950	Assessed Value	Per Cent Personalty	Actual Tax Rate as Levied per $1,000 Assessed Valuation					Est. Ratio of Assessed Value to Current Market Value (Per Cent)	Adjusted Tax Rate on 100% Basis of Assessment	
						City	School	County	State	Total			
226	(182)	McKeesport, Pa.	51,223	63,232,175	N	14.50	18.00	10.88	N	43.38	46	19.98	226
227	(208)	Berwyn, Ill.‡[111]	51,176	95,123,122	9	10.30	17.06	3.40	—	30.76	100	30.76	227
228	(203)	Jackson, Mich.	50,904	92,800,235	25	9.60	13.68	6.38	N	29.65	52	15.42	228
229	(225)	Lorain, Ohio[112]	50,819	133,566,644	40	6.25‡	9.49‡	2.00‡	—	17.74‡	50	8.87	229
230	(New)	South Gate, Calif.[113]	50,684	48,593,690	26	10.65	24.07	20.88	N	55.60	33	18.53	230
231	(198)	Hoboken, N. J.	50,510	80,769,933	12	36.73	18.86	16.59	—	72.18	75	54.13	231
232	(213)	Aurora, Ill.‡[114]	50,508	119,115,590	21	10.47	11.48	1.25	—	23.20	75	17.40	232
233	(205)	Woonsocket, R. I.	50,186	84,666,650	29	25.00	—	N	—	25.00	70	17.50	233
		Group VI **Population 30,000 to 50,000**											
234	(222)	Lima, Ohio	49,880	79,239,744	33	6.25	11.10	2.45	.20	20.00	75	15.00	234
235	(221)	Elmira, N. Y.	49,690	53,781,257	N	23.74	14.65	12.74	—	51.13	75	38.35	235
236	(230)	Warren, Ohio‡[115]	49,674	90,328,200	22	4.70	13.80	2.30	—	20.80	50	10.40	236
237	(226)	Dubuque, Iowa	49,528	42,997,071	17	23.99	20.44	11.57	N	56.00	60	33.60	237
238	(251)	Norwalk, Conn.[116]	49,458	107,285,370	22	20.75	15.62	.23	—	36.60	80	29.28	238
239	(237)	Bloomfield, N. J.	49,313	75,119,893	14	17.80	25.10	9.30	—	52.20	—	—	239
240	(236)	Chicopee, Mass.	48,939	48,974,160	7	—	—	—	—	43.00	75	32.25	240
241	(231)	Rock Island, Ill.[117]	48,594	106,678,513	30	9.28	10.40	2.10	—	21.78	100	21.78	241
242	(212)	New Castle, Pa.	48,563	51,210,520	N	10.00	20.00	6.50	N	36.50	67†	24.50	242
243	(229)	Battle Creek, Mich.	48,469	98,092,550	32	9.40	16.29	5.73	N	31.42	80	25.14	243
244	(211)	Muskegon, Mich.	48,047	104,619,900	33	10.90	9.06	6.54	N	26.50	50	13.25	244
245	(New)	Compton, Calif.[118]	47,893	43,225,950	14	19.60	28.53	22.15	N	70.28	30	21.08	245
246	(280)	Fort Smith, Ark.[119]	47,864	29,500,000	—	10.75	25.00	9.00	N	44.75	17	7.61	246
247	(223)	Lynchburg, Va.	47,639	69,691,431	16	12.00	11.50	—	—	23.50	70	16.45	247
248	(232)	La Crosse, Wis.[120]	47,396	77,027,075	23	13.51	13.41	10.78	.30	38.00	60†	22.97	248
249	(New)	Ann Arbor, Mich.	47,279	59,486,120	19	12.80	16.49	6.43	N	35.72	35	12.50	249
250	(217)	Haverhill, Mass.	47,213	Not reported									250
251	(249)	Waltham, Mass.	47,198	Not reported									251
252	(New)	Abilene, Texas‡	47,102	50,963,370	26	14.00	11.00	—	7.20	32.20	34†	11.08	252

See also state notes at end of tabulation.

[111] **Berwyn.** Rate shown is for school district #98. Total rate for school district #100 is $27.80. City rate includes $1.28 township poor relief and public health, $2.90 sanitary district, $.38 forest preserve and $.78 T.B. Sanitarium rates.

[112] **Lorain.** City rate includes $.12 town rate.

[113] **South Gate.** City rate includes $.66 library rate. County rate includes $2.97 flood control and $1.91 sanitation district rates.

[114] **Aurora.** City rate includes $1.35 town, $.83 town road and bridge, $1 park district, $.13 forest preserve, and $1.29 sanitary district and sanitary deficiency rates. Total rate shown is an average between School District #129 ($21.62) and School District #131 ($24.28). School rate shown is an average of rates for Districts 129 and 131.

[115] **Warren.** City rate includes $.10 township rate.

[116] **Norwalk.** City rate includes $7.42 inner district rate.

[117] **Rock Island.** City rate includes $1.20 town, $.58 street and bridge, $.80 airport authority rates.

[118] **Compton.** City rate includes $2.17 metropolitan water district and $3.02 sanitation district rates.

[119] **Fort Smith.** City rate includes $1.75 city pension rate.

[120] **La Crosse.** City rate includes $1.23 recreation rate.

	City	Preliminary Census 1950	Assessed Value	Per Cent Personalty	Actual Tax Rate as Levied per $1,000 Assessed Valuation					Est. Ratio of Assessed Value to Current Market Value (Per Cent)	Adjusted Tax Rate on 100% Basis of Assess-ment	
					City	School	County	State	Total			
253 (New)	Royal Oak, Mich.	46,817	46,586,175	11	20.00	29.40	9.15‡	N	58.55	30	17.57	253
254 (238)	Anderson, Ind.[121]	46,809	52,074,710	41	18.10	26.30	7.90	1.50	53.80	30	16.14	254
255 (293)	Riverside, Calif.	46,399	Not reported									255
256 (New)	Tuscaloosa, Ala.	46,364	Not reported									256
257 (195)	Highland Park, Mich.	46,155	134,825,150	40	14.80	12.20	6.10	N	33.10	—	—	257
258 (340)	Inglewood, Calif.[122]	46,046	55,634,130	14	13.22	29.62	24.82	N	67.66	50	33.83	258
259 (216)	Everett, Mass.	45,789	95,835,900	21	25.81	13.61	2.03	2.35	43.80	50	21.90	259
260 (New)	Miami Beach, Fla.	45,541	Not reported									260
261 (321)	Santa Ana, Calif.[123]	45,534	54,593,035	13	19.83	24.00	17.17	N	61.00	50	30.50	261
262 (278)	Colorado Springs, Colo.	45,268	Not reported									262
263 (239)	Council Bluffs, Iowa	45,184	30,872,624	8	26.66	31.48	12.26	N	70.40	60	42.24	263
264 (277)	Tucson, Ariz.	45,064	36,514,696	13	37.10	56.22	8.66	15.50	117.48	20	23.50	264
265 (307)	Wilmington, N. C.	44,975	Not reported									265
266 (224)	Williamsport, Pa.[124]	44,964	32,093,505	N	14.75	22.00	13.00	N	49.75	32†	15.79	266
267 (290)	Santa Barbara, Calif.	44,764	65,868,980	7	14.40	—	—	N	—	60	—	267
268 (301)	West Hartford, Conn.	44,401	141,871,269	19	—	—	—	—	25.00	—	—	268
269 (250)	Arlington, Mass.	43,984	62,289,150	6	50.40	—	—	—	50.40	—	—	269
270 (252)	Montclair, N. J.	43,775	84,914,790	10	21.31	25.27	9.22	—	55.80	—	—	270
271 (254)	Meriden, Conn.[125]	43,747	77,758,230	27	19.49	13.44	.54	—	33.47	60	20.08	271
272 (263)	Elgin, Ill.[126]	43,534	112,820,004	22	7.56	12.22	1.38	—	21.16	100	21.16	272
273 (248)	White Plains, N. Y.	43,501	139,742,788	N	16.45	15.83	7.69	—	39.97	—	—	273
274 (271)	Mansfield, Ohio[127]	43,363	87,526,805	31	4.00	14.90	3.10	—	22.00	—	—	274
275 (269)	Pensacola, Fla.	43,293	Not reported									275
276 (233)	Jamestown, N. Y.	43,250	59,638,391	N	20.88	18.81	6.40	—	46.09	84	38.72	276
277 (199)	Hamtramck, Mich.	43,245	100,773,300	46	20.00	11.06‡	7.01‡	N	38.07	75	28.55	277
278 (328)	Salem, Ore.	43,064	28,267,738	17	19.90‡	38.00‡	14.20‡	—	72.10‡	25	18.03‡	278
279 (303)	West Palm Beach, Fla.	43,053	76,256,120	14	28.50	—	—	—	—	—	—	279
280 (New)	Warwick, R. I.	43,027	Not reported									280
281	West Allis, Wis.[128]	42,945	104,337,532	36	14.41	10.47	15.92	.35	41.15	53	21.97	281
282 (235)	Fitchburg, Mass.	42,671	60,051,675	16	48.60	—	—	—	48.60	100	48.60	282

See also state notes at end of tabulation.

[121] **Anderson.** County rate includes $1.20 township rate.

[122] **Inglewood.** County rate includes $1.95 flood control, $2.83 sanitation, and $.69 library rates.

[123] **Santa Ana.** County rate includes $1 flood control, $.36 harbor, $.15 mosquito abatement, $.06 cemetery, and $3.10 metropolitan water district rates. An additional $1.45 county sanitation rate is levied on land and improvements, plus an acquisition and improvement rate of $1.15 on land only.

[124] **Williamsport.** City rate includes $.75 library rate. County rate includes $5 institutional rate. County also charges $4 on personal property par value.

[125] **Meriden.** City rate includes $2.84 welfare and $8.71 town rates.

[126] **Elgin.** City rate includes $2.12 town and $.41 sanitary district rates. Personalty figure does not include capital stock, $664,300 and railroads $1,072,539.

[127] **Mansfield.** City rate includes $.13 township rate.

[128] **West Allis.** City rate includes $1.46 metropolitan sewer rate.

Library

		City	Preliminary Census 1950	Assessed Value	Per Cent Personalty	Actual Tax Rate as Levied per $1,000 Assessed Valuation					Est. Ratio of Assessed Value to Current Market Value (Per Cent)	Adjusted Tax Rate on 100% Basis of Assessment	
						City	School	County	State	Total			
283	(244)	Sheboygan, Wis.	42,485	69,453,495	15	14.54	17.76	8.03	.29	40.62	50	20.31	283
284	(268)	Plainfield, N. J.	42,212	66,912,704	12	20.44	25.08	7.88	—	53.40	—	—	284
285	(New)	North Little Rock, Ark.	42,142	Not reported									285
286	(242)	Salem, Mass.[129]	41,842	57,786,960	11	31.87	19.27	4.66	.20	56.00	—	—	286
287	(285)	Meridian, Miss.	41,709	Not reported									287
288	(274)	Newport News, Va.	41,571	58,290,084	21	18.05	14.45	—	—	32.50	53	17.23	288
289	(New)	San Mateo, Calif.	41,536	Not reported									289
290	(New)	Euclid, Ohio	41,447	Not reported									290
291	(246)	Quincy, Ill.‡	41,402	111,734,066	16	7.89	9.40	2.49	—	19.78	—	—	291
292	(298)	Rome, N. Y.	41,379	35,759,939	N	24.65	21.63	18.29	—	64.57	78	50.36	292
293	(241)	Perth Amboy, N. J.	41,291	52,305,500	15	27.14	24.46	16.00	—	67.60	50	33.80	293
294	(New)	Lake Charles, La.	41,202	28,900,000	—	31.80	—	—	—	—	—	—	294
295	(261)	Lewiston, Me.	41,142	37,986,789	22	37.95	—	1.80	7.25	47.00	50	23.50	295
296	(245)	Poughkeepsie, N. Y.[130]	40,975	59,559,308	N	39.09	—	4.84	—	43.93	75	32.95	296
297	(259)	Oshkosh, Wis.[131]	40,934	66,405,775	21	14.06‡	17.21‡	5.21‡	.72‡	37.20‡	60	22.32‡	297
298	(New)	Greenwich, Conn.[132]	40,546	221,766,930	14	29.60	—	—	—	29.60	61	17.97	298
299	(267)	Zanesville, Ohio	40,424	Not reported									299
300	(270)	Taunton, Mass.[133]	40,056	38,489,280	6	31.92	12.73	2.39	.13	47.20	100	47.20	300
301	(262)	High Point, N. C.	39,930	71,113,313	36	14.13	8.93	4.39	—	27.45	85*	23.33	301
302	(253)	East Cleveland, Ohio	39,875	64,305,757	11	7.90	15.70	4.20	—	27.80	35	9.73	302
303	(256)	Kearny, N. J.	39,828	Not reported									303
304	(311)	University City, Mo.[133a]	39,595	53,935,417	19	10.70	23.40	9.60	—	44.30	25	11.08	304
305	(288)	Richmond, Ind.[134]	39,504	52,039,539	34	17.40	20.10	8.40	1.50	47.40	33	15.80	305
306	(New)	Champaign, Ill.‡[135]	39,397	88,653,336	21	7.87	10.04	1.43	—	19.34	60	11.60	306
307	(297)	Waukegan, Ill.	39,099	Not reported									307
308	(240)	Chelsea, Mass.	39,038	44,425,700	9	44.02	14.88	—	3.10	62.00	60	37.20	308
309	(New)	Great Falls, Mont.	39,006	71,933,795	N	43.40	—	32.70	—	—	—	—	309
310	(New)	Tyler, Texas	38,864	Not reported									310
311	(310)	New Brunswick, N. J.	38,768	46,296,379	12	23.00	22.10	16.20	—	61.30	—	—	311
312	(300)	Kokomo, Ind.[136]	38,600	46,468,805	37	14.80	22.45	7.41	1.50	46.16	57	26.31	312
313	(272)	Joplin, Mo.[137]	38,515	27,049,299‡	33‡	20.50	28.20	7.30	.60	56.60	15	8.49	313

See also state notes at end of tabulation.

[129] **Salem.** City rate includes $.87 South Essex sewerage, $1.27 overlay, and $.01 tax title rates.

[130] **Poughkeepsie.** City rate includes school rate.

[131] **Oshkosh.** County rate includes $.58 county school rate.

[132] **Greenwich.** Rate given is consolidated town and borough rate, including city, school, town and county rates. Rate also includes $1.70 sewer district rate which applies only to property connected to town sewer system.

[133] **Taunton.** Total rate shown includes $.03 rate which is a result of fractional variations.

[133a] **University City.** County rate includes $4. road fund and bond rate, $1.30 hospital bond and maintenance rate, and $.40 health center maintenance rate, and $.40 court procedures and operations rate.

[134] **Richmond.** City rate includes $.34 town rate.

[135] **Champaign.** City rate includes $1.09 town, $.15 township park, $.77 sanitary, $.30 public health and $.30 storm drainage rates.

[136] **Kokomo.** County rate includes $1.85 poor relief and $.16 township rates.

[137] **Joplin.** County rate includes $3.50 special roads rate.

City			Preliminary Census 1950	Assessed Value	Per Cent Personalty	Actual Tax Rate as Levied per $1,000 Assessed Valuation					Est. Ratio of Assessed Value to Current Market Value (Per Cent)	Adjusted Tax Rate on 100% Basis of Assessment	
						City	School	County	State	Total			
314	(284)	Orange, N. J.	38,413	46,470,665	11	24.95	22.78	9.27	—	57.00	100	57.00	314
315	(New)	Monroe, La.	38,375	31,620,745	38	20.50	9.50	—	—	—	40	—	315
316	(New)	Yakima, Wash.	38,375	Not reported									316
317	(264)	Norristown, Pa.[138]	38,193	24,114,000	N	14.50	30.50	1.50	N	46.50	50	23.25	317
318	(316)	Fargo, N. D.‡[139]	37,931	49,886,762	29	16.51	17.68	14.34	3.71	52.24	30	15.67	318
319	(276)	Danville, Ill.[140]	37,892	79,866,295	21	10.67	13.60	1.43	—	25.70	100	25.70	319
320	(257)	West New York, N. J.	37,754	46,970,129	9	32.66	29.25	17.17	—	79.08	60	47.45	320
321	(255)	Cumberland, Md.	37,632	64,918,527	27	12.70	7.37	9.53	1.24	30.84	75	23.13	321
322	(287)	Watertown, Mass.	37,339	—	—	—	—	—	—	42.00	100	42.00	322
323	(294)	Moline, Ill.[141]	37,296	99,923,061	27	7.15	11.65	2.10	—	20.90	100	20.90	323
324	(318)	Muskogee, Okla.	37,255	20,192,104	38	9.35	26.91	11.45	N	47.71	50	23.85	324
325	(New)	Pine Bluff, Ark.	37,147	Not reported									325
326	(New)	Biloxi, Miss.	37,034	Not reported									326
327	(New)	Independence, Mo.[142]	36,832	27,800,690	28	12.50	22.50	7.10	.60	42.70	50	21.35	327
328	(319)	Spartanburg, S. C.[143]	36,674	13,277,598	50	60.00	45.00	21.00	—	126.00	11†	13.31	328
329	(283)	Auburn, N. Y.	36,667	54,045,600	76	19.20	10.66	6.86	—	36.72	70	25.70	329
330	(333)	Wyandotte, Mich.[144]	36,666	70,133,500	38	13.85	15.19	6.90	N	35.94	—	—	330
331	(247)	Portsmouth, Ohio	36,663	Not reported									331
332	(295)	Revere, Mass.	36,663	Not reported									332
333	(317)	Hagerstown, Md.[145]	36,232	67,000,000	30	5.00	—	15.00	1.24	21.24	60	12.74	333
334	(New)	Brownsville, Texas	36,176	Not reported									334
335	(New)	Ft. Lauderdale, Fla.[145a]	36,000	110,939,149	9	17.00	14.10	9.30	—	40.40	60	24.24	335
336	(New)	Enid, Okla.	35,976	Not reported									336
337	(339)	Bristol, Conn.	35,873	Not reported									337
338	(330)	Eau Claire, Wis.‡	35,862	65,956,275	12	9.25	20.47	11.92	.36	42.00	54	22.49	338
339	(320)	East Providence, R. I.	35,791	79,450,955	23	22.50	—	N	—	22.50	50	11.25	339
340	(266)	Steubenville, Ohio[146]	35,695	72,244,230	22	6.70	9.80	2.30	—	18.80	60	11.28	340
341	(New)	Eugene, Ore.	35,672	29,784,228	—	18.80	44.50	8.00	—	71.30	51	36.36	341
342	(314)	Port Huron, Mich.	35,597	48,697,250	18	14.40	17.10	10.28	N	41.78	45	18.80	342
343	(306)	Elkhart, Ind.	35,556	53,469,370	36	15.20	19.70	8.60	1.50	45.00	35	15.75	343
344	(New)	Lafayette, Ind.	35,508	Not reported									344
345	(265)	Hazelton, Pa.[147]	35,486	27,707,410	—	18.00	27.00	11.20	N	56.20	60	33.72	345

See also state notes at end of tabulation.

[138] **Norristown.** County rate includes institutional rate. Not included in total is a $5 per capita tax levied for schools.

[139] **Fargo.** City rate includes $1.82 city parks rate.

[140] **Danville.** City rate includes $1.42 town, $.85 road and bridge, and $.80 sanitary district rates. County rate includes $.60 airport rate.

[141] **Moline.** City rate includes $5.60 street and bridge, $8 airport, and $5.50 town rates.

[142] **Independence.** City rate includes $1 library and $1.50 sewer rate.

[143] **Spartanburg.** City rate includes $5 metropolitan sewer district rate.

[144] **Wyandotte.** City rate includes $.35 drain rate.

[145] **Hagerstown.** County rate includes school rate.

[145a] **Fort Lauderdale.** County rate includes $2.50 port and $.80 flood control rates.

[146] **Steubenville.** City rate includes $.10 township rate.

[147] **Hazelton.** City rate includes $3 institutional rate. Personalty assessment of $59,748 is taxed by county at $4 per thousand.

		City	Preliminary Census 1950	Assessed Value	Per Cent Personalty	Actual Tax Rate as Levied per $1,000 Assessed Valuation					Est. Ratio of Assessed Value to Current Market Value (Per Cent)	Adjusted Tax Rate on 100% Basis of Assessment	
						City	School	County	State	Total			
346	(New)	Pomona, Calif.[148]	35,157	36,892,970	13	20.05	29.68	19.35	N	69.08	30	20.72	346
347	(289)	Superior, Wis.	35,091	43,819,073	18	9.78	22.16	17.34	.25	49.53	67	33.09	347
348	(332)	Petersburg, Va.[149]	34,948	37,832,542	19‡	25.00	—	—	—	25.00	50	12.50	348
349	(New)	Alexandria, La.	34,685	Not reported									349
350	(312)	Nashua, N. H.	34,666	47,530,858	34	40.45	.14	5.11	—	45.70	—	—	350
351	(299)	Norwood, Ohio	34,626	Not reported									351
352	(New)	Fayetteville, N. C.[150]	34,605	27,620,557	31	12.50	2.50	16.00	—	31.00	20	6.20	352
353	(New)	Bakersfield, Calif.	34,540	Not reported									353
354	(315)	Danville, Va.[151]	34,537	43,093,948	23	22.50	—	—	—	22.50	40	9.00	354
355	(New)	Lawton, Okla.	34,527	12,913,890	17	17.25	—	—	N	—	—	—	355
356	(304)	Easton, Pa.	34,410	41,996,598	N	12.00	18.50	11.00	N	41.50	54†	22.36	356
357	(308)	Watertown, N. Y.	34,280	50,585,728	N	15.90	16.80	16.10	—	48.80	90	43.92	357
358	(325)	Newark, Ohio[152]	34,178	48,152,870	21	5.65	12.55	3.20	—	21.40	40	8.56	358
359	(New)	Boise, Idaho[153]	34,152	28,353.235	N	36.95	30.00	17.90	3.90	88.75	25	22.19	359
360	(313)	Bloomington, Ill.‡[154]	34,048	87,113,160	22	7.36	11.78	1.83	—	20.97	23	4.83	360
361	(New)	Irondequoit, N. Y.	34,045	Not reported									361
362	(337)	Owensboro, Ky.[155]	33,983	26,446,736	23	13.00	16.80	—	—	29.80	50	14.90	362
363	(New)	Bellingham, Wash.	33,934	Not reported									363
364	(New)	Manchester, Conn.	33,906	Not reported									364
365	(New)	Appleton, Wis.	33,892	66,571,200	17	12.37	11.49	4.96	.18	29.00	66†	19.02	365
366	(338)	Everett, Wash.[156]	33,807	21,737,633	26	17.25	32.00	13.60	2.50	65.35	50	32.68	366
367	(329)	Marion, Ohio‡[157]	33,786	55,189,010	30	4.96	11.30	3.10	—	19.36	50	9.68	367
368	(324)	Ottumwa, Iowa	33,640	33,867,829	19	21.83	31.94	13.56	N	67.33	37†	24.90	368
369	(327)	Middletown, Ohio	33,634	Not reported									369
370	(New)	Stratford, Conn.	33,620	Not reported									370
371	(343)	Hutchinson, Kans.	33,524	———	—	21.04	20.70	10.29	1.67	53.70	70	37.59	371
372	(New)	Lafayette, La.	33,465	Not reported									372
373	(New)	Wauwatosa, Wis.[158]	33,300	59,464,735	3	11.05	15.87	16.42	.36	43.70	56	24.61	373
374	(New)	Burlington, Vt.	33,039	Not reported									374
375	(273)	Butte, Mont.	32,904	14,893,035	16	37.50	42.38	31.29	7.50	118.67	—	—	375
376	(New)	Mishawaka, Ind.	32,878	Not reported									376
377	(New)	Belleville, Ill.	32,701	Not reported									377

See also state notes at end of tabulation.

[148] **Pomona.** City rate includes $1.95 flood control and $.80 metropolitan water district rates.

[149] **Petersburg.** City rate includes school rate. City taxes tangible personalty; state taxes intangible personalty.

[150] **Fayetteville.** City rate includes $.50 cemetery rate.

[151] **Danville.** Rate shown is for real estate. Rate for tangible personal property, machinery and tools is $25 per thousand.

[152] **Newark.** City rate includes $.05 township rate.

[153] **Boise.** City rate includes $5 unclassified rate.

[154] **Bloomington.** City rate includes $1.37 town and $.90 sanitary district rates.

[155] **Owensboro.** Total assessment does not include $2,117,553 agricultural products taxed at $1.50 per thousand, and $527,417 bank shares taxed at $6 per thousand.

[156] **Everett.** County rate includes $3 port rate.

[157] **Marion.** City rate includes $.10 town rate. County rate includes $.90 agricultural coliseum rate.

[158] **Wauwatosa.** City rate includes $1.50 metropolitan sewerage district rate.

		City	Preliminary Census 1950	Assessed Value	Per Cent Personalty	Actual Tax Rate as Levied per $1,000 Assessed Valuation					Est. Ratio of Assessed Value to Current Market Value (Per Cent)	Adjusted Tax Rate on 100% Basis of Assessment	
						City	School	County	State	Total			
378	(New)	Weymouth, Mass.	32,695	Not reported									378
379	(302)	Paducah, Ky.[159]	32,430	25,388,410	31	17.90	15.60	5.80	.50	39.80	30	11.94	379
380	(309)	Amsterdam, N. Y.	32,269	27,246,235	N	27.50	31.80	21.99	—	81.29	65	52.84	380
381	(New)	Reno, Nev.	32,225	55,473,630	16	12.50	11.90	18.40	7.20	50.00	30	15.00	381
382	(326)	Alton, Ill.‡[160]	32,176	88,136,489	23	4.82	11.34	1.69	—	17.85	100	17.85	382
383	(335)	Newport, R. I.[161]	32,090	67,001,800	36	26.50	—	N	—	26.50	60	15.90	383
384	(New)	Belleville, N. J.[162]	32,059	40,990,878	11	27.40	20.80	7.50	—	55.70	—	—	384
385	(322)	Newburgh, N. Y.	31,924	40,583,408	N	21.00	16.15	4.68	.11	41.94	50	20.97	385
386	(342)	West Haven, Conn.	31,876	Not reported									386
387	(334)	Clarksburg, W. Va.	31,817	Not reported									387
388	(New)	Cheyenne, Wy.	31,807	30,170,004	—	10.30	27.80	9.99	1.50	49.59	60*	29.75	388
389	(New)	Columbia, Mo.[163]	31,731	15,031,963	20	12.50	20.00	9.70	.60	42.80	45	19.26	389
390	(New)	Billings, Mont.	31,725	Not reported									390
391	(New)	Bangor, Me.	31,473	36,454,766	22	53.80	—	—	—	53.80	70	37.66	391
392	(New)	Galesburg, Ill.[164]	31,357	72,986,986	18	6.53	11.04	3.19	—	20.76	33	6.85	392
393	(New)	Wilkinsburg, Pa.	31,281	Not reported									393
394	(New)	Ashland, Ky.	31,228	Not reported									394
395	(New)	Anniston, Ala.	31,150	Not reported									395
396	(331)	Newport, Ky.[165]	31,015	28,227,850	6	18.60	15.20	7.30	1.20	42.30	61†	25.71	396
397	(New)	Albany, Ga.	30,987	34,088,163	33	7.50	7.00	11.00	5.00	30.50	44†	13.50	397
398	(New)	Lakeland, Fla.	30,846	Not reported									398
399	(New)	Danbury, Conn.	30,713	Not reported									399
400	(New)	Burlington, Iowa[166]	30,639	23,058,369	18	20.08	29.73	10.87	N	60.68	—	—	400
401	(New)	Linden, N. J.	30,434	Not reported									401
402	(New)	Wausau, Wis.	30,386	Not reported									402
403	(New)	Fairfield, Conn.	30,370	Not reported									403
404	(336)	New London, Conn.	30,367	55,831,273	25	39.00	—	—	—	39.00	75	29.25	404
405	(New)	Elyria, Ohio[167]	30,197	68,410,456	32	8.34	10.66	2.00	—	21.00	—	—	405
406	(New)	Clinton, Iowa	30,151	Not reported									406
407	(New)	Jackson, Tenn.[168]	30,093	18,571,078	6	13.20	3.30	21.00	—	37.50	20	7.50	407
408	(New)	Marion, Ind.	30,059	Not reported									408

See also state notes at end of tabulation.

[159] **Paducah.** City rate includes $.05 police and fireman's pension, $.03 appointive employees pensions, $.29 voted bonds (principal and interest), and $.06 library rates. School rate includes $.06 Junior College rate.

[160] **Alton.** City rate includes $1.19 town and $.23 civic airport rates.

[161] **Newport.** Assessed value does not include $19,239,300 of personalty which is assessed at $4 per thousand.

[162] **Belleville.** City rate includes $3.80 cash basis overlay rate.

[163] **Columbia.** County rate includes $3.50 county road rate.

[164] **Galesburg.** City rate includes $1.14 town rate. County rate includes $1.66 sanitary district rate.

[165] **Newport.** Total assessment roll does not include $1,500,900 in bank shares taxed at $6 per thousand. Public utility valuations are determined by the state and taxed at the total tax rate of $42.30.

[166] **Burlington.** Total assessment rolls do not include money and credits of $8,805,318 taxed at $5 per thousand and $237,859 taxed at $1 per thousand.

[167] **Elyria.** City rate includes $.07 town rate.

[168] **Jackson.** City rate includes $.20 library rate.

STATE NOTES

Alabama. Homestead exemption: first $2,000 of assessed value of homestead is exempt from state tax only.

Florida. Homestead exemption: first $5,000 of the assessed value of homesteads is exempt from state and all local taxes except debt service on obligations incurred prior to the passage of the amendment.

Georgia. Homestead exemption: $2,000 general exemption on owner-occupied property.

Louisiana. Homestead exemption: $2,000 general exemption on owner-occupied residential property in Orleans Parish. Exemption from state, parish and special taxes, not including municipal or city taxes, in the rest of the state.

Minnesota. Homestead exemption: first $4,000 true value exempt further from state levies except debt service on obligations issued prior to the enactment of the law.

Mississippi. Exemption from state taxes, school, district and county maintenance taxes may be claimed by head of family to the value of $5,000.

New York. Where state rate is not shown, it is included in county rate.

Pennsylvania. The following 1950 adjusted tax rates were computed by the Institute of Local Government, The Pennsylvania State College, using ratios of assessed and market values published by the State Tax Equalization Board: Allentown, $15.90; Altoona, $23.23; Bethlehem, $14.47; Chester, $19.18; Easton, $22.12; Erie, $20.57; Harrisburg, $15.21; Hazelton, $20.02; Johnstown, $21.08; Lancaster, $14.75; McKeesport, $18.80; New Castle, $19.64; Reading, $19.25; Wilkes-Barre, $22.44; Williamsport, $17.06; York, $16.31. The adjusted rates included in the table are based on estimates of the ratio of assessed value to current market value supplied by correspondents in the localities.

Oklahoma. Homestead exemption: first $1,000 of assessed value of homesteads is exempt from tax rates for all units.

Rhode Island. There is no county government in Rhode Island. There is a $4 per thousand tax rate on intangible property which is not included in this survey because there seems to be little attempt either to assess or to collect this tax in most cities and towns outside of Providence and Woonsocket.

Texas. Homestead exemption: first $3,000 of assessed value of homesteads is exempt from state taxes.

West Virginia. Property is divided into four classes: Class 1, all intangible personalty; Class 2, owner-occupied residences; Class 3, all other property outside municipalities; Class 4, all other property within municipalities. No municipal levies may be laid against Class 3 property. Each class has a maximum rate of levy for all purposes. The maximum levies on $1,000 valuation are: Class 1, $5; Class 2, $10; Class 3, $15; Class 4, $20.

News in Review

City, State and Nation . . . . *Edited by H. M. Olmsted*

States, Cities Stress Civilian Defense

Urge Congress to Provide Basic Federal Legislation

BOTH state and municipal organization conventions in December placed great emphasis on civilian defense preparations and were critical of the federal government's program.

The American Municipal Association, meeting in Washington December 4-6 with five hundred officials in attendance, criticized Congress and the president for moving too slowly in drafting plans for civilian defense against atomic attacks. At the last day's session the association called for creation of a new civil defense agency in the Department of Defense, having status equal to the Army, Navy and Air Force, and to be headed by a civilian secretary of civil defense.

The AMA also challenged the stand taken by federal officials that they should work through state authorities rather than directly with the cities.

While the conference was in session a $3,100,000,000 three-year civil defense plan was proposed by the Civil Defense Administration. Of this sum $2,250,000,000 would go for bomb shelters chiefly of communal type, the remainder to be for heavy equipment, stockpiles of critical materials, communications and administrative expense. States and localities were asked to stand about 46 per cent of the total.

The association elected Mayor William F. Devin of Seattle as its new president.

The tenth annual General Assembly of the States, sponsored by the Council of State Governments, meeting in Chicago December 7-9, adopted a resolution urging Congress at once to enact necessary basic federal civil defense laws. It added, "Action on the matter of financing and constructing bomb shelters should be considered separately by the Congress if this is necessary to avoid a time-consuming controversy which would delay immediate enactment of essential civil defense legislation."

Another resolution on civil defense urged all states both to set up civilian defense organizations and enter into mutual aid compacts with neighboring states.

Congress was asked to provide for indemnification of volunteer civil defense workers in case of injury or death in course of duty.

The states were urged to defer or eliminate capital outlay items and nonessential expenditures in the interest of furthering national defense, maintaining a stable and productive national economy and conserving manpower and materials.

Public Library Kansas City

Other State Resolutions

It was recommended that states which had not already done so consider setting up non-occupational sickness disability programs such as are in operation in New York, Rhode Island, New Jersey and California.

Another objective recommended was stricter enforcement of laws governing the use of highways by trucks and imposition of severe penalties for violation of weight and size restrictions.

States were urged to seek an amendment to the social security law to permit coverage of state and local government employees regardless of state or local pension plans.

Council-Manager Plan Developments

Buena Vista, Virginia, (1950 population 5,219) voted 421 to 330 on December 5 to adopt the council-manager plan. The total vote was over 88 per cent of the number of eligible voters. The plan does not become effective until 1952.

Council-manager charters for the new **Michigan** cities of **Grosse Pointe Woods** (10,407) and **Grosse Pointe Park** (13,029) carried in elections held December 11. Grosse Pointe Park was previously a council-manager village. Grosse Pointe Woods was also a village but did not have the manager plan. Its manager will have the title of city administrator.

Puyallup, Washington, (9,967) at a special election on December 9, voted 1,244 to 660 for the council-manager plan. A new council is to be elected in March, to take office in June.

Voters of **Tonkawa, Oklahoma,** (3,626) adopted the manager plan on December 19, 504 to 256.

The boroughs of **Warren** (14,747) and **Dormont** (12,731), **Pennsylvania,** have been returned to the official list of council-manager cities by the International City Managers' Association. They had been removed previously because of their failure to appoint managers.

At an election on the consolidation of **Milton** and **Freewater, Oregon,** 73 per cent of the voters favored the council-manager plan for the consolidated city. Milton previously had the manager plan.

Wilton, Maine, which voted for a manager at a town meeting on June 12, is to vote again on the subject at a special meeting.

There is a growing movement for the council-manager plan in **Gardiner, Maine,** and it is expected that a bill will be introduced in the 1951 legislature to authorize a local vote on the question.

The **Massachusetts** Civic League has drafted a bill, for filing in the legislature, to give towns authority to vote on adoption of town manager government upon petition by 10 per cent of the voters.

A committee in **Dedham, Massachusetts,** is studying the town manager plan. It has been granted an appropriation by the town.

Mayor William A. Winston of the village of **Herkimer, New York,** advocates the manager plan and is endeavoring to have the village board further its adoption. A petition may be circulated for that purpose.

In **West Orange, New Jersey,** the Citizens for Good Government Association is making a concentrated effort to obtain the council-manager plan to replace its commission government.

A further effort to obtain the manager plan is under way in **Takoma Park, Maryland.** A bill has been drafted by the Citizens Advisory Committee for presentation to the state legislature, calling for a local referendum on the manager plan at the March 1952 election. The Chamber of Commerce has endorsed the bill. A similar bill died in committee in the 1949 legislature upon a show of opposition from a substantial number of Takoma Park citizens.

The Charter Revision Commission of **Marine City, Michigan,** has decided to provide a council-manager charter.

Henryetta, Oklahoma, rejected the council-manager plan at an election on December 12.

The city council of **Hominy, Oklahoma,** has voted to submit adoption of the statutory council-manager plan to popular vote on January 16.

The city planning commission of **Lewiston, Idaho,** is making a study of the council-manager plan, to replace the present commission government.

A committee on civic improvement

of **Salt Lake City, Utah,** is studying the council-manager plan.

The charter commission of **Yuma, Arizona,** has drafted and proposed a council-manager charter.

Pasco, Washington, defeated a council-manager proposal on December 5 by a vote of 1,023 to 644.

In **Halifax, Nova Scotia,** where the people voted in October in favor of council-manager government, the city council has created a committee to draft charter amendments providing the plan for submission to the provincial legislature.

Nine Managers Complete 25 Years of Service

The 36th annual conference of the International City Managers' Association was held in Houston, Texas, in November, with 600 people in attendance of whom 320 were managers. Nine managers who completed a quarter-century of manager service during 1950 were awarded 25-year service certificates. Leonard G. Howell, city manager of Des Moines, Iowa, was elected president. The next conference is scheduled for September 9-13 at Poland Springs, Maine.

Three general sessions dealt with the management aspects of the city manager's job, including relationships with the council, the public, press, etc.

New Orleans to Have Charter Committee

The New Orleans commission council has voted to permit the following ten organizations to nominate members of a twelve-man city charter committee: Tulane University, Loyola University, Chamber of Commerce, New Orleans Bar Association, Louisiana Civil Service League, CIO, Central Trades and Labor Council, Bureau of Governmental Research and the Council of Civic Club Presidents. The commission council will name two members and presumably others if the organizations do not act. Mayor deLesseps Morrison has proposed that each organization be permitted to present several names from which the council may choose.

Maine Towns and Cities Judged in Reporting

Awards in the 1950 municipal report competition, sponsored by the Maine Municipal Association, were presented at the association's annual convention on October 27 by Professor Orren C. Hormell of Bowdoin College. Bangor won the first award for cities. Eight awards went to various towns, according to population groups.

The award committee urged that municipal officers include in their reports an interpretation of their meaning, recommendations for future planning and graphs to illustrate the significance of numerical data.

State Reorganization Urged for South Dakota

The proposals to reorganize South Dakota state government, made by George T. Mickelson, retiring governor, have been receiving widespread attention throughout South Dakota. In an address to the Sioux Falls Chamber of Commerce on October 3, the governor suggested that: (1) All state officers except those who have the right to succeed the governor should be appointed by the governor; (2) all state officers—at least the governor and lieutenant governor—should have four-year terms; (3) a supervisor of state institutions should be appointed; (4) the legislature should meet every year; (5) a legislative interim committee should be appointed between sessions of the legislature; and (6) the state highway commission should operate on a full-time employment basis.

There has been little interest in

state administrative organization in South Dakota since the Departments of Finance and Agriculture were reorganized in 1925, following the comprehensive report made by the New York Bureau of Municipal Research. At present there are 77 departments, boards, commissions, offices and agencies in the state government and a need for reorganization exists. Governor Mickelson has indicated his intention of repeating his recommendations to the state legislature when it meets in January. They may serve as a stimulant for a comprehensive study of state government.

In his address, the governor noted, "Many of the older states are holding constitutional conventions in which they are revising their constitutions. They find that modern times require some changes from the days when those constitutions were written. They are too cumbersome to attempt to amend them by a few amendments today and a few amendments next election, and so on. The piecemeal method may not be the really intelligent approach."

W. O. Farber
University of South Dakota

Maryland Prepares for Constitution Convention

The Maryland Legislative Council has appointed a committee to draft a bill for calling the constitutional convention for which the people of that state voted, 200,439 to 56,998, on November 7. The League of Women Voters has asked that the following points be included: a preparatory commission, a special election for the delegates, a nonpartisan ballot, suitable compensation for delegates, an open and unhurried convention and an adequate appropriation.

Maine Constitution Receives Five Amendments

Five constitutional amendments to the constitution of Maine, previously passed by the legislature, were ratified by the voters at the September general elections. These amendments:

1. Permit codification of the constitution, without change of its provisions,

2. Change the date for filing initiated legislation from 30 days before the end of a legislative session to 45 days after it begins,

3. Authorize issuance of bonds without amending the constitution,

4. Authorize a $7,000,000 bond issue for a new bridge between Portland and South Portland,

5. Change the method of apportioning the membership of the House of Representatives. Apportionment for each county is to be on the basis of its share of the state's population. The maximum of seven representatives for any city is continued. The amendment does not redress the over-representation of the rural areas.

New Mexico Retains Pre-primary Convention

New Mexico's pre-primary convention law,[1] passed by the legislature in 1949 but submitted to the voters by referendum petition, secured a favorable vote of only 16,197 on November 7, with 49,815 against. Despite the excess of the vote for abolition, the law remains on the statute books inasmuch as its repeal required a minimum repeal vote of 40 per cent of all votes cast at the general election and some 185,000 people voted altogether.

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[1] See "New Mexico Retains Primary," by Dorothy I. Cline. The Review, May 1950, page 233.

States Cooperate for Building Code Improvement

The New York State Building Code Commission has arranged with top officials of agencies in the 36 other states concerned in some way with building regulations on a statewide basis to exchange information on building code matters, in order to advance uniformity and improvement in building laws and regulations not only in New York State but in the other participating states as well. The commission will provide the other agencies with its codes, technical bulletins, special reports on materials, equipment and methods of assembly, and other documents which the commission will issue.

In a survey preceding the establishment of liaison with those agencies, the commission found that several states are engaged in furthering on a statewide basis plans or proposals for dealing with building code problems common to nearly all municipalities in the country. A large number of states, the commission found, already have building regulations of limited application governing certain fire and structural safety provisions for places of public assembly, industrial and educational buildings, and some other types of occupancy.

North Carolina and Indiana have minimum requirements applicable throughout their states, the local governments being permitted to adopt these or higher requirements. New Mexico has a uniform state code administered by the state Contractors' License Board with the cooperation of local building inspectors. The Massachusetts Board of Standards of the Department of Public Safety is empowered to prepare codes for municipalities requesting them. Several other states have codes applicable to dwellings, among them Connecticut, Michigan and New Jersey.

The California legislature is studying conflicts in building regulations among local agencies, agencies of the state government and between state and local agencies, with a view to making a report in the near future. Ohio has appointed a committee to consider a comprehensive statewide building code, while the Building Code Council of Iowa has recommended a uniform state building code enforced by local building departments.

The New York commission claims to be the first to carry out the concept of performance-type code writing.

Five New York School Boards Become Elective

Under provisions of a law enacted by the 1950 New York State legislature, the school boards of five cities have been changed from an appointive to an elective basis. Four of these voted to do so; the fifth, Tonawanda, held no election and under the law its appointive board automatically became elective. Twelve other cities voted to retain appointive boards. The law applies to those cities under 125,000 where municipal and school district boundaries are the same. It also provides that elective boards will be fiscally independent of the cities.

Public Administration Fellowships at Harvard

The Graduate School of Public Administration of Harvard University has announced the Littauer and Administration Fellowships for the year 1951-1952, designed for men and women who seek further training for governmental work. Information may be had from 118 Littauer Center, Harvard University, Cambridge, Massachusetts.

PERIO

County and Township . . . . *Edited by Elwyn A. Mauck*

California Cities Discuss City-County Relations

Ask That Unincorporated Urban Areas Pay Own Way

AT THE recent 52nd annual conference of the League of California Cities in Los Angeles, city-county relations was one of the major items on the agenda. A study had been under way in the more populous counties of the state for some time and the problem had been before the regional divisions of the league. Delegates came to the conference informed as to inequities in their own areas and conscious not only that little or no progress was being made but that in some counties the cities were carrying an increased burden of subsidy for unincorporated urban areas.

The chairman of the subcommittee on fiscal relations told the mayors, councilmen and managers present that the problem, rankling for years, had been brought to a head by rapid and unusual growth. He told how league representatives had met with county representatives at San Francisco and from that meeting had "left with high hopes. We believed we were on the threshold of a major accomplishment to stop this type of county spending." But later action by the supervisors, he said, nullified the compromise plan. He cited what he called "shocking facts and figures" of county general fund expenditures to provide extra services and facilities to unincorporated urban areas.

The chairman of a Los Angeles county division committee said that growth in the unincorporated area of the county in the 1940 decade was 102 per cent as against a county overall growth of 47 per cent. Only one new city has been organized in Los Angeles County since 1930. In 1930 there were 69 areas in the county that could have been incorporated. In the twenty years since none of these has incorporated and today some of them even rival the county's second largest city, Long Beach, in population. This is true, he said, because "$9,200,000 during the fiscal year 1948-49 were expended for the direct benefit of these areas although the people of Los Angeles County as a whole paid for it." If the unincorporated areas had paid for these direct benefit services, as city taxpayers do, it would have relieved city taxpayers of 19.9 cents of taxes per $100 assessment, and would have added 99.4 cents per $100 assessed valuation to the tax bills in the benefited areas.

Another mayor reported that the league could not support the counties' proposal for broadening the county tax base unless and until the counties were willing to support collateral legislation prohibiting any county from providing municipal type services in unincorporated areas to be paid for out of the county general fund.

At the closing business session the following was one of the eleven resolutions adopted by the conference:

"WHEREAS, the great increase in population in the unincorporated areas of the state has created the need for municipal type services both in the urban fringe areas round the cities and in the separate unincorporated communities, many of which are larger than most incorporated cities; and

"WHEREAS, such unincorporated urban areas demand that county boards of supervisors provide such municipal type services out of the general fund of the county to which city taxpayers so heavily contribute; and

"WHEREAS, there is increasing evidence that boards of supervisors are yielding to such pressures and are providing more and higher standards of these municipal services to those unincorporated areas out of the county general fund; and

"WHEREAS, sound public policy and equity in county taxation require that such special services to urban developments in unincorporated areas should be paid for by those who are locally benefited rather than by the county as a whole; now, therefore, be it

"RESOLVED, by the general assembly of the League of California Cities, meeting in annual conference in Los Angeles, October 1950, that the board of directors of the league be and it is hereby requested to propose legislation at the 1951 session of the California state legislature to prohibit the furnishing of such services to these unincorporated urban areas out of the general fund of the county, and to require the persons and property in the unincorporated areas directly benefited by such services to pay the cost through some form of special district or as a result of annexation or incorporation; and be it further

"RESOLVED, that this general assembly of the league express its gratitude and appreciation to the members of the intergovernmental relations committee of the league, and to all the other officials who participated in the work of the committee and the studies of city-county fiscal relations made by it, for their outstanding contribution to the cities of California and to the taxpayers within the cities."

Canadian Province Installs Counties

The province of Alberta, Canada, has adopted a new plan of local government units to be known as "counties." (Chapter 15, laws of 1950.) The plan applies only to areas outside incorporated cities and villages where the existing authority is divided among units known as municipalities, hospital districts and rural school districts, each with its own boundaries, its own governing board and its own taxing and borrowing power.

On a request from any one of these divisions the lieutenant governor in council may proceed to form a county, give it a name and number, determine its boundaries and determine the number of members of the elective governing board to be known as the council of the county. When the new unit is set up, school districts, hospital districts and municipal entities within the county cease to exist and all their functions are taken over by the county government which administers the three groups of functions through council committees, the committees being privileged to coopt additional members.

The motives for the procedure include a desire for only one annual tax levy and collection and a recognition of the necessity to pool funds and borrowing power.

Special Newspaper Report on Warwick County

The November 19th (Sunday) issue of the Newport News, Virginia, *Daily Press* recently included a 32-page supplement devoted to a report on Warwick County. Prominently featured was the county manager form of government under which Warwick has been operating since 1945.

(Continued on page 49)

Proportional Representation . . *Edited by George H. Hallett, Jr. and Wm. Redin Woodward*

(This department is successor to the Proportional Representation Review)

Wheeling, West Virginia, Votes Out P. R.

Changes to Ward Plan After Fifteen Years

BY A vote of 13,456 to 6,579 the voters of Wheeling, West Virginia, last November 7 terminated the proportional representation system of election which had been in effect in their city since 1935. At the same time they voted 11,471 to 4,835 to adopt representation by wards (districts) instead of election at large.

Opponents of P. R. carried all of the nine districts of the city, but the vote was closest in suburban Triadelphia, where five of the city's present nine councilmen elected by P. R. happen to live. In that district, in which over 30 per cent of the votes in the city on the question were cast, repeal was ahead by a mere ten votes.

Comment on the history of P. R. in Wheeling comes from Colonel Julian G. Hearne, Jr., now of Arlington, Virginia, who served as chairman of the young voters' executive committee of the Wheeling Association in 1935 in support of the P. R.—manager charter.

Colonel Hearne is of the opinion that although Wheeling was better governed when it had P. R. than with the previous system of election, the city did not realize the full advantages available under its charter. Charter reform backers failed to make effective efforts to build up and elect the best possible candidates for the city council and the council failed to select a trained city manager, appointing an untrained local political leader.

Colonel Hearne believes that the four-year term provided for councilmen under the charter is too long and that a shorter term and more frequent elections would provide more responsible councilmen. He also pointed out that the conduct of the count of votes under inexperienced direction, together with the failure of the supporters of P. R. to keep up a continuing campaign of information on the voting system, with demonstration elections and the like, led to a certain amount of confusion on the part of the people, reflected in some newspaper opinions that the system was "too complicated" for the people to understand.

In summary Colonel Hearne says: "The members of the council during the past fifteen years have, for the most part, been honest and individually capable in their respective businesses but never has the council worked as a team nor has there ever been a definite 'charter' party in council or in the city as a whole. The opposition has produced the most active councilmen and, in all fairness, I should add that the present mayor, who is the leading opponent of P. R., is the only member of the council during the last fifteen years who has produced any program for the council.

"The Wheeling Association, which in 1935 promised never to go to sleep, certainly did go to sleep soon thereafter. It folded up after the 1935 council election, came to life briefly in 1938 to save the charter from repeal at a special election, and thereafter merely gave the appearance of life for a short time before each council campaign. After 1935 the association did not solicit nine candidates to run as a charter ticket. Instead, it waited to see who came in the race and then endorsed sometimes twelve, sometimes fifteen, etc. No precinct organization was maintained and the winners would have won without association support anyway. In other words there never has been a 'charter party' in Wheeling. . . .

"I am now told that quite an active campaign was made by the Wheeling Association to save P. R. during the months of September and October of this year. But the opposition has been working hard for fifteen years and you just can't overcome fifteen years' work in two months."

'Limited Vote' Proposed for Philadelphia

The Bureau of Municipal Research of Philadelphia has recently published an analysis of the "limited vote" proposal which is being considered as a feature of a new charter now being framed by a charter commission. The proposal is for a seventeen-member council, ten to be elected from single-member districts and seven at large. Each voter would have the right to vote for one district councilman and four councilmen at large. The limitation on the number of councilmen at large for whom a single ballot may be cast permits a few to be elected without a city-wide majority and without obtaining a majority in any particular district.

The Bureau of Municipal Research has prepared figures of the party representation which the plan would have provided in past elections assuming the same ward-by-ward party votes. These figures are compared below with the present district system (the districts electing from one to five each):

The 1931 figures show that the system can give the minority party a greater proportion of the representation than its proportion of the vote cast, although in other cases the representation is substantially less than the proportion of the total vote cast. The bureau analysis adds: "In fact, it would seem to be easier under the proposed charter than under the present one for a party polling the smaller popular vote in an election for councilmen to secure a majority of the seats in council. For example, in 1939, a shift of only 404 votes in District No. 1 (new charter district and provisions) would have produced that result." Such a result would not be possible under P. R., which would prevent a minority from being appreciably over-represented as well as protecting it from being more than slightly under-represented.

The bureau adds the caution: "This

Year	*Party*	*Vote (%)*	*Representation (%)* *Old System*	*Proposal*
1931	Rep.	91	100	82
	Dem.	9	0	18
1935	Rep.	54	100	76
	Dem.	46	0	24
1939	Rep.	52	92	53
	Dem.	48	8	47
1943	Rep.	55	96	65
	Dem.	45	4	35
1947	Rep.	56	100	71
	Dem.	44	0	29

analysis has its limitations because it cannot take into account the effects which the change in the method of representation might have had upon the vote."

P. R. League Meets in Buffalo

The annual meeting of the Proportional Representation League was held at the Hotel Statler, Buffalo, New York, on November 21, 1950. Hon. Albert D. Cash, mayor of Cincinnati and president of the League, presided.

Gabriel L. Kaplan, legislative counsel to Stanley M. Isaacs, minority leader of the New York City Council, described the difference between the council elected in New York under proportional representation and that elected in 1949 under the district method. "New York City has 24 state senate districts," said Mr. Kaplan. "At the 1949 election each of these districts elected one councilman for a four-year term. At the same time the voters elected a mayor. The Republican mayoralty candidate, Newbold Morris, running also as the candidate of the Liberal party, received about one-third of the total vote. The American Labor party candidate received about 12 per cent. Mayor O'Dwyer, the Democratic candidate, polled about 55 per cent of the vote.

"On the basis of its city-wide mayoralty showing, the Democratic party was entitled to thirteen or fourteen councilmen out of the 24 places to be filled. It actually fared much better. Aided by the senate district selection basis, it captured 23 out of the 24 council seats. The only non-Democrat is Republican Stanley M. Isaacs, whose district includes Manhattan's silk-stocking area and who might have been beaten had he not had Liberal party support.

"I doubt that anyone would seriously urge that although 55 out of every 100 voters wanted a Democrat for mayor, 95 out of that same 100 wanted Democrats on the council.

"This result, accomplished through a process which gives a fortuitously distributed and bare majority of the voters a stranglehold on the council has also given New York City a council which is totally and shockingly subservient to the Democratic machine."

Francis A. Harrington, president of the Citizens' Plan "E" Association of Worcester, described the educational program of his organization, which campaigned in 1947 for adoption of the council-manager plan and P. R. (Plan E) and supported slates of candidates for the city council and school committee at the first P. R. election in 1949. The association also campaigned vigorously in November 1950 for the election of state legislators favorable to P. R.

Mr. Harrington also presented a film talk, "P. R.—People's Rule."

Rev. Edward Dowling, S.J., of *The Queen's Work,* St. Louis, spoke on the tendency in his city and many other communities to have several governmental bodies controlling different parts of the local government. For example, St. Louis and Kansas City have no control over their police departments, this being a state function. School boards, park boards, etc., make for additional confusion.

The members present unanimously adopted the following memorial:

"The annual meeting of the Proportional Representation League, held at Buffalo, New York, November 20, 1950, expresses profound regret over the loss of its trustee, Clarence A. Dykstra, who died May 6, 1950. Mr. Dykstra, provost of the University of California at Los Angeles, was long a supporter of proportional representation. He was a member of the council of the Proportional Representation

League from 1925 until the time of his death and a member of its Board of Trustees since 1938.

"Civic leader, educator and public administrator, Mr. Dykstra was secretary of the Cleveland Citizens League as well as of the Chicago and the Los Angeles City Clubs. He held important posts with the Los Angeles Department of Water and Power before becoming city manager of Cincinnati in 1930. His handling of the disastrous Cincinnati flood situation in 1937 brought him national fame and the presidency of the University of Wisconsin, where he served for eight years with time out for a series of vital assignments from the United States Government during World War II. He served as president of the National Municipal League from 1937 to 1940.

"Mr. Dykstra's outstanding service as city manager of Cincinnati, by choice of a proportionally elected council and under its direction in matters of policy, gave the country its most conspicuous example of successful operation of the P. R.—city manager combination long advocated by the P. R. and the National Municipal Leagues."

The meeting also adopted by unanimous vote a resolution requesting the National Municipal League, with which the Proportional Representation League is now merged, to place greater emphasis on proportional representation as the real backbone of the council-manager form of government.

The following trustees, placed in nomination by Father Dowling, were elected to serve for 1951: Albert D. Cash, mayor of Cincinnati; Richard S. Childs of New York, chairman of the Council of the National Municipal League; Paul H. Douglas of Chicago, United States Senator from Illinois; C. G. Hoag of Haverford, Pennsylvania, honorary secretary of the P. R. League; A. B. Holmstrom, mayor of Worcester, Massachusetts (replacing Mr. Dykstra); J. Henry Scattergood of Villa Nova, Pennsylvania; and Thomas Raeburn White of Philadelphia, vice president of the P. R. League.

COUNTY AND TOWNSHIP

(Continued from page 45)

Texas County Elects Dead Man

In the Jeff Davis County, Texas, elections last November, 163 of the 170 votes cast for county judge were cast for the candidate who had died the preceding week. A special election will be held to fill the vacancy.

Governor Proposes Four-year Terms for County Officials

In a recent press conference Governor Allan Shivers of Texas repeated a recommendation he has made on former occasions that the state constitution be amended to establish four-year terms of office for county as well as state elected officials. At present they serve for two years. The Fort Worth *Star-Telegram* recently expressed its editorial approval of the proposal.

Texas City and County Cooperate on Health

Kleberg County, Texas, and the city of Kingsville recently completed their plans for establishment of a joint city-county health unit.

Taxation and Finance . . . . *Edited by Wade S. Smith*

Court Voids Sale of Jersey Bridges

County Commission Told to Restore Property to Sellers

PURCHASE by the Burlington County, New Jersey, Bridge Commission, in October 1948, of two privately-owned toll bridges across the Delaware River was voided December 6, 1950, by Superior Court Judge Walter J. Freund, at Newark. The suit brought by Governor Alfred E. Driscoll had charged that the transaction was engineered through "fraud, misrepresentation and undue influence." According to press reports, the court found that the deal was "replete with chicanery" and "cannot be sustained."

Disclosure of the acquisition of the bridges by a public agency had come with dramatic suddenness, in November 1948, through announcement that a New York bank and investment house had acquired $12,400,000 revenue bonds of the Burlington County Bridge Commission, issued by that agency to finance the purchase of the Burlington-Bristol and Tacony-Palmyra bridges and secured by a pledge of the tolls from the bridges.[1] The state of New Jersey had the right to recapture the bridges under a formula which would have placed a price of about $5,000,000 on the two structures and Governor Driscoll immediately ordered an investigation of the transaction by the state attorney general.

The attorney general's report, as subsequently published in full, disclosed that within the period of three successive days—October 20-22, inclusive — the Burlington County board of freeholders appointed the bridge commissioners, the bridge commissioners were made an offer for the bridges which they accepted, the necessary legal formalities were complied with and the bonds were delivered to the owner of the bridges and resold to the New York bankers.

Judge Freund, according to press reports, ordered that the bridge commission surrender and restore all the property it received from the sellers and ordered the sellers, recipients of the purchase money, to repay to the bondholders all moneys received from them. "Each shall disgorge and be required to repay such part of the purchase price as each received." The opinion is reported to have held that the bondholders may be subrogated to the mortgagees or other holders of liens on the bridges as of October 22, 1948, to the extent that money of the bondholders was used to pay off debts, and that the bondholders shall have a lien on the revenues of the bridges for the balance of the bond issue until repayment, subject to the rights of the state to acquire the bridges under the condemnation formula.

Commenting on the swift course of events leading to the delivery of the bonds, the court is quoted as stating that the commissioners "failed to discharge the duties which devolve upon a public officer. The case is replete with nonfeasances and misfeasances. . . ." Of the defense contention that the sale was profitable to the commission and the county, the court said the argument was "untenable and entirely without merit," since "the traveling public, although at reduced tolls, was to pay $12,000,000 for what might have been acquired for approximately $5,000,000."

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[1] See "Jersey County 'Scoops' State," National Municipal Review, January 1949, page 54.

Governor Driscoll hailed the decision as making it "apparent that the litigation undertaken to protect the public was justified." The defendants are expected to appeal the decision.

Seattle Light Bonds Carried

Final returns from the November 7, 1950, election in Seattle, inclusive of the count of absentee ballots, swung the result from defeat by a narrow margin to approval for $25,850,000 light and power revenue bonds. Approval of the bonds had been sought as a means of securing an expression of voter opinion on the proposed purchase by the city light system of facilities of the privately owned electric utility, although the city has the legal right to issue revenue bonds without submitting them to the voters.

Passage of the authorization measure opens the way for the conclusion of the purchase transaction, negotiations between the city and company having already been completed successfully. The company, with which the city system has been in competition since the city plant was established more than 40 years ago, still serves upwards of one-third of the electric customers.

Final count of the statewide Washington vote brought less happy results for a $20,000,000 block of a total school and building program of $80,000,000 originally reported approved. The $20,000,000 was for state higher educational institutions and was defeated.

Bond Submissions Down

Compilation of 1950 bond submissions showed, as expected, a substantial decrease from the 1949 general election. According to *The Daily Bond Buyer,* bonds submitted November 7, 1950, totaled $968,785,410. For the entire month of November 1950, bond proposals submitted totaled $1,008,572,090, of which $697,945,290 was approved. For November 1949, submissions totaled $1,588,859,200 of which $1,348,573,000 was approved. Principally because of the smaller volume of state soldiers' bonus bonds voted, 1950 bond approvals by the voters will be well below 1949. For the first eleven months, voters approved a total of $1,474,304,000 compared with $2,150,416,000 in January-November, 1949.

Although 1950 bond elections have not been up to the 1949 peak, the states, cities and other local units continued their new borrowing at an unprecedented pace. Issues of state and local bonds—as compiled by *The Bond Buyer*—totaled $3,513,920,819 for the eleven months January-November, 1950. For the corresponding 1949 period the total had been $2,739,718,282, down slightly from the peak established in 1948, $2,858,011,534. Controls on construction, scarcities of materials and the cumulative effect of military and war-industry demands for manpower had, by early December 1950, had little effect in slowing down local construction schedules, but they promised to exert more influence as 1951 progressed.

State Veterans' Bonuses Reach Nearly Three Billion

Approval of bonuses to World War II veterans by Montana, Oregon and West Virginia in the 1950 elections brings to 21 the number of states paying such bonuses.

Total awards authorized for veterans by the states since V-J Day amount to more than $2,700,000,000, according to the Federation of Tax Administrators. This compares with World War

(Continued on page 55)

Des Moines LWV Gets Civic Award

Successful Campaign for Manager Plan Wins $1,000

ON NOVEMBER 21, 1950, at a luncheon in New York City, the League of Women Voters of Des Moines, Iowa, received the Lane Bryant Annual Award consisting of a plaque and $1,000 "in recognition of outstanding volunteer services to the community." The uphill fight to replace a shabby political commission government with the council-manager plan was primarily inspired and conducted by the women and the help that ought to have been forthcoming from leading business men was laggard and faint-hearted. The women furnished the pertinacity and they rang the doorbells, winning by a close majority of 800 in 40,000 votes. The story has been already told in this REVIEW.[1]

In making the award to Mrs. Maurice H. Noun, president of the league during the 1949 campaign, Raphael Malsin of Lane Bryant, Inc., commented: "There is nothing so dramatic as a good battle. Our winners saw their city government was run inefficiently, carelessly, corruptly. They determined the reason to be the workings of the commission plan then in existence. They canvassed the country, discovered for themselves that the city manager plan was most likely to improve the condition. They drew up a petition, got the necessary signatures and conducted a rousing campaign against all sorts of odds. With 40,000 participating they not only won the election but achieved the cooperation of their opponents in the subsequent administration of its results. Chosen by our judges as winner of the Lane Bryant Award—The League of Women Voters of Des Moines, Iowa."

This award was first made a year ago; the recipient, chosen by an impartial and eminent *ad hoc* committee, was the Citizens Schools Committee of Chicago.

Research Foundation Urges Citizen Action

Miami needs organized citizen action to insure efficient city government, says the Dade County Research Foundation. In December *News Letters* it cites striking examples of citizen organizations in four other cities which have cleaned up their local governments—Cincinnati, Phoenix, Grand Rapids and Kansas City, Missouri. "All these cities were in worse shape than Miami," says the foundation, "Yet now all of them enjoy much better city government than Miami because the citizens wanted good government and organized to get it.

"In each case a citizens' action organization selected trustworthy candidates and conducted a city-wide campaign to get them elected. As individuals they were powerless; with an organization they were all-powerful. . . . Some people in Miami believe that bad city government is inevitable. That's not true. Many cities, which once had much worse government than Miami now enjoy excellent city government."

The foundation's report describes

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[1] See "Des Moines Drops Own Plan," by Katherine R. Stroud, the REVIEW, June 1949, page 269.

some of the accomplishments of good government in the four cities cited, showing that while services improved, money was saved by efficient methods and careful planning.

The Dade County Research Foundation cannot perform the service of screening candidates and conducting campaigns, says the report, "Ours is a nonpartisan, nonpolitical organization which takes no part in the election or appointment of persons to public office. But we shall be glad to make available to civic organizations or individual citizens the information we have regarding citizen action groups in other cities."

Northwest Conference Discusses Community Planning

The city planning movement in the Pacific Northwest was given a welcomed boost by the seventh annual Public Affairs Conference of the State College of Washington, held in Spokane on October 14, 1950. Theme of the conference, which was sponsored by the College's Department of History and Political Science, was "Better Living Through Community Planning."

Registrants at the conference, numbering about two hundred, were drawn from all parts of the Pacific Northwest. Subjects of panel discussion included the administrative, fiscal and personnel problems of the planning agency; traffic and parking problems; planning for the metropolitan community; and planning for the smaller community. Principal conference speakers were Charles B. Bennett, director of planning for the city of Los Angeles, and Charles McKinley, professor of political science at Reed College, Portland, Oregon, and longtime leader in city and regional planning in the Northwest. Director of the conference was Dr. Paul Beckett, Associate Professor of Public Administration at Washington State College.

NACS Probes Citizen Group Problems

The National Association of Civic Secretaries held two well attended sessions in connection with the National Conference on Government at Buffalo last November. Presiding over the "Civic Clinics" session, held Sunday evening, November 19, was the association's president, Ronald E. Gregg, executive secretary of the Toledo Municipal League.

Allen H. Seed, Jr., director of field services of the National Municipal League, described the "Civic Scene Coast to Coast." During past months, Mr. Seed has traveled from Portland, Maine, to Portland, Oregon, visiting civic organizations and talking with civic secretaries and citizen leaders. He reported that he found local civic activity at an unprecedented high.

Alfred Willoughby, executive secretary of the National Municipal League, spoke briefly about the need for more field service by his organization and expressed the hope that it would be able to extend it soon.

An "Organized Shop" talk by NACS members discussed "Overcoming the Worst Obstacles," "Our Best Current Job" and "How Would You Handle This One."

Edward M. Pape, secretary of the Civic Club of Allegheny County, felt the worst obstacle his organization faced recently had been resumption of publication of its bulletin. He built up a committee led by the head of the University of Pittsburgh's Department of Journalism, with advertising people and editors of house organs as its members, and hired a young man specializing in journalism to do the makeup. The plan has worked out successfully.

Miss Lillian Edgerton, of the Citizens Association of Chicago, said that one problem her organization faced was keeping in touch with some two hundred local civic groups in the 75 little cities into which Chicago is divided. Many have now been placed on the association's mailing list and receive information on what is going on at city hall. In 1949 the association organized a Citizens Community Council made up of representatives of these local clubs. Representatives take information back to their local groups which may take action.

Others present reported on how their groups keep in touch with members—printed bulletins, mimeographed sheets, tabloids, research reports, and how to finance them, their make-up, etc.

Miss M. L. Ferguson of the Civic Advisory Council of Toronto, reported on a survey of civic organizations made by the council. "The Problem we have in our Civic Advisory Council is not a financial one," reported Miss Ferguson. "Our council has a unique position as a creature of the city. Funds are appropriated by the administration and yet we are called upon to report on subjects which may involve criticism of the administration. . . . There are no strings attached to our funds. The council is made up of representatives from city organizations and individuals who serve on commissions. The city asks us for a report. We get a committee together and prepare it. Some matters recently studied were municipal finance, convention hall facilities, housing, and our most comprehensive report was on the metropolitan problems of Toronto."

Harold S. Buttenheim, editor of *The American City*, suggested that the most important question before municipal government and local civic organizations is that of civil defense and just how far we should go in preparedness for atomic bomb attacks. "Best defense against the bomb is space," said Mr. Buttenheim. "We have an opportunity such as never existed before to do a patriotic job at the same time we work out the problem of land over-crowding. It is a serious question when we clear off slums whether the area should be rebuilt for the same population or opened up into parks and areas for redevelopment."

Others taking part in the session were Hugh Robinson, executive secretary of the Citizens Association of Kansas City; Daniel J. Ahern, Jr., of the New Boston Committee; Benjamin Torf, executive secretary of the Citizens Plan "E" Association of Worcester; John E. Bebout, assistant secretary of the National Municipal League; and Raymond deSteiger, president of the East Detroit Civic League.

The session held Monday morning, November 20, discussed a most important problem of local civic groups—"Raising Money." It was presided over by Sherman P. Voorhees, executive director of Future Springfield, Inc., Springfield, Massachusetts.

Harry Wolkstein, certified public accountant of Newark, New Jersey, discussed "Tax Problems Facing Civic Organizations"; Charles E. Davies, of the Citizens League of Cleveland, spoke on "Raising the Level of Support"; and Walter Megronigle, of Ketchum, Inc., a public relations firm, had as his topic "You Can't Sell Air."

At the association's business meeting these officials were elected: president, Ronald E. Gregg, executive secretary of the Toledo Municipal League; first vice president, Guy C. Larcom, Jr., director of the Cleveland Citizens League; second vice president, C. A. Crosser, executive secretary of the Seattle Municipal League; third vice president, Hugh Robinson, executive secretary of the Citizens Association of Kansas City, Missouri; secretary, Allen H. Seed, Jr., director of field services of the National Municipal League; and treasurer, Sherman P. Voorhees, executive director of Future Springfield, Inc.

Miss Hazelle B. Scott, assistant secretary of the Civic Club of Allegheny County, Pittsburgh, Pa., acted as recorder for the sessions. This story is based on her report.

Potpourri

A Civic Planning Committee has been formed in Ford City, Pennsylvania. Practically at the top of its list is a study of school planning for the area, which is growing rapidly.

The Maywood, New Jersey, Taxpayers League has appointed a planning committee for the council-manager campaign now under way in that borough and will provide speakers on the subject for other organizations.

In New York City the Women's City Club is lending its efforts to the struggle to keep the city clean, according to the first annual report of its City Housekeeping Committee. In order to bring the matter to the attention of city dwellers, the club is working on a series of broadcasts and the development of a plan for having neighborhood moving picture houses show still pictures between films on the need for street cleanliness.

"Never underestimate the power of a women's club," says the *Michigan Community News Letter*. The editor has been looking over the 30 or more scrapbooks and exhibits entered by Michigan groups in the "Build a Better Community Contest" engineered by the National Federation of Women's Clubs. The *News Letter* lists the projects undertaken by local clubs in cooperation with other civic organizations. They include community hospitals, libraries and parks. Several encouraged clean-up and beautification programs.

TAXATION AND FINANCE

(Continued from page 51)

I bonus payments of nearly $400,000,000 by twenty states.

Largest single World War II bonus payment was the $500,000,000 approved by Pennsylvania voters in 1949. New York voted a $400,000,000 bonus payment in 1947 and the previous year Illinois approved a $385,000,000 bonus for its veterans. By contrast, bond issues approved for veteran awards this year in Montana, Oregon and West Virginia totaled $187,000,000.

The initiative measure approved by Montana provides for the payment of a $22,000,000 bonus to be financed by an additional cigarette tax of two cents per package. This measure will increase the tax on cigarettes from two cents to four cents per package, effective upon proclamation by the governor. In Oregon voters passed a constitutional amendment authorizing the state to issue bonds for the payment of an estimated $75,000,000 soldiers' bonus. The amendment is silent as to levy of taxes to finance payment.

Approval by West Virginia's electorate of a constitutional amendment authorizes the state legislature to issue bonds for the payment of a $90,000,000 bonus, to be financed by the levy of any of the following taxes: (1) an additional cigarette tax, (2) an additional tax on non-intoxicating beer, (3) an additional charge on sale of wine and liquor, (4) an additional sales tax and (5) a graduated income tax.

In 1949 seven states, in addition to Pennsylvania, enacted such legislation: Delaware, Indiana, Iowa, Minnesota, North Dakota, South Dakota and Washington.

Researcher's Digest . . . . *Edited by John E. Bebout*

Running an Agency Has Its Problems

Objectives, Research and Reporting Policies Vary

MOST governmental research agencies are clear as to their underlying objectives, uncertain as to the best means of carrying out those objectives and optimistic over whether they can really attain their objectives.[1]

The overwhelming majority of the agencies agree that their prime mission is to stimulate governmental efficiency—using the word in its broadest sense. Such familiar targets of years gone by as "keeping taxes down," "insuring honest government" or "responsible government" receive only scattered preference.

There are wide differences over what operational technique is best calculated to attain the desired objective. At the one extreme are those agencies that act as public goads, that by news releases, speeches and associated activity hope to assure active citizen participation and official response. At the other extreme are agencies that prefer to operate quietly "behind the scenes," attempting to persuade public officials without their own parts becoming known. The diversity of approaches is reflected in the range of frequency with which the various organizations appear at public hearings, issue public statements, release reports, commence litigation, engage in legislative activity and confer with public officials.

A subsidiary problem is whether the research agency should act as "the quiet dispenser of the facts," without recommendation, on the theory that the facts speak for themselves and necessary action will follow. Most agencies go beyond this and couple facts with recommendations.

A third facet is whether an agency should rely primarily on the expression of an editorial-type of opinion of governmental action and inaction drawn from the news columns or should dwell primarily upon conclusions drawn from its own research data.

Various combinations of technique (citizen participation versus behind-the-scenes), content (facts versus recommendations) and source (newspapers versus original research) are possible. Some of the more successful agencies combine these ingredients in varying proportions for different situations. For example, publicity campaigns are effective in removing from the hook officials impaled by "friendly" lobbies; behind-the-scenes efforts are helpful in securing adoption of detailed procedural reforms; facts alone are strategic at election time; recommendations are almost always in order; press sources are sufficient for comment on official action; staff research is essential for recommendations concerning improved methods. A single far-reaching program of an agency might entail the use of all these techniques.

Governmental research agencies, by nature introspective, reach the extreme of soul-searching in their quest of knowledge as to whether or not they are fulfilling their basic mission.

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[1] This article was prompted by one of the sessions at the annual conference of the Governmental Research Association. The session was led by the author. Preparatory to the session the members, executives of research agencies all over the United States, had jointly devised and answered a comprehensive questionnaire.

They question whether they are common scolds, public eye-catchers or really effective architects of government organization and procedure; whether matters of top policy aren't so important as to outweigh the need for examination into details of administration; whether local agencies themselves aren't futile in the light of the transcending importance of action on the federal level.

Generally speaking, agency heads reject the more pessimistically slanted perspectives, taking the "long" view. Some of the older researchers maintain that a limiting attitude as to the effectiveness of governmental research is in truth the reflection of a frustration brought forth by a realization of the complexities.

Most agencies review their policies and basic objectives at only infrequent intervals. The need for basic definition is brought up by such questions as "Do our objectives have real meaning—what, for example, is 'good government?'" And recognition of objectives is useless unless they are understood; agency policies and objectives are frequently not understood by junior staff men.

The technique of planning and executing agency program is an important part of the craft. Most agency heads establish a work program, descriptive of the activities of their agency for the future period—often one year. This program is most often originated by, planned and controlled by the agency head, rather than the trustees.

Because the work programs of most agencies are geared to current issues, the problem of avoiding peaks and valleys is paramount. The majority of the agency heads find them unavoidable although there has been successful experience in maintaining a reservoir of projects to activate or drop as the pressure of current work dictates.

Public relations is one of the most important problems facing a research agency: relations with the press, with government, with civil service employees, other civic groups and with the public at large. The most important public of a research agency is government, for this is the organism it is attempting to influence. The overwhelming majority of research organizations enjoy friendly relations with government, have free access to government files and officials, are called in periodically by government for assistance and work closely with it. For the relationships to develop effectively, frequent personal contacts with officials are necessary. Various techniques are useful, such as attributing authorship and giving credit to the government men for the proposals of the research agency, refraining from asking favors and remaining completely nonpartisan. In the final analysis a successful relationship is built upon confidence, and that is dependent upon performance.

While the majority of research agencies regard government employees with friendly attitudes, this is reciprocated only partially by the government workers. The explanation is rooted in the frequently antithetical position that research agencies must take to demands of government workers in order to remain faithful to their trust.

Most research agencies have been perplexed by the problem of measuring their own effectiveness as individual agencies. The paucity of standards in governmental operation is reflected in the field of governmental research. A quantitative measure widely used is the number of governmental actions influenced by the agency. Some agencies estimate government's savings resulting from their recommendations; others cite government's tax rates as an index of their effectiveness. Various indirect criteria are utilized such as press coverage and opinion, financial support and trustee and other informed opinion. Many agencies consider internal or subjective criteria the most reliable: volume and quantity of output, comparison with other agencies and with other years, and the appraisal and performance analysis of their own staffs.

Other important agency problems include fund raising (there is only a remote relationship between the quality of service rendered and the immediate success in fund raising), trustee participation and internal matters such as personnel and office management.

Daniel L. Kurshan,
Executive Director
Citizens Budget Commission
of New York

Research Pamphlets and Articles

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Defense

Civil Defense Council Speeds Its Program. Philadelphia 7, Bureau of Municipal Research, *Citizens' Business,* November 13, 1950. 4 pp.

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Progress at a Snail's Pace. The Record on School District Reorganization. Pittsburgh 22, Pennsylvania Economy League, Western Division, *P. E. L. Newsletter,* October 1950. 6 pp.

School District Tax Rates. Buffalo 2, Municipal Research Bureau, *Just a Moment,* November 30, 1950. 3 pp.

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Emergency Housing. Toronto 5, Bureau of Municipal Research, *Civic Affairs,* November 9, 1950. 4 pp.

Municipal Government

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Police

Michigan State Police. Staff Report. Detroit 26, Michigan Joint Legislative Committee on Reorganization of State Government, 1950. 31, ix pp.

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[1] For a listing of Parts 1 and 2 of discussion of "The New School Law," see the Review, December 1950, page 578.

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County Government Research at Iowa State University. By Kirk H. Porter. Washington, D. C., National Association of County Officials, *The County Officer,* November 1950. 4 pp.

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County Welfare Salaries. Buffalo 2, Municipal Research Bureau, *Just a Moment,* November 9, 1950. 3 pp.

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Federal Social Security and Utah's Public Retirement Systems. Salt Lake City 1, Utah Foundation, 1950. 4 pp.

Pension Administration. Staff Report. Detroit 26, Michigan Joint Legislative Committee on Reorganization of State Government, 1950. 18, xi pp.

Retirement and Insurance Planning for State and Local Government Employees. Topeka, Kansas Legislative Council, Research Department, 1950. 24 pp.

State Administration

Report on Kansas State Administrative Organization. (Background material in explanation of or supplementary to report including organization chart and bill for establishment of Department of Administration, prepared by research department of the Legislative Council and Revisor of Statutes included in appendices.) Topeka, Governor's Commission on State Administrative Organization, 1950. vi, 58 pp.

Taxation and Finance

Income and Expenditures of Government in California 1910 to 1950. Los Angeles, California Taxpayers' Association, *The Tax Digest,* November 1950. 37 pp. Charts, tables.

Philadelphia's Debt, Revenues, and Expenditures, 1920-1949. Philadelphia, Bureau of Municipal Research, 1950. Variously paged. $1.

$28 Million Spent by Oklahoma Counties in 1948-49. Oklahoma City 2, Oklahoma Public Expenditures Council, *Your Report on Government,* October 1950. 4 pp.

Tax Limitation

The Operation of the Tax Limitation Amendment in West Virginia. By Harold J. Shamberger and James H. Thompson. Morgantown, West Virginia University, Bureau of Business Research and Bureau for Government Research, 1950. iv, 29 pp.

Transit

Expressways Planned. City Planning Commission's Annual Report Describes Proposed Expressway System. Philadelphia, Bureau of Municipal Research, November 6, 1950. 5 pp.

Veterans

Administration of Veterans' Benefits. Staff Report. Detroit 26, Michigan Joint Legislative Committee on Reorganization of State Government, 1950. 47, ix pp.

Veterans' Benefits—Mortgaging the Future. By Gordon P. Smith. New York City, Governmental Research Association, *GRA Reporter,* March-April, 1950. 2 pp.

Water Supply

Memorandum to New York State Department of Conservation, Water Power and Control Commission. New York 17, Citizens Budget Commission, October 4, 1950. 9 pp.

The Occurrence and Outlook for Ground-Water Supplies in Tennessee. By F. M. Alexander. Knoxville, University of Tennessee, Municipal Technical Advisory Service, *Tennessee Town and City,* September 1950. 6 pp.

Zoning

Municipal Zoning: Florida Law and Practice. By Ernest R. Bartley and William W. Boyer, Jr. Gainesville, University of Florida, Public Administration Clearing Service, 1950. 90 pp.

Books in Review

The Municipal Year Book 1950. Edited by Clarence E. Ridley, Orin F. Nolting and Frederick C. Peitzsch. Chicago, The International City Managers' Association, 1950. x, 598 pp. $10.

This valuable annual—this is the seventeenth — steadily becomes the encyclopaedia of municipal government. If it has not reached the point of answering all conceivable questions about the structures and current practices of the 1077 cities of 10,000 population and the 965 urban places of 5,000-10,000, it provides key references to whatever further knowledge is in print.

New in this issue are sections of comparative facts on health departments and library services, on certain police and fire department practices and garbage collection. Continued are data on municipal finance, planning and zoning, public welfare, health, housing, public works, municipal utilities, fire and police administration, personnel, traffic safety, etc. Directories of officials cover all cities of 5,000 and over.

With this volume on his desk, a municipal officer or department head can line up his work with the corresponding salient facts of all the rest of the municipalities and find articles that will alert him to the direction of recent trends.

R. S. C.

Public Relations in the Local Community. By Louis B. Lundborg. New York, Harper and Brothers, 1950. xi, 228 pp. $3.

A study of the things which large employers do, or should do, if they wish to enjoy the esteem of their neighbors in local communities. A number of chapters are of special interest to leaders of civic groups, among them Helping Local Causes and Organizations, Helping in City Beautification and Improvement, Helping Local Government. In the last-named chapter, business is urged to make its specialists available to help in the solution of local government problems — modernizing fiscal procedures, construction and maintenance of streets and highways, etc. In addition to serving in local civic and charitable organizations, the author strongly recommends that business encourage its officers and employees to accept any public office they are asked to bear. "Business firms must remember that they cannot expect good government if the best informed, best qualified people in town are unwilling to serve when called upon."

The book is the first of a series to be published under the sponsorship of the Public Relations Society of America.

Essays on Federal Reorganization. By Herbert Emmerich. University, University of Alabama Press, 1950. xii, 159 pp. $2.50.

A terse and wise little book. The author describes the continuing history of growth and development in the successive reorganizations of the federal administration and, in a separate chapter, describes the never-ceasing centrifugal efforts of the bureaus and commissions for autonomy. The rest of the volume expounds the 1937 Brownlow-Gulick-Merriam report to the President, its mauling in Congress and the survival of its principles in the Hoover report and the partial effectuation of the latter in recent law.

R. S. C.

Alcoholic Beverage Control. An official study by The Joint Committee of the States to Study Alcoholic Beverage Laws. New York and Cleveland, the Committee, 1950. xii, 127 pp.

The committee represents the National Conference of State Liquor Administrators made up of the public officers of 28 state licensing authorities and the National Alcoholic Beverage Control Association composed of the corresponding authorities in sixteen of the seventeen states where liquor is controlled by state monopolies.

The latter seventeen states follow the outlines of the National Municipal League's *Model Liquor Control Law,* published at the end of the prohibition era as a supplement to this REVIEW, January 1934. The present report, based on Public Administration Service studies, is confined to problems of administration and enforcement and does not appraise the relative merits of the two systems.

City of the Future. The Story of Kansas City 1850-1950. By Henry C. Haskell, Jr., and Richard B. Fowler. Kansas City, Missouri, Frank Glenn Publishing Company, Inc., 1950. 193 pp.

A lively and vivid account with illustrations covering with rather complete frankness the picturesque history of Kansas City's first century. As compared with a brochure recently issued by the municipal government, it benefits by the freedom of private authorship and publication. Pendergast is described without reservation and much satisfaction is expressed with the present state of the city and its government. The epilogue states, "After nearly a century, the city discovered techniques and businesslike government that were unknown until comparatively recent years."

It is a good case history to illuminate American history.

The Pittsburgh Manual. A Guide to the Government of the City of Pittsburgh. By William G. Willis. Pittsburgh, University of Pittsburgh Press, 1950. xxx, 188 pp. Paper bound, $1.50: case bound, $2.50.

A lucid text book of the city's simple governmental structure and the local elective process including the internal organization of the local political parties.

Additional Books and Pamphlets

(See also Researcher's Digest and other departments)

Defense

Civil Defense. By James M. Landis, etc. Chicago, Council of State Governments, *State Government,* November 1950. 26 pp. 50 cents.

Government Insurance

Insurance for Governments. By Orin F. Nolting, E. A. Danby, etc. Chicago, Municipal Finance Officers Association of the United States and Canada, *Municipal Finance,* November 1950. 30 pp. 50 cents.

Government Textbooks

Essentials of American Government (sixth edition). By Frederic A. Ogg and P. Orman Ray. New York, Appleton-Century-Crofts, Inc., 1950. viii, 732 pp. $4.50.

Housing

Housing Today and Tomorrow. A Reappraisal of Goals. Philadelphia, Housing Authority, 1950. 36 pp. Illus. 50 cents.

Parking

A Survey of Municipal Parking Practices in Michigan. Ann Arbor, Michigan Municipal League, 1950. 13 pp. $1.

Planning

First Steps Toward Planning for Goldsboro. By I. Jack Gural and James W. Wilson. Chapel Hill, University of North Carolina, Department of City and Regional Planning, 1950. 45 pp. charts.

Eighth Annual Six-year Capital Improvement Program 1951-1956. Cleveland 14, City Planning Commission, 1950. 94 pp.

Pollution

Air Pollution Legislation. Springfield, Illinois Legislative Council, 1950. 43 pp.

Summary and Conclusions from the Report of the Stream Pollution Study Commission, State of Tennessee, to Governor Gordon Browning, July 1, 1950. New York, Wainwright, Ramsey and Lancaster, 1950. 23 pp.

Population

Population Prospectus for the Detroit Region 1960 and 1970. By Paul M. Reid. Detroit, Regional Planning Commission, 1950. 42 pp.

U. S. Immigration Policy and Population Growth. By Edwin E. Grant, Edward H. Heims, J. Clarkson Russell. San Francisco 19, The Commonwealth Club of California, *The Commonwealth,* Part Two, November 13, 1950. 86 pp.

Recreation

The Use of School Buildings for Recreation. By H. Clifton Hutchins. (Preprint from *Recreation,* November and December 1950.) New York 10, National Recreation Association, 1950. 8 pp. 25 cents.

Salaries

Mid-year Wage and Salary Survey: Data as of November 15, 1950. (Supplement to League Bulletin No. 62, March 1950.) Ann Arbor, Michigan Municipal League, 1950. 4 pp.

Taxation and Finance

Bring Government Back Home! A Program for the Re-allocation of Tax Resources and Service Responsibilities Between Federal and State Governments. By Harley L. Lutz. New York, National Association of Manufacturers, 1950. ix, 292 pp.

THE WAR WE ARE LOSING

(Continued from page 16)

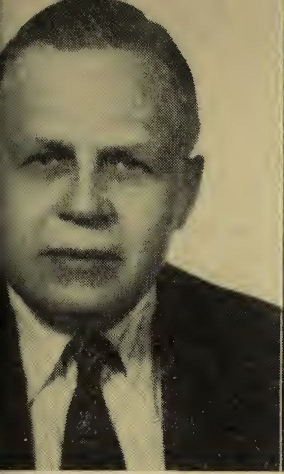
Do we dare let Russia continue to parade as the sole protector and friend of the masses of people of the world?

Do we dare let Russia claim that only through communism can the lot of the common people be improved in Asia, Europe, Africa and South America?

Do we dare let Russia continue to picture us to hundreds of millions as imperialists, as the great exploiters of mankind—without an adequate reply?

If your answer is "No," then we must face up to the job that has to be done—the hardest, toughest selling job that any nation of the world has ever faced—against the greatest odds and for the greatest stakes.

It will be useless for our armies to strive for victories in the field unless we have won first a victory over the minds of men.



HN S. LINEN
Vice President

GEORGE S. VAN SCHAICK
Second Vice President

RICHARD S. CHILDS
Father of an idea

Research Pioneer Succeeds Edison

(Continued from page 1)

president. George S. Van Schaick, lawyer and former New York State superintendent of insurance, was chosen as second vice president.

To strengthen the League's program and to broaden the base of financial support, the membership created eight regional vice presidencies and filled them by electing John W. Agnew of the First National Bank, Boston; James L. Beebe, lawyer, Los Angeles; James W. Clise, president, Asbestos Supply Company, Seattle; William Collins, president, Walter Kidde Constructors, New York; Arthur E. Johnson, president, Argo Oil Corporation, Denver; John Nuveen, president, John Nuveen & Company, Chicago; Ed. P. Phillips, president, Phillips Machinery Company, Richmond; and Charles P. Taft, lawyer and councilman, Cincinnati.

Thirteen new members of the League's council were also elected at Buffalo for terms ending in 1953. They are: Frederick E. Baker, president, Frederick E. Baker & Associates, Seattle; Herbert Emmerich, director,

(Continued on page 64)

The Idea Grew

American cities made the most dramatic progress in the first half of this century through the development and rapid spread of council-manager government.

At the League's Buffalo conference Richard S. Childs, originator of the council-manager plan, got a big hand with the announcement that 1,000 communities and counties have adopted his streamlined system. The 1,000-mark was passed late in 1950 when Buena Vista, Va., approved the plan.

Mr. Childs was a young advertising man, curious about government, when he thought up the plan. It took almost 30 years for the first 500 cities to adopt it but only 10 years to double that number. At the present rate the plan will become the prevailing form of municipal and county government by 1960.

"Look me up again in 1960 if I'm still articulate," Mr. Childs told the conference. In 1948 he left a high post with American Cyanamid to become an unpaid member of the League staff and have "the most fun in my life." He had always wanted to do that—"But, as a matter of self-respect, I thought I had to prove I was able to make money."

Research Pioneer Succeeds Edison

(Continued from page 63)

Public Administration Clearing House, Chicago; Max E. Friedmann, president, Ed. Schuster & Co., Milwaukee; George H. Gallup, director, American Institute of Public Opinion, Princeton; L. E. Marlowe, president, Marlowe Tire Company, Richmond; Roscoe C. Martin, political science department, Syracuse University; Spencer Miller, Jr., president, American International College, Springfield, Mass.; Lieutenant-Governor Frank C. Moore, New York; Admiral Ben Moreell, president, Jones & Laughton Steel Corporation, Pittsburgh; James M. Osborn, Yale University; Kenneth Perry, general counsel, Johnson & Johnson, New Brunswick, N. J.; F. E. Schuchman, president, Homestead Valve Manufacturing Company, Pittsburgh; and Carrol M. Shanks, president, Prudential Insurance Company, Newark.

"The political machine triumphs because it is a united minority active against a divided majority." — Will Durant.

Who Was Who

Of the 460 registrants at the Buffalo conference, 110 were registered as members of the League, 61 were political scientists, 87 were public officials, 66 represented research and civic organizations, 58 were from Leagues of Women Voters, and 141 were students. The remaining 47 included newspaper correspondents and others.

Twenty-nine states, the District of Columbia and three foreign countries were represented.

About 700 others, who did not register, attended one or more sessions. Speakers and participants listed on the program totalled 257. Copies of the final program and of the Secretary's Report for the year 1950 are available on request.

Curious Canadians

Three officials of Hamilton, Ontario came to the League's Buffalo conference to get advice on establishing the council-manager plan.

"Democracy is not a free gift. It is something that has to be worked for!" —General Omar Bradley.

Civic education was the theme of this panel, conducted by Buffalo Superintende of Schools, Benjamin C. Willis.

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NEWS for League Members

Bruere Installed as President

Fourteen officers and council members participated January 12 in welcoming and installing Henry Bruère, chairman of the board of The Bowery Savings Bank, New York, as the fourteenth president of the National Municipal League.

"Welcome aboard!" Charles Edison, retiring president who had served since 1947, said at the close of a brief talk at the luncheon, which was held at the Lawyers Club, New York.

"As chairman of the council," Mr. Edison said, "I will continue to be just as active and just as interested."

Referring to the newly published book, *A Half Century of Municipal Reform: A History of the National Municipal League*, Mr. Edison recalled the contribution of the League's services to progress in state and local affairs, told of the increase of membership and financial support during his presidency and urged continued effort to strengthen the organization.

He expresed appreciation of the cooperation of William Collins, chairman of the finance committee; John S. Linen, vice president; Arthur E. Johnson, regional vice president, and others.

Richard S. Childs, who has served as chairman of the council since 1927, and who has been elected chairman of the executive committee, outlined plans to obtain foundation support for some of the League's projects.

George S. Van Schaick, second vice president, presided. Also present were Frederick L. Bird, Harold S. Buttenheim, William Collins, Bayard H. Faulkner, Arnold Frye, John S. Linen, James M. Osborn, Carl H. Pforzheimer, John D. Venable and Alfred Willoughby.

Mr. Bruère, one of the organizers of the first governmental research bureau, is a former member of the League's council.

A Record Broken

National Municipal League membership reached the highest point in its history at the end of 1950, with a gain of 12 per cent during the year.

The membership has increased about 83 per cent since the lowest point during World War II when many members went abroad with the armed forces or on technical assignments for the government.

"Welcome aboard! You can count on me to help."

HENRY BRUERE **CHARLES EDISON**

Mrs. Maurice H. Noun receiving the Lane Bryant Award from Raphael Malsin, president of Lane Bryant

Award Winner Writes a Letter

Mrs. Maurice H. Noun and Mrs. Theodore Stroud, former presidents of the Des Moines League of Women Voters, who recently visited New York to accept the Lane Bryant Award "for volunteer service to the community" on behalf of their organization sat down together when they got home and wrote a letter to 109 civic-minded friends:

> Because I am thoroughly convinced that the National Municipal League is a unique force for good government in America today, I am writing to a few Des Moines people who I know are interested in good government to ask their support of the League.
>
> Here in Des Moines, we found the National Municipal League's literature and professional advice indispensable in our campaign for the city manager plan. You may remember that Richard S Childs of the League came here at his own expense to speak and to advise the Citizens' Committee on the conduct of the campaign. The National Municipal League continues to stand ready to serve us any time we need further help with local governmental problems.
>
> I am enclosing a leaflet which describes what the League stands for and who its officers are. I hope very much that you are as convinced as I of the value of contributing financially to it and tha you will mail me your check for a $10 sustaining membership. Contributions to the National Municipal League are income tax deductible.
>
> Sincerely yours, Louise R. Noun

Two days later Mrs. Noun start to mail batches of checks and memb ship applications to the League. S enrolled 45 of the 109.

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PERIODICAL DEPT.

Editorial Comment

Questions About Civilian Defense

CIVILIAN defense throughout a prolonged crisis is bound to have a profound effect on our local institutions, on intergovernmental relations, on citizen organization and on habits of citizen action.

This is the chief reason the present confusion and argument on civilian defense are matters of grave concern. Another reason is that, until we get together on it better, civilian defense simply won't be ready to meet a serious test.

One of the first requirements of a sound defense is that the people concerned should believe in it. This is particularly true of civilian defense because it requires cooperation of all citizens and many public and private agencies without the unifying compulsion of round-the-clock military discipline.

People are asking themselves a host of difficult and sometimes embarrassing questions about the *why*, the *what* and the *how* of civilian defense. Sometimes these questions are heard in public. More often they are raised in the private conversations which are so important in generating public opinion in a democracy.

Doubtless there are good answers to many of these questions. Others certainly need to be more thoroughly explored. In every case there should be wider understanding and agreement. Here are some of the questions:

1. Are we preparing to defend ourselves against the right things? The atom bomb gets the publicity. Are we putting appropriate emphasis on the threat from other weapons and from sabotage?

2. Are we striking a right balance between efforts to keep bombs from dropping and efforts to minimize the damage after they have dropped? In the long run would five billion dollars spent on air-raid shelters, unusable for any peacetime purpose, do as much good as the same money spent on radar and guns to keep as many bombs as possible from reaching targets?

3. Is civilian defense planning fully coordinated with over-all diplomatic, military and industrial planning?

4. Has there been enough participation by representatives of state and local governments and the appropriate private agencies—American Red Cross, for example—in the *planning* of civilian defense in Washington to insure the practicability and acceptability of plans requiring their effective and whole-hearted cooperation?

5. Assuming that an expensive air-raid shelter program is needed, is it reasonable or safe to make it depend on substantial financing by state and local governments, especially in view of (a) the limiting effect of present and prospective federal tax policies on state and local revenue sources, (b) the unequal distribution of critical areas, and (c) the fact that governments in many such areas are struggling to meet minimum needs for school, health and other public facilities that are vital to the current and future security of our way of life?

6. Has the fact that bombs and other disasters will not respect municipal or even state lines been fully recognized in defense planning and organization? What good is an elaborate, well manned defense setup in a two-mile-by-four municipality if it is not fully coordinated with equally well developed organizations throughout a whole urban and suburban or metropolitan area? Should not the region, rather than the municipality, be the primary local unit for civilian defense?

7. Have the lessons learned in England during the last war been fully applied to our own defense planning? For example, did not English experience demonstrate the necessity for putting civilian defense frankly on a regional basis, let the local boundaries lie where they may?

8. Has the scope of civilian defense been clearly and properly defined? Is it simply disaster defense for "critical areas" or does it include morale building and other projects involving everybody?

9. Do those in charge of civilian defense fully practice the knowledge that one of the basic defense needs is to conserve manpower and other resources?

This may prove to be the most serious question of all. The fact that most of the manpower in civilian defense is either "voluntary" or "borrowed" does not necessarily mean that it is surplus or free. A health officer in an already undermanned local health department simply has no "surplus" time during working hours. Even the night and weekend hours contributed by private citizens may be at the expense of one or more of the voluntary civic or welfare activities upon which our system depends as much as it does on government and industry. If every householder used all the critical materials and labor needed to make his cellar a semi-bombproof castle, as some have recommended, the resulting bottlenecks would choke a dozen essential trades and industries.

By all means let's give civilian defense whatever time and substance we can and should divert from less essential purposes. But every person responsible for the effort must remember that defense alone will not prevent or win the war. A bright or plausible idea is not a plan and should not become a directive or call to action until it has been double-checked to make sure it will fit, not break, the total picture.

The American people respond well to a need if it is adequately demonstrated. The general complaint that too few people take civilian defense seriously enough to take reasonable private precautions or to volunteer for community service, while others are acting as jittery as chickens with their heads off, suggests that there has been a basic failure to give the public the information it needs.

Probably the Russians could turn a sort of civilian defense on and off on orders from the Kremlin. One of the things we're ready to fight for is the right of the people to think for themselves. If policy-makers in civilian defense and in other matters will keep that everlastingly in mind, they will have no occasion to doubt the response of the people.

'Therefore Is the Name . . Babel'

Amid the tumult and the shouting of the specialists, who is there to speak for either the citizen or the government?

By **ROSCOE C. MARTIN***

THE most stirring writing in the English language today is found in the sentences which provide the "filler" at the end of the column in any American newspaper. There I learned recently that Assam has an area of 67,334 square miles; and that the old upper town of Biella, in Italy, lies at an elevation of 1,558 feet. There I also learned that there is in use a single turbine with a horsepower capacity three billion times that of a human being and that one man can now make by machinery as many needles in a day as 17,000 men could make by hand 100 years ago.

These giblets are interesting for one who takes his news in reflective mood. They are interesting, and they are significant, properly placed and viewed in perspective—not so much Assam and Biella, to be sure, as the turbine and the industrial machine. These things could not be, the industrial revolution could not have come to pass, the society to which it gave birth could not begin to discharge its manifold tasks, but for an almost unbelievably diverse and specialized way of life. It is about our way of life, and particularly about that portion of our daily existence called government, that I wish to speak.

Evidence of the extreme degree of specialization to which we have come is found in almost every act of our daily living. Nobody does a complete job any more but every man does a little segment of the entire job. Consider an occupation with which all will be familiar. Time was when an automobile mechanic was an automobile mechanic. Thirty years ago when a Model T wheezed into a shop, the mechanic (there was only one) swung into action: he replaced a spring on the rear shock absorber; working his way forward, he took a couple of turns around the muffler with baling wire, removed a broken cotter pin from the point of the magneto post, filed the points (if he could get the wooden coils out of the box), and broke an egg into the radiator to stop a leak, all without requisition or other written process.

Today in any well ordered shop there is a corps of "underneath" men, divided generally into front end men, middle men and rear end men; there are engine men, including the combustion engineer who regulates the carburetor, the compression engineer who heads the department of gaskets and the ignition engineer who cleans the plugs and sets the points; and there is a superintendent of circulation in charge of radiators. A friend of mine who is a circulation engineer recently went away to attend a factory refresher course. He returned after three months with a handsome-ly engraved certificate, which he showed with pardonable pride. "What does that mean?" I asked, pointing to the letters F. R. G. S. which appeared after his name. "Fellow Who Removes Gunk Safely," he replied.

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The medical profession, to choose an illustration from a different level, is notorious for the number of pigeonholes in which its knowledge has been filed. Gone are the days of the general practitioner, who has fallen before the onslaughts of the ophthalmologist, the urologist, the gynecologist, the pediatrician, the dermatologist, the obstetrician, the orthopedist, to name a random sampling. Even where developments have confirmed early and tentative specialization, terminology has been modified to suit the new indulgence. For example, the old ear, nose and throat man of 25 years ago, who confessed unashamedly that that was what he was, has given way to the otolaryngorhinologist.

These modern medicine men work their wonders in ways that could not but make Hippocrates envious: they manipulate cyrtographs and laryngoscopes; they treat patients for niphotyphlosis and osteomyelitis; they perform vasectomies and epididymidectomies; they administer iodomethane and trimethylxanthine. No record of a conversation between an otologist and a forensic psychiatrist has come to my attention but I am certain no lay citizen who might hear such a conversation would have any option but to consider it strictly confidential.

While I do not wish to make extravagant claims for education, it is probably in this field that specialization has reached its fullest flowering. Without even adverting to the primary school system, public and private, or to the manifold vocational schools—business colleges, schools of music, welders' institutes and the like—let us observe that almost any institution of higher learning which pretends to the name "university" will have not less than ten or a dozen schools and colleges.

Here in very truth "confusion . . . hath made his masterpiece!" It is not just that these various schools with their endless separate departments deal with the problems of living in such segmented fashion as largely to remove their treatment from the realm of reality; it's that communication among the various faculties is either impossible, unprofitable or meaningless. It's that one scientist finds it difficult to talk to another or one sociologist to another. Within a particular field, indeed, conversation may be strained: one demographer may emphasize fertility to the exclusion of all things else, another may place equally exclusive emphasis on mortality!

Public Loyalties Shift

But to turn now to the arena of public affairs. In other times, ways of life and living were comparatively uncomplicated. Society was less complex than now in its organization; the functions of government were few, or at any rate fewer than they have come latterly to be; and men had homes to live in, and they lived there. "And the whole earth was of one language and of one speech"—or at any rate that part of the whole earth which was the United States of America was.

One product of this relatively undifferentiated society was a loyalty (or set of loyalties) based on geographical considerations. The fierce local patriotisms which won fame for "The Gentleman from Buncombe," which caused the eastern visitor from Kansas to refer to New York City as "the Wichita of the East"—these are symbolic of the day when our principal loyalties were to friends and neighbors at home. That geographical loyalties remain strong, particularly in the rural sections, is not sufficient proof that such loyalties were not more appropriate to other days and other ways. It is not without relevance that Irvin Cobb wrote *Back Home* in 1912. He penned a monument to a passing era.

The last quarter-century has witnessed many profound changes in our society, but none, I think, more far-reaching than those which concern the field of government. The fruition, though perhaps not the full or final fruition, of the "welfare state" has placed an entirely new emphasis on function performed. If government 50 years ago was largely general government, government today increasingly is specialized government. It is road building and maintenance, it is education, it is the providing of hospital service—and all without much emphasis on the unit of government which is to do the job. Thus considerations of geography give way to considerations of function, and common men everywhere look to see how the show goes, not who the star is. Interest and concern tend to become program-centered rather than county-city-state-centered, and loyalties tend to follow interest and concern. In short, program (or administrative) loyalties tend to supplant the geographic loyalties of other days.

A Schizoid Government Emerges

It would be difficult to overemphasize the significance of these changes for the administration of public affairs. For one thing, we now face the constant pressure of organizational imperialism which, though clearly discernible 50 years ago, was nothing like as virulent in form then as the variety found today. In the federal government, in the state, in the city interdepartmental rivalries are common and fratricidal strife among units of the same department is not unknown. These pressures and resistances result from the "edifice complex" of which psychologists speak.

Such organizational imperialism is not all bad and in any case it appears quite inevitable, seeing that the immediate job to be done has replaced the administration of general government as the end sought in the eyes of nearly everyone concerned. The central fact, however, remains this, that organizational imperialism does exist and that it has basic significance for those who study and practice public administration and for the public that pays the bills and (ultimately) calls the tune.

Emphasis on program, or better on a number of individual and not always compatible programs, as the multiple end served by government has certain other important effects which we should note briefly. If, as we have observed, citizens more and more bestow their loyalties on particular programs, it follows as a short and logical next step that they tend to become enamored of "causes." Every person in this audience has friends who give hours every day to the Parent-Teacher Association, while others spend their days working at the problems of prison reform. It is once more a short and fairly logical step from support of a cause to support of the administrative agency responsible for the program it represents—indeed, the two things freqently are indistinguishable in the mind of the citizen. Thus citizen support builds up for this or that or the other program, or more accurately and in the aggregate for many programs, since nearly every governmental activity will find at least some public support.

Such citizen support of course is not always as guileless as I have thus far made it seem. The various professions and vocations have their several interests in government, and they do not hesitate to make their wishes known. Thus the doctors take as their special province the department of public health, whether state or municipal, and they plump for public health, as understood and interpreted by the organized medical profession, in fair weather and in foul. (That public health programs effective now for the better part of a century savor strongly of "socialized medicine," as that term is defined currently by the American Medical Association, appears to have escaped the medicos completely. But this is not the place to dwell on such relatively minor inconsistencies in the medical profession.) Also instructive is the case of the lawyers, most of whom would be shocked by the suggestion that the public at large has some stake in the regulation of the bar. And teachers, engineers, accountants, nurses, plumbers, architects, all bring their influence to bear when and where they feel it is needed.

I do not speak of pressure groups in any necessarily critical sense but of citizen groups and organizations, most of them entirely legitimate and proper in their purpose, but each marshaling its strength behind an individual activity of government.

Further Evidences of Separatism

Another manifestation of the new separatism is found in the gospel of independent boards for individual programs. One will find in a state as many as 50 separate boards, sometimes more, each charged with responsibility for administering a program in a particular field. In the cities, school boards, park boards, recreation boards, planning boards, police commissions and so on—any municipal official can name a dozen out of his own experience—are too numerous and too much with us to require extended comment. It is not meant to argue here the case of the board as an administrative agency but only to point out that, whatever attributes they may have in addition, administrative boards have the basic effect of setting certain chosen functions apart from the general activities of government, and so of pulling the total program of government off balance.

Still another evidence of administrative atomization is to be found in the use of earmarked funds—funds which are set aside for specified purposes and which can be used only for those purposes. Among the several interesting aspects of this practice two warrant mention in the present context: first, some group or groups have not been willing to entrust the program in question to the democratic process of annual appropriation; and second, a part of the whole program of government is called up once more for special consideration and is given preferential treatment over other and perhaps equally significant activities. In one state more than 90 per cent of all the money spent by the various state agencies each year comes from earmarked funds. In such a situation there can be no true budget, while legislative action on appropriations becomes largely a formality.

The last of our illustrations will be found in the myriads of special districts and authorities. Here I do not wish to base the argument on the increased complexity of government which these units make for, though there is a case to be made on that score. Let us be content merely to note that the undeniable trend toward special districts and authorities means more and more that prior attention will be given to certain selected activities of government, almost unavoidably at the expense of other activities and of the total administrative program.

It may be worth while to observe in passing that special districts and authorities normally come into being because units of general government fail (or refuse, or neglect) to render satisfactorily all the services demanded by the public. This would suggest that one antidote to government by special districts is the adoption of more vigorous action programs by the areas of general government, and specifically by the towns and cities.

Decline of the Generalist

The other side of the coin of administrative dispersiveness is, of course, the specialization with which this discussion began. The overwhelming fact in our administrative history of the last quarter-century is that, as subject matter specialists have tended to increase in number and know-how, the man of general competence has faded more and more into the background. And there is not only room in our governmental system for the man who knows less about some things but more about many things: there is positive and crying need for such men. The politician is, of course, the generalist *par excellence*. That politicians may be currently in ill-repute is in no sense cause for denial of the services they are prepared to render in a democracy.

Here is a strange and extremely significant circumstance: there are more people interested in civic affairs than ever before, there are more conferences and more speeches and more books on the subject than ever before; yet we continue to drift deeper and deeper into the morass of schism, as though guided inexorably by some unseen hand.

There are literally hundreds of organizations whose chief concern is public affairs: a 1948 directory listed approximately 2,300 such organizations, of which 565 were national and 1,654 state. We have, indeed, reached the point in our striving for administrative articulation where the more we organize the less organized we become. This is so because the organization of specialty groups proceeds at the cost of total social organization.

The problem is to direct thinking, or at least *some* thinking, into channels suggested by contemplation of the total problem of society. A good second-best calls for contemplation of large and important segments of the total problem of society.

Prospects for His Re-birth

There are, of course, organizations and agencies which attempt to do precisely this thing. One of the chief of these is the American Society for Public Administration, which emphasizes in its journal and its annual conference the general problems of administration. Another is the Public Administration Clearing House, which seeks to give general direction to the programs of a number of specialty organizations.

Another still is the National Municipal League, which for more than half a century has treated of the problems of cities and states in terms of civic leadership and citizen action. The League and its annual conference give proven promise that the public's need for good government at the community level will not fail of intelligent consideration for want of vigorous sponsorship.

It is not without significance that the League for 40 years has been the principal proponent of the council-manager plan, under which a generalist in the person of the city manager assumes prime responsibility for the city's administrative affairs. The office of manager, whether city or county, appears to offer our one best hope for a general as opposed to a particularistic approach to the administration of local affairs.

"The fortuitous or casual concourse of atoms" is no longer as fortuitous or casual as when Richard Bentley wrote in the 18th century. On the contrary, the concourse of atoms which we know in the 20th century is designed and purposeful. It is as yet too early to know for what this concourse is, or is to be, designed. Thus far we have seen in dramatic form only the destructive results of atomic fission, though there is evidence to justify the expectation that atomic energy will prove of the first importance also for peacetime uses.

The atomic scientists themselves have proved to be the world's most consummate specialists. By group development of a process which, it was said a few years ago, no single individual could follow all the way through, they have provided a means for the full and complete atomization of society, indeed mayhap of the world itself. Thus is the course of specialization reduced to absurdity precisely through the prospect of complete realization. Salvation will be found not through atomization, but through synthesization. The problem is not fission, but fusion.

AL DEPT

The Professor Is a Politician

Serving on city council teaches educator how unprivate public life is but, in spite of everything, he likes it.

By STUART A. MacCORKLE*

AUSTIN is a city of approximately 132,000 people, the capital of the state and the seat of the University of Texas. It is largely a residential city. There is a limited amount of small industry and manufacturing—the type which, for the most part, best fits into a cultural and residential community. Austin is known the country over as a good place in which to live.

Our city government has been the council-manager type since 1926. It had only two managers in a period of 24 years. The third was appointed in the summer of 1950. Since adoption of this plan Austin has always had five councilmen, all elected at large at the same time for two-years. The council chooses one of its number to serve as mayor and the group works as a committee of the whole. It is seldom that special committees are appointed.

The city manager is the chief administrative officer both in law and in practice. The charter makes it unlawful for the council or any of its members to dictate the appointment of any person to office or employment by the manager or in any manner to interfere with him in the appointment of officers or employees. The manager is made responsible for the appointment and removal of all officers and employees of the city except the judge and clerk of the corporation court, the health officer, members of the Board of Equalization and the city treasurer. The council is forbidden, except for the purpose of inquiry, from dealing with the administrative services except through the manager.

Relationships between the council and the manager always present problems. If these relationships are to be harmonious, there must be an understanding attitude existing between the parties involved. The council must realize that its true function is that of policy making, and the administration must hew to the line that its major function is that of carrying out the policy as set forth by the legislative body.

This is a simple and trite statement but the fact is that it is one of the most difficult to execute. As a matter of fact, no one but a beginning student in political science knows where to draw the line between policy making and policy execution. At best, the line of demarcation between the two is a twilight zone. The very fact that the mayor is chairman of the council makes him, in the eyes of many citizens, the chief administrative officer of the city, and the fact that the

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citizens believe and expect him to be more than a chairman of the council often causes the mayor to take an active dish in administration which otherwise he would not do. It is inevitable that he will step across the line at times.

To a certain extent the same set of circumstances is likewise true of councilmen. They, too, like to get their fingers in administration. The public expects it of them. The function of administration is to provide the policy-making body with the facts upon which its decisions may be based. As one grows older in experience, one tends to become less sure about what constitutes a fact. One asks himself more and more: Were the facts prepared with a particular end in mind? Or were they presented in an impartial manner, letting the chips fall where they will? Or were the facts prepared with the wishes, opinions and prejudices of the council in mind? Government can never be conducted in a vacuum, nor would we want it that way.

A democratic government will always have a human element in it. On the other hand, the facts presented to the council should be as impartial as possible. In Austin our manager takes the responsibility for seeing that the facts are prepared for the council. He presents these to us for consideration. Council members review them in as much detail as they wish and vote according to their own dictates.

It is my belief that members of our council seldom circle the manager and take up administrative matters with department heads. Complaints coming to the council are generally relayed to the manager for disposal with a statement from the council member to the effect that if the complaint is not handled satisfactorily, the councilmen will be so informed. There are few occasions when minor complaints are referred by the councilmen direct to the departmental head concerned. I believe it could be said, without fear of contradiction, that the manager serves, by and large, as the administrative head of the city.

Council Determines Policy

We are told that a member of the council in the council-manager form of government is in much the same position as one who serves on the board of directors of a large corporation. It is the job of the board to determine over-all policy. The board members should not become so involved in minute details of their jobs that the more important long range problems of the company are neglected.

The councilman, in the same vein, should not allow himself to become a ward foreman or errand boy for those whom he represents. A councilman soon learns that the people have an exaggerated conception of his duties and powers. To many he is the one who should be able to ease every sorrow and right most wrongs. If the councilman is politically ambitious, he must be fondly remembered as a man with a sympathetic ear and a big heart. Being a good councilman and a good fellow at the same time is not easy. This simple truth so many textbook writers have overlooked. It is not only important to know what should be done but it is equally as essential to know how to get it done and keep it done.

The fact that the average citizen does not understand the principles of council-manager government makes the councilman's job more difficult. Mr. Citizen does not see why the man for whom he voted as a councilman should not personally see that his garbage is collected, his street paved or Mrs. Jones's barking dog carried off to the city pound. As a matter of fact, one of the greatest problems in my experience as a member of the Austin city council has been in getting over to the public the true function of a councilman. We, no doubt, are somewhat to blame for, by and large, councilmen are extroverts—they like publicity and they like to feel that they are personally responsible for getting things done.

One of the crying needs of government on all levels is that of obtaining and keeping good legislators in office. We seem to have trained practically everyone in the city hall except our councilmen. We need more councilmen who are statesmen. By statesmen I mean individuals who vote their own convictions and forget the next election.

Again, let me say that, if the relationship between the council and administration is to be cordial and the right kind of a relationship, there must be a complete understanding by both parties of the functions of each, and this understanding must be transferred to the public. The importance of the latter part of this statement should never be overlooked. Perhaps one of the reasons why relations between the council, the manager and the public are good in Austin is that the council does its business on the front porch. There are few "off-the-record" or "warm-up" sessions and all sessions are open to the manager and the news reporters.

I have been told by some that such practices are bad politically. While it may mean a short political life I feel in the long run the community will benefit. On the other hand, it slows up the legislative process and there are many times, since no councilman has had the benefit of his colleagues' thinking, when our council does not function with machine-like precision.

Not an Easy Task

Even under the best of working conditions the task of being a councilman is not an easy one. It is time consuming, but so is any job that is well done. My experience teaches me that one who serves in this capacity must, of necessity, give many hours outside of council meetings. I am reminded of a comment made by a wise friend who, just before my election, said, "Stuart, serving on the city council is one of the most difficult and time-consuming jobs that a citizen can undertake." He continued, "You live with the people you govern."

Never a day passes but I realize the truth of this statement. The problems of the community are with you always when you shop, when you stop for a tank of gas, when you lunch with a friend, when you are working in the office and even when you endeavor to spend a quiet evening at home. Most of us feel ourselves to be experts on our city government—no matter how little we know. This is good and proper. The citizen has a big stake in his city government, and the big stick as well. He pays the bill.

'All Things to All Men'

Often am I reminded of an address which I heard some years ago at a convention of the League of Texas Municipalities, part of which ran something like this: A mayor or councilman must be a man of vision and of ambition, an after-dinner speaker, a night owl—work all day and stay up all night. He must learn to sleep anywhere, to eat from two to six meals a day, to drive through mud and rain, summer or winter, without perspiring or acquiring B.O. He must be a man's man, a ladies' man, a model husband, a father, a devoted son-in-law and a good provider. He must have a good car, an attractive home, belong to a number of clubs or lodges and have ready money for entertainment. He must be a good correspondent, attend civic and political meetings, tournaments and funerals, visit old friends and make new ones, attend conferences, be a good financier and philanthropist.

The late novelist, W. L. George, in describing the English civil service once said of the civil servant: "He must be a man of oil, silver and steel, capable of every delay and grace, suggestive of every sympathy and capable of none, incapable of a lie, always capable of an evasion, determined in public utility, yet not blind to private advancement, singularly addicted to justice, yet unable to suffer mercy. Not a man but a theorem, a diagram, a syllogism."

My experience as a councilman has taught me that this statement applies equally as well to a legislator. The citizen wants to see his councilman; he wants to hear what he has to say. This may mean that the councilman spends hours riding in parades, addressing luncheon clubs, appearing on PTA programs, being present at dinners, receptions, funerals and fires, and talking with committees of the chamber of commerce or with various other interested groups and organizations about the city's problems. A councilman who is not interested enough to make public appearances, to attend meetings, to view with his own eyes proposed zoning changes—in other words, to meet the people and view their problems—will not for long hold their confidence and respect. Many of the duties and responsibilities of an elected officer cannot be delegated. It is a one-man job and that means long hours and much activity for the people's representative. I, for one, would not change this procedure. Experience is still the best teacher and that holds true for a legislator as well as for an administrator. It also holds true for the councilman of a council-manager city, although I honestly believe that his lot is not so difficult as it might be under another form of city government.

But let me say that I like being on the Austin city council. I wish more of our citizens could serve in this capacity. I wish there were more who were willing to stick out their necks. I believe they, too, after such an experience, would feel more tolerant of the "city fathers."

It is strange the way we, in this country, regard the people we elect to office. When electing public officers we send up a loud cry for fewer "politicians" in office and more "honest citizens" or "sound businessmen." We vote some of these into office and before long, in our minds, they too become members of that society termed "politicians." We are peculiar in our political thinking. We love our democratic way of life—we will fight and die to maintain it—but we forget that the machinery of democratic government is politics—politics is the science of popular government. Taking city government out of politics would be taking it out of popular control and abandoning democracy.

Sure, there are some drawbacks to being a politician, but my brief experience would lead me to believe that they are exaggerated. You lose a few friends. There are a few who are intolerant and grossly selfish, but the percentage is not large. You will receive more complaints than praise, but what do you expect? The majority of your fellow citizens will appreciate your efforts even though they do not tell you, for such is human nature. Most of these citizens understand that if the council is to accomplish what they desire, all must join forces and work together. The intelligent citizen knows that the council is not there just to protect the real estate owner, the restaurant keeper, the merchant, the carpenter, the plumber or any other group in the community. As a matter of fact, no such group ordinarily comprises a large enough group of voters to elect a candidate. Far more important is the fact that a city government cannot function efficiently for any given community if the councilman concludes that his chief concern is to protect the interest of a special group.

It is comforting and satisfying to know that when the facts are presented to most citizens the majority of them respect the councilman who is attempting to do an honest job and who cannot be unduly influenced, although they may disagree with the way he voted on a particular item.

Direct Legislation Laboratory

Use of initiative, referendum and recall in California municipalities aids in extension of principles to state.

By WINSTON W. CROUCH*

DOES municipal government provide training in democratic processes which can be transferred to state affairs or to other levels of government? In the past 50 years American cities have developed a number of programs that, when they proved successful at the local level, were taken up by the states. Many features of direct legislation had their origins in city government and California has been a noted laboratory both for municipal government and for direct legislation.

A significant precedent for citizen participation in local affairs was started in that state when the 1879 constitution and the 1883 municipal corporation act authorized incorporation of municipalities only upon petition by the local inhabitants to the county board of supervisors, followed by a referendum within the community. Prior to 1879 cities had been created by special legislative act without reference to the people affected. California's greatest growth in population occurred after 1883, hence most of its municipal corporations came into being by petition and referendum.

Municipal home rule has done much to extend the principles of direct legislation in the western states and in California in particular. The state's 1879 constitution made it possible for cities with more than 3,500 population to prepare a freeholders' charter for submission to the voters. A 1902 constitutional amendment permits 15 per cent of the city's qualified voters to demand an election for a board of freeholders by presenting an initiative petition. Piedmont, Santa Clara, San Mateo and Redondo Beach obtained their original charters in this manner.

Local option, the perennial weapon of the "drys" in liquor fights, served throughout the 1890s and 1900s to crystallize opinion in favor of putting certain policy matters before the electorate. A number of municipalities in Southern California incorporated to permit a local dry majority to oust saloons from the community, a thing they could not do so long as they remained under general county government.

Throughout most of its American history, California has operated on the principle that bonded indebtedness of governments should be incurred only if the voters approved. Bonds for nearly every type of local government unit must be approved by a two-thirds majority of those voting.

San Francisco and Vallejo were the first California cities to adopt the initiative and petition referendum for general municipal legislation. Both cities included such provisions in their charters in 1898, although neither employed them for several years.

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I. R. and R. Introduced

The most ardent exponent of the initiative and referendum and the inventor of the recall was John Randolph Haynes, a physician who had come out to Los Angeles from Philadelphia and whose practice included most of the leading citizens. He was a member of several charter commissions, was for years a commanding figure in water and power policies of the city and was a regent of the University of California. As a member of the Los Angeles board of freeholders in 1903 he secured adoption of the initiative, referendum and recall in that city.

The initiative was used three years later, when four competing ordinances were presented. One was prepared by a group of irate citizens who sought to oust slaughterhouses from the city. The packinghouse owners were not to be outdone; they circulated three petitions, each with a different solution, but each would have permitted slaughterhouses to operate in certain areas. The first petition was approved by the voters. (It was amended in 1917 on motion of the city council.)

Shortly afterwards the referendum and the recall were also tested. Los Angeles, like many another city in California, Ohio, Illinois and elsewhere at that time, was involved in disputes with railroads, street car companies and public utility companies over franchises for use of public streets and over contracts. The first petition referenda were concerned with franchises and because so many cities were troubled with this subject, numerous leaders took a long look at the referendum and moved to put it into their municipal charters.

The first use of the recall was typical of the same situation in municipal politics at that time. A Los Angeles councilman was accused of accepting favors from a prominent daily paper in return for a favorable vote upon a city printing contract and in the ensuing special election he was turned out of office. This was a period in which civic leaders were preoccupied with turning out the spoilsmen. If Mayor Brand Whitlock of Toledo was correct, and "The cure for the ills of democracy is more democracy," then the initiative, the referendum and the recall were significant contributions to local self-government.

The Schmitz-Ruef graft trials in San Francisco in 1906 uncovered an inglorious situation in that city. In the civic cleanup that followed the citizens turned to the petition initiative to place many measures on the city ordinance book.

A young special prosecutor named Hiram Johnson rose from the latter stages of the San Francisco trials into the limelight of state politics and led the spectacular and far-reaching state revolt of 1910. Johnson went into the governorship on a platform that gave prominent place to referendum, recall and the direct primary. Immediately following his election Johnson stumped the state for constitutional amendments that provided the initiative, referendum and recall for state affairs and for all counties and cities. This was a period of reform and the cities had something to teach the state because they had been more adept at reform, although the state had been generous with home rule thereby permitting the cities that would experiment to do so.

Cities' Experience

What use have the cities made of these devices in approximately 45 years? Experience has varied according to the size of the community. The smaller cities seem to have made little use of the initiative. Cities under 10,000 generally elect a five-member council, a treasurer and a city clerk who is also assessor and election officer. Some of these cities have a regular manager form while others have adopted a modified, administrative officer form. The community is small and council members are known throughout the community; pressure favoring a line of action is made known to the council very directly. More often than not there is factionalism; majorities change rapidly. Petitions are often circulated urging the council to pave a given street or to provide lighting or school crossing guards, but these are aimed to prove to council that a sufficient number of voters want this improvement.

The referendum has been a more attractive device in the small town although it has been used sparingly. Perhaps the factionalism of community politics lends itself better to the referendum, which after all is a device to prevent legislative action. If a majority of council is determined to have a sales tax to supplement high taxes on real estate, or if the council decides to put in parking meters to relieve congestion in the marketing district along Main Street, a group of merchants is likely to get out a petition against this type of ordinance. Both subjects, sales tax and parking meters, have been involved in several referenda in recent years.

Small towns provide the most unfortunate examples of the recall. Conditions in towns under 10,000 continue to be very much as they were pictured by Bird and Ryan in their excellent book, *The Recall of Public Officials*.[1] Recall of councilmen is likely to be an all too frequent occurrence. Often this may represent a recurrence of the factionalism that was shown at the regular election; both the winning and the losing side show a lack of responsibility. In most instances this frequent use of the recall in smaller cities is symptomatic of the relative youthfulness of the communities, the stress of growing pains, the continual influx of new citizens. As stability sets in, as municipal leaders gain recognition, I look for this use of the recall to lessen. It must be admitted, however, that the recall stirs wide interest and discussion. Not only are petitions circulated but groups of citizens meet to discuss the allegations and defenses, the local papers take sides and there is considerable effort made to get out the vote.

A sampling of medium size cities, a good percentage of which operate under a council-manager form of government, indicates that neither of the direct government devices has been used to any extent. Petition referenda have been conspicuously absent in medium size cities in California, especially in the past twenty years. Charter amendments, submitted to the voters by the council, have not been numerous either.

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[1] The Macmillan Company, 1930.

Santa Monica's experience is an illustration. Over 4,000 voters of this suburb signed a petition in 1924 proposing annexation to Los Angeles, ostensibly to obtain a guarantee of water supply that the bigger city could give. However, only 3,479 voters supported this and the anti-annexationists won! In 1938 the police and fire employees went door-to-door circulating a petition to amend the charter to provide a pension fund for the two departments. The city commission opposed the petition and it was defeated overwhelmingly. In 1939 an initiative ordinance prohibiting drilling of oil wells within the city was approved by a majority of eight to one, although only 25 per cent of the registered voters participated. Finally, initiative petitions forced a reluctant commission to start proceedings that led ultimately to a council-manager charter.

Elected officials are occasionally subjected to a recall in medium size cities although conditions differ markedly from the smaller cities. Pasadena presents an unusual example of a city that recalled its entire council. In the 1930s a bad factional split appeared in the council, aggravated by the fiscal problems that developed from an over-grandiose civic center scheme and tax troubles of the depression years. This city, a well-to-do residential suburb, had had little citizen action, but in this troubled time an organization composed largely of professional people sprang into being. After much conferring they decided to try to oust the entire council and developed a slate pledged only to work in harmony; specific plans or issues were avoided. The recall forces put on a vigorous campaign, supported by the chief newspaper, emphasizing the need for harmony and action at city hall. The entire slate went in and some elected that day have continued to serve. Elected officials appear now to enjoy the community's full confidence.

Use in Large Cities

Los Angeles and San Francisco, the largest cities of the state, have tended to place numerous matters on their ballots: charter amendments, bond referenda, public policy referenda, etc., most of which originated with the city council but required voter approval. Los Angeles generally has submitted policy matters at municipal elections held at times other than statewide elections, whereas San Francisco as a city-county has used the state general election for local matters.

San Francisco voters, therefore, are constantly presented with a large number of policy matters. The all-time high occurred in November 1928, when the city submitted 40 propositions and the state nineteen. On the same ballot were presidential electors, candidates for United States Senate, Congress, state legislature and board of supervisors! Nevertheless, because San Francisco does combine local and state elections, a higher percentage of the voters are attracted. For example, 79 per cent of the registered voters accepted the "bed sheet" ballot in 1928 and voted on the issues presented there. Los Angeles has been able to arouse only an average of 46 per cent of its registered voters for the separate municipal elections, although candidates as well as propositions are involved.

Experience in these two cities seems to parallel that in the state in that there is no correlation between the length of the ballot and the percentage of the voters who go to the polls. There also appears to be little correlation between place on the ballot and the percentage of voters who express an opinion upon a proposal; place has little to do with its chances for success. Almost without exception matters placed on the ballot by petition receive a higher vote than do matters submitted by the council or state legislature, regardless of position on the ballot.

Vote upon candidates, particularly for mayor and for governor, continues to be heavier than that for any proposition. In the two large cities propositions to recall a municipal official have polled a higher vote than any initiative or charter amendment. For example, two efforts to recall mayors in Los Angeles, the attempted recall of Mayor Porter in 1932 and the successful recall of Frank Shaw in 1938, brought out 64 and 47 per cent of the voters respectively. San Franciscans, however, have had less experience with the recall than Los Angeles and have responded in fewer numbers. In 1917 an unsuccessful attempt to recall the district attorney brought out only 40 per cent of the registered voters and in 1921 two allegedly corrupt police judges were ousted but again only 40 per cent of the voters participated.

Many Referenda Submitted

Available figures show that in 45 years Los Angeles voters have passed upon 358 local measures at general elections and 216 at special elections. Of the total, twenty were petition referenda, eleven ordinances being upheld and nine defeated. In the same period, 50 ordinances were presented by petition, of which 21 were approved. Only three charter amendments were proposed by petition and only one, a police and fire pension plan, was approved. The council, however, submitted 360 charter amendments and obtained approval of 219. A majority of the bond issues carried, as did public policy (advisory) and annexation referenda.

San Francisco voters have had an even heavier task. In 35 years they voted upon 531 items at general elections and 239 at special elections, for a total of 770, or an average of 22 per year. Petition referenda were filed in fourteen instances, wins and losses being evenly divided. Only 25 ordinances were started by petition and twelve of them were approved; however, 55 charter amendments were proposed by petition and 23 passed. The board of supervisors submitted 467 charter amendments and obtained approval of 238. A majority of bond issues proposed were approved. San Francisco has an interesting provision wherein four supervisors may demand a public policy referendum on a matter that is being considered by the board. Twenty-five such propositions have been submitted and in only nine instances have the voters upheld the majority of the board.

Recall Elections Unsuccessful

In the past ten years there has been a marked decline in the use of direct legislation in the cities. San Francisco has had no initiative or referendum petition on the ballot in that time. In these same ten years, the mayors of San Francisco and Los Angeles each faced a recall election and successfully outrode the storm. In 1946 Roger Lapham retained office in San Francisco and at the recent general election Fletcher Bowron, mayor of Los Angeles for twelve years, defeated a recall move. Los Angeles ousted one city councilman who became too ardent an advocate for Gerald L. K. Smith. In 1943 Los Angeles voted upon an initiative ordinance regulating hours of milk delivery, and recently the council submitted a vivisection ordinance.

San Francisco has for many years been more of an organization city in its municipal politics, although it follows the dominant western pattern of municipal nonpartisan elections. Most of the matters submitted to voters there have been put by the elected officials to obtain popular ratification. Los Angeles has been the city of the independent voter. Organizations and factions have been short-lived; the organized municipal employees have been a dominant factor in municipal elections because of lack of organization among the citizenry generally. For the past ten years the mayors and councils in both cities appear to have been quite responsive to popular requests.

The state's experience with direct government since 1911 has varied from that of its cities. The recall has been used twice against state officers, both times against legislators, and shortly after the recall had been adopted. Threats to recall state executives have been made on a few occasions but none reached the election stage. The statewide petition referendum shows approximately the same record as that in cities: sparingly used and employed chiefly by strongly organized pressure groups that have fought the legislation through the committees and lobbies at Sacramento.

In state legislation the direct initiative is the controversy center at present, largely because of the economic nostrums that have been placed on the ballot by the process in the last ten years.[2] State political party organization is notoriously weak although California has regained its standing as a two-party state after a period of 40 years in which one party controlled all elections. Continuous influx of population has made it difficult to maintain party organization. A considerable number of voters do not feel that they have "put their roots down" in the community—many still think of Cedar Rapids, Cleveland, Peoria and Prairie Dog Flat as "home." California's much discussed cross filing, which permits candidates to file for nomination of the other parties as well as his own, defeats party responsibility and destroys any meaning in party platform.

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[2] See "Can We Afford the Initiative," by Alfred E. Smith, the REVIEW, October 1949, page 437.

In this kind of situation it has been difficult for the regular elective machinery of state government to provide a strong leadership on many of the issues that hold the attention of the people. Even when a governor has been elected on both major party tickets, his party in the legislature refuses to follow his lead on numerous measures affecting the welfare and economy of the state. In the absence of strong party leadership of opinion and in the absence of an elected leadership that can and will crystallize thinking on matters of welfare, employment, taxation and the like, there will arise self-appointed leaders with nostrums that attract a following.

Change in State Use

Statewide use of the initiative has undergone several periodic changes. For some time after it was first adopted it was used largely for policy matters, and there was little concern with administration or with financial matters. Such matters as the poll tax, prohibition, race track gambling and the like were the issues. Policy matters probably were the type of measures contemplated by the earlier proponents of the initiative. During the 1920s, however, various groups turned to the initiative because the legislature failed to agree upon specific legislation or refused to act. During this period state support of the public schools was fixed in the constitution by initiative, a state executive budget system was installed, the present method of apportioning seats in the legislature was adopted and permanent registration of voters was established.

During the past ten years, however, the state initiative has been subjected to several abuses. Numerous pension plans, from "$30 every Thursday" through "$60 at Sixty," and a plan to finance pensions by legalized gambling, have come to vote. One fantastic measure that carried the euphoneous title of "Bill of Rights" pertained to many subjects, including pensions, Indians, usury and other unrelated matters. The state supreme court refused to permit this to go on the ballot.

During the recent decade the state voters have approved some amendments to the original direct legislation law to clear up some problems. One permits the legislature to submit to a vote of the people amendments to a law originally enacted by the initiative. Another amendment limits an initiative to one subject, similar to the restriction upon legislative bills. Administrative organization created by initiatives must come under the state executive budget program. Neither the legislature nor the initiative may name persons in an act to administer a program if adopted.

Undoubtedly there have been abuses of the original plan and suggestions for cure thrive in numbers. Yet substantial groups representative of important segments of the state, liberal and conservative alike, have found it useful; therefore critics are loath to put on crippling amendments or to withdraw the device.

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DICAL DEPT.

Illinois Votes the Blue Ballot

Officials and voters join hands to secure adoption of proposal to provide easier amendment of constitution.

By **WILLIAM O. WINTER** and **ROBERT A. McGRATH***

ON Tuesday, November 7, 1950, a voter in a small, downstate Illinois city entered his precinct polling place and gave his name to the woman at the registration books. As his name was being checked off, an election clerk handed him two ballots. He took only the larger one and returned the smaller. But the clerk would not accept it.

"You must take this ballot into the booth and return it with the other one," she insisted. "This is the Gateway amendment."

The voter looked at the small blue rectangle in his hand and then with sudden realization he exclaimed, "So that's the 'blue ballot'!"

For the sixth time in as many decades the citizens of Illinois were voting on whether to revise the amending article of the constitution of 1870. The first attempt had been in 1892 and on this first Tuesday of November the sixth was under way and success was near. This was the culmination of a year's lengthy and expensive campaign, of the devoted work of hundreds of volunteers, of the pooled energies of dozens of civic, political, fraternal, educational and even religious organizations. The campaign was intense and well organized; there was no organized opposition.

The state constitution had not been amended since 1908 and, being typical of most state constitutions, its detail and inflexibility prohibited any substantive governmental changes except through the amending process. Nine times amendments had been submitted to the voters since that date. Eight received majorities; yet all nine failed of ratification. In 1946, for example, three out of every four votes cast for a proposed amendment were affirmative and still the amendment failed of ratification.

Why, with such majorities, did the amendments fail? In the answer to this question lies the reason for the blue ballot of 1950.

Since its promulgation the constitution of Illinois has been one of the most difficult to amend. Yet the amending article, in itself, was simple. It provided that two-thirds of the members elected to both houses of the legislature could propose amendments and that at the next general election an affirmative vote of all those voting in the election would be sufficient to ratify. It was this latter provision that caused the constitution to remain unchanged for almost half a century. The legislature had proposed amendments, but not once during the 42 years from 1908 to 1950 had a proposition been able to garner the necessary majority of all those voting in the election. Unfortunately, a large block of electors invariably ignored the propositions altogether. Thus they were defeated from the start by sheer voter disinterest.

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*Dr. Winter and Dr. McGrath are both assistant professors of government at Southern Illinois University. Dr. Winter is a former research associate with the Bureau of Government at the University of Michigan and Dr. McGrath was formerly on the faculty of the University of Kansas City.

In 1946 a proposed revision of the amending article received one and a quarter million votes, but since more than three and a half million votes were cast in the election, the necessary majority was not obtained. The sizeable vote on the amendment, however, encouraged the many Illinois citizens and groups interested in better state and local government to try again as soon as possible. And four years later try again they did.

Gateway Proposal

They called it the Gateway amendment, and they spoke metaphorically of opening the gate that had been padlocked for over 40 years. The people had locked themselves out of their own government; it was time they made themselves a key.

The state legislature began the campaign to supply the key in 1949. With a bi-partisan approach seldom equalled it voted to propose the amendment. There were only two opposing votes. Not content to stop there, the legislature also provided by law that the proposition was to be submitted to the voters on a separate ballot colored blue, that this ballot was to be handed to the voter on top of all other ballots, that each voter must be informed of the nature of the ballot and that it had to be turned back whether he marked it or not.

The proposed amendment was designed not to take the padlock off the gate but merely to supply a key. Proposed amendments were to be submitted to the people as they had been in the past—by a two-thirds vote of all the legislators. Ratification, however, could be effected either by an affirmative vote of a majority of all those voting in the election—the old method—or by a two-thirds vote of those voting on the proposition, whichever was the smaller. Amendments might also be submitted to three articles of the constitution at the same election, instead of to only a single article as provided under the previous restrictive amending process.

Following legislative action the ratification campaign was organized systematically. An Illinois Committee for Constitutional Revision, with headquarters in Chicago, was created to secure statewide organizational support and to integrate and coordinate the activities of these organizations in support of the amendment. As indication of the bi-partisan backing for the amendment, a Bi-partisan Committee for the Gateway Amendment was created with headquarters in Springfield, the state capital. This committee's membership included the top officials of both parties: the governor, the mayor of Chicago (both Democrats), the Republican and Democratic state chairmen and influential legislators and committeemen of both parties.

The secretary of state printed a bulletin explaining the nature of the amendment, to be distributed to all registered voters in the state. While this was certainly a most excellent gesture, its influence was questionable, first, because it reached the voters many weeks before the election and, second, because it was struck off in fine print and couched in technical language. But the bulletin did serve to emphasize both the importance and nonpartisan nature of the effort to make the state constitution amendable.

Citizen Support

By far the most important aspect of the campaign was the organizational support behind the Gateway proposal. Over fifty organizations, in addition to those already mentioned, went on record endorsing it and contributed with varying degrees of success to the campaign. These groups represented diverse points of view—political, social and economic. There were farm groups, veterans' groups and labor groups; women's organizations, civic clubs and business and professional societies; racial, religious and national societies. Some of these organizations were actively in support of the amendment; others did little more than lend their names to the campaign. It is significant that no important organization in the state came out against the proposal.

The Illinois Agricultural Association (state farm bureau), with a membership of 176,000 farm families, was one of the groups affiliated with the central committee in Chicago. The president of the association actively supported the amendment and the association devoted considerable space in its press to urge ratification. The legislative department of the Illinois State Chamber of Commerce went to much expense to publish a handsome, 23-page booklet explaining the proposal and the background to the movement. The Junior Chamber of Commerce sponsored a "Gateway Caravan" which toured the state during the last few days before the election. With two automobiles mounted on a trailer, one of 1908 vintage and the other a 1950 model, the caravan emphasized the extent of technological progress since the constitution was last amended.

The amendment got excellent coverage in the newspapers, in fact, the press of the state was almost unanimously for it. The St. Louis papers, which carry a considerable amount of Illinois news, and the Chicago papers devoted both their news columns and editorials to numerous appraisals of the Gateway proposal. The Chicago *Sun-Times* printed a four-page "Gateway" supplement, which was probably the most complete popular presentation of the arguments for the amendment.

Directing and coordinating all this activity was, of course, the Committee for Constitutional Revision in Chicago. The great mass of literature—posters, explanatory leaflets, sample ballots and Gateway tags—gotten out in support of the amendment was the committee's. This literature was handed out to all interested groups and individuals. One of the authors of this article was responsible for seeing that every school child in three southern Illinois counties got some of the literature to take home to his parents. Other functions of the committee included the organization of county campaign committees in 84 of the state's 102 counties; furnishing speakers drawn from the colleges and universities, bar associations, League of Women Voters and other sources; and in general stimulating discussion of the proposition and coordinating the multitude of organizational activities.

While there was no doubt in the minds of anyone that the proposition would get a substantial affirmative vote on November 7 and, indeed, that the affirmative ballots would outnumber the negative ones by at least three to one, no one was certain that the necessary majority of all those voting at the election would be achieved. It was not until 48 hours after the election that one could be sure the Gateway amendment had passed. When more than two million affirmative ballots had been counted, however, it was clear that the campaign had been successful. Final figures as reported by the secretary of state show 2,512,333 cast for the amendment, 735,903 against it.

Blue Ballot's Promise

Though a majority of the people of Illinois wanted the Gateway amendment, and though most of the organizations interested in state and local government supported it energetically, the reasons for wanting it were various. The Illinois Taxpayers' Federation, for example, while supporting the amendment made it clear that it would vigorously oppose any startlingly new state taxes, such as an income tax. "We do not believe," stated the executive secretary of the federation, "that the Gateway amendment is even a slight step in the direction of such a tax. We consider the Gateway proposal a reasonable means for much needed reform in our state constitution."[1]

Now that the battle has been won, the allies are once more pursuing their individual ends. Each one will not hesitate to turn upon a former friend when specific proposals for amending the constitution are advanced. Many of these proposals will die a-borning, since the amending process is still a difficult one. But a state constitution that has not been amended since 1908 requires much reworking, and there is little doubt but that substantive changes will be made in the next few years.

The local government structure of the state is badly out of date. With isolated exceptions, Illinois does not now permit its cities to meet their local problems in their own way. Chicago and many other urban communities are badly in need of home rule and it may now be possible for them to get it by constitutional amendment.

The people of Illinois elect representatives to both houses of the state legislature from districts that were drawn up on the basis of the census of 1900. Reapportionment, therefore, is a crying necessity if the people are to be fairly represented in their legislative body. The long ballot, moreover, still lives in Illinois in all its glory, both at the state and local levels. By means of constitu-

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[1] *Chicago Daily News,* November 3, 1950.

News in Review

City, State and Nation . . . . *Edited by H. M. Olmsted*

States Called on to Redistrict for Congress

President Urges Action Based on 1950 Census

THE need and opportunity for correction of gross inequalities and inconsistencies as to congressional representation were emphasized by President Truman in a special message to Congress on January 9. The need has existed for many years—even decades—and is increasing; the opportunity is presented by the completion of the 1950 census of population.

The President transmitted to Congress a tabulation, prepared by Roy V. Peel, director of the census, giving the 1950 population of each state, the present distribution of members of the House of Representatives among the states and the distribution on the basis of the new census. The clerk of the House is required within fifteen days, by federal statute, to certify to each state governor the number of representatives to which the state is entitled. The statute further prescribes ways in which any change in the number of representatives shall be handled until the states shall have redistricted.

The President urged Congress, in view of great and widespread discrepancies in representation among districts, to exert its constitutional power, as it had done prior to 1929, to require the states to follow certain standards such as that districts should be "composed of contiguous and compact territory and containing as nearly as practicable an equal number of inhabitants."

One standard suggested was that with congressional districts averaging nearly 350,000 population, no deviation greater than 50,000 up or down be permitted at the time of redistricting. The President did not stress the flagrant failure of some states, decade after decade, to redistrict after increase, decrease or extensive shifts in population but he gave his view that Congress should not merely enact standards but should see that they are complied with.

Illustrative of discrepancies the President said: "For example, there is one state in which, according to the 1950 census, the smallest district has a population of under 175,000 and the largest district has a population exceeding 900,000. In many states there are differences of two or three hundred thousand people between the smallest and largest existing districts in the state.

"While about half of the congressional districts throughout the country are between 300,000 and 400,000 in population there are some 50 districts with a population of 250,000 or less and, at the other extreme, some 50 districts with a population of 450,000 or more. Furthermore, as population has increased several states have added congressmen-at-large instead of redistricting as they should.

"Such defects in our system of congressional districts obstruct the effective operation of the democratic principles on which our whole government rests."

Four states with more than one representative now elect members at large. North Dakota and New Mexico have two members each, elected at large. Ohio and Connecticut have districts but each also has a representative at large. President Truman criticized this practice and asked Congress to direct each state with two or more representatives to redistrict completely, as required by federal law from 1842 to 1911.

Unless Congress increases the House membership above the present 435, as some suggest, the 1950 census will cause increases in seven states and decreases in nine: California to gain seven, Florida two and Maryland, Michigan, Texas, Virginia and Washington one each; Pennsylvania to lose three, New York, Missouri and Oklahoma two each and Arkansas, Illinois, Kentucky, Mississippi and Tennessee one each. Only three of the latter, however—Arkansas, Mississippi and Oklahoma—actually lost population in the decade.

State Officials Propose Civil Defense Act

Chief among proposals for legislation developed by a drafting committee of state officials for consideration by the 44 state legislatures meeting in regular session this year is a civil defense act. The proposals were put forward by the Council of State Governments.

The suggested civil defense legislation provides for the necessary organization to deal with potential enemy-caused disasters as well as natural disasters such as floods, fires and explosions. Under it the administration and operational channels of civil defense would be from the federal government to the state government and from the states to their political subdivisions. (This may be expected to be strenuously opposed by municipal officials and representatives, particularly from the larger cities.)

Briefly outlined, the act provides for establishment of a civil defense agency in the executive branch of the state government, to be headed by a director responsible to the governor; he would execute the governor's civil defense responsibilities. Provision in the act for delegation of administrative authority and direct enabling provisions are supposed to give mayors and the heads of other local governments enough authority to carry out their plans and organization.

A state civil defense mobile reserve battalion is also provided for. It would be organized under state direction in accordance with the civil defense plan and would be available to serve on call of the governor whenever a disaster in a particular area was so great that the local civil defense organization could not cope with it. Since these battalions would be under state control when operating, provision is made for the states to assume their expenses—including pay, compensation for losses and assumption of liability. Provision is also made for these battalions to serve in other states when, by similar legislation, the other states have assumed corresponding obligations to render out-of-state aid.

The suggested act also includes provisions authorizing mutual aid arrangements between political subdivisions within the state and, when coordinated with the governor, by political subdivisions across state lines. The drafting committee also adopted a resolution asking Congress to enact legislation authorizing mutual aid compacts and agreements among states with respect to both civil defense and disaster relief.

Public Library Kansas City Mo

Vermont Has Statewide Merit System

All Vermont state employees except those whose salaries or other compensation are fixed by statute are now under uniform civil service rules. This is by virtue of regulations signed last year by Governor Harold J. Arthur, effective September 1, 1950, under authority of an enabling act passed by the legislature in 1947. Positions must be filled from lists established through open competitive or promotional examinations.

Under the statute, policy is determined by a personnel board of three members, each appointed biennially for a six-year term. The board also recommends for appointment by the governor, for a two-year term, a personnel director qualified to administer the state personnel system.

Court Reform Measures Succeed in Various States

General success attended judicial reform proposals at the November election, according to a recapitulation by the American Judicature Society.

In California the "confused minor court hierachy" was replaced, through constitutional amendment, by municipal courts in communities of over 40,000 people and by justice courts elsewhere, with judges trained in the law. The plan goes into effect in part in January 1952 and completely a year later.

Alabama became the third state to adopt a form of the American Bar Association plan for selection of judges. Under a new constitutional amendment vacancies occurring after January 15, 1951, in the Birmingham circuit court are to be filled by the governor from a list of three nominations submitted by the Jefferson County Judicial Commission, consisting of two members of the bar, two laymen and one judge of the court.

Florida voters approved a constitutional amendment authorizing juvenile courts; Virginia voted for a measure providing unified court systems in cities; Mississippi increased the supreme court from six to nine judges; and Nevada forbade judges to run for non-judicial offices during the term for which they are elected or appointed.

In New York State the question of election versus appointment of judges, under various methods, is again a subject of discussion; likewise a more efficient and elastic arrangement among the various kinds of courts in the city of New York.

Arizona Legislators Hold Practice Session

An orientation program for new members of the House of Representatives of the 20th Arizona legislature, which met in regular session on January 8, was held at the state capitol in Phoenix on December 17. The meeting was called by the two candidates for the House speakership. Thirty-two of the 72 members are freshman legislators, while three have prior experience but were not members of the 19th legislature. A majority of the newcomers, as well as a number of members of the 19th legislature, were present. A trial session was held in the course of which legislators were instructed in the order of business, the various permissible motions and the manner of offering them, and the procedures followed by standing committees, the committee of the whole house and conference committees.

Paul Kelso

University of Arizona

Federal Youth Authority Established by Congress

By passage of the Federal Youth Authority Act late in 1950, Congress made the federal jurisdiction the fifth to adopt the substance of the American Law Institute's recommendations for correctional instead of retributive treatment of criminal youths, the *Journal* of the American Judicature Society states. California, Minnesota, Wisconsin and Massachusetts had previously adopted such legislation.

A Federal Youth Authority is established consisting of three persons, one of them the director of the Federal Bureau of Prisons. Defendants under age 24 when convicted may, at the discretion of the trial judge, be sentenced, placed on probation or committed to the custody of the authority.

Council-Manager Plan Developments

Sierra Madre, California, (1950 population 7,288) has adopted the council manager plan by ordinance.

Sarnia, Ontario, Canada, voted in December in favor of changing to the council-manager plan.

A committee of 21 in **Sanford, Maine,** appointed by a town meeting to study the present town government and to recommend changes, has reported in favor of either the council-manager or the strong-mayor type of government.

A special committee of the **Rutland, Vermont,** Chamber of Commerce was authorized by the board of governors to present a revised council-manager charter to the legislature and to attempt to place it before the voters in March.

The Chamber of Commerce of **Stoneham, Massachusetts,** is trying to get the legislature to validate the action of Stoneham voters last March in voting to accept the town manager act. The board of selectmen and the town counsel declared that the action was illegal.

A committee appointed in November 1949 by the moderator of a special town meeting in **Concord, Massachusetts,** to study the town manager plan reported in November in favor of a selectman-manager charter.

The first official act of the mayor and aldermen of **Newport, Rhode Island,** upon organization on January 1, was to adopt a resolution endorsing the council-manager plan. A manager charter was approved last March by Newport voters but was blocked in the legislature.

The Taxpayers League of **Maywood, New Jersey,** is starting a campaign to secure council-manager government. It plans to circulate petitions to place the question on the ballot.

The right of the voters in **Pennsylvania** third-class cities to adopt the council-manager plan is again an issue in the state legislature, where the League of Third Class Cities has long opposed the idea.

A proposed charter for **Salisbury, Maryland,** would leave the mayor responsible for municipal administration but would give him an "executive secretary" to whom he could delegate administrative duties and who would be required to have been trained in public administration.

The mayor of **Vero Beach, Florida,** has appointed a committee to consider changing the city's charter to provide for the council-manager plan and to draw up the necessary charter amendments for presentation to the 1951 legislature as a special act.

On January 16 voters of **Manistee, Michigan,** which has had the council-manager plan since 1914, defeated a proposed charter providing the manager plan in improved form.

The **Melvindale, Michigan,** Business Association is campaigning for the manager plan.

A council-manager charter for **Ogden, Utah,** drafted by fifteen charter commissioners, has been under public discussion.

The council-manager plan was debated in **Bountiful, Utah,** on December 20 by a public panel sponsored by the Chamber of Commerce and service clubs. The city administration is reported to be sympathetic to the idea.

Modesto, California, will vote for the second time February 14 on adoption of the council-manager plan. A manager charter was approved, 1,809 to 1,470, on November 8, 1949, but the charter was declared invalid.

A proposed manager charter for **Santa Clara, California,** has been discussed at a series of public meetings.

At a meeting of nineteen city managers in **Oregon** on November 15, in conjunction with the annual convention of the League of Oregon Cities, it was decided to organize an Oregon City Managers Association. Committees were appointed to draft a constitution and by-laws. J. L. Franzen, city manager of Salem, was unanimously elected president of the group, C. G. Reiter, city manager of Coos Bay, vice president, and Dean Seegar of the league staff, secretary. Formal adoption of a constitution and further action to perfect organizational details are expected at a meeting early in February.

Council-Manager Ups and Downs in State of Washington

Three cities in Washington have adopted the council-manager plan—**Sunnyside** (1950 population, 4,169), in 1948; **Ellensburg** (8,417) in 1949; and **Puyallup** (9,967) in December 1950.

In one of the larger cities, **Vancouver** (27,977), the mayor's charter study committee approved a proposed council-manager charter in December by a vote of twelve to two. The charter was submitted as a recommendation to the fifteen freeholders who were to be elected some time after January 1 when Vancouver is certified as a city of the first class.

In two other cities, **Camas** (4,705) and **Pasco** (10,177) manager proposals were defeated in December.

In Camas the opposition claimed that the plan was undemocratic, that an unqualified outsider could be made manager and that the law was too restrictive in requiring a vote of five councilmen out of seven to discharge a manager. They also objected to the provisions authorizing secret sessions of the council and prohibiting any change for six years after adoption. Editorials in the local papers pointed out the weakness of the opponents' arguments and carried the statements of the proponents of the plan that a city with a quarter-million-dollar budget deserves full-time attention that part-time councilmen have been unable to supply. The wide margin of defeat, 743 to 244, was possibly due to a lack of thorough and extensive publicizing of the plan and to the fact that so few Washington cities operate under it as yet.

In Pasco the election split city officials into two camps, the mayor campaigning against the plan with much force whereas several of the councilmen were strongly in favor of the change. The issue was clouded to some extent because of previous dissension over a water system project and because the campaign was supported strongly by a local paper which opponents charged was Seattle-owned and therefore represented an attempt by Seattle to dominate Pasco government. Another charge made was that the police and fire civil service systems would be eliminated, with full authority going to the manager. The fact that the state legislature had amended its optional manager law to leave fire and police services under civil service was ignored. Although a representative committee worked for more than a year to publicize the plan, the opposition charges prevailed against it this time, 1,023 to 644.

In both Camas and Pasco the manager question is expected to come up again when the public is better informed and when more of the many Washington cities now considering the plan adopt it.

DONALD C. SAMPSON
Association of Washington Cities

San Antonio Voters Defeat 'Red Herring' Civil Service Plan

By a three-to-one vote on December 19, San Antonio defeated a proposed civil service charter amendment, characterized by the civic groups opposing it as "fraudulent" and an attempt to prevent a vote on a council-manager charter amendment. For years organizations such as the League of Women Voters have been campaigning for the manager plan but their efforts have been blocked by the tactics of the city commission. Since under Texas law city charters may be amended only once in two years, adoption of the civil service law would have forestalled a vote on the manager plan for that length of time.

New Orleans Charter Committee at Work

A committee to revise the charter of New Orleans has been appointed as a result of action by the city's commission council. The latter appointed two members; the ten other members were appointed by the following individuals and organizations, by authority of the commission council: president of Tulane University, president of Loyola University, Bureau of Governmental Research, Chamber of Commerce, New Orleans Bar Association, League of Women Voters, Young Men's Business Club, CIO, AFL and Louisiana Civil Service League. The committee elected officers early in January, the chairman being Harry McCall of the Bar Association.

The constitutional home rule amendment, by virtue of which the charter revision is proceeding, did not provide for the charter committee; the latter was created by the New Orleans commission council. Such charter as it drafts is to be submitted to the commission council, which may review, amend or even reject it.

Whatever charter is approved by the commission council goes on the ballot in November 1952, in competition with the present charter and any others that may be proposed by petition of 10,000 or more signatures. Whatever plan receives the greatest number of votes would go into effect in May 1954.

Initiative and Referendum for Portland, Maine

By a vote of 3,446 to 2,856 the people of Portland, Maine, at the regular municipal election on December 4, 1950, approved an ordinance establishing the initiative and referendum in municipal legislative matters. Ten qualified voters may originate a petition for popular vote on an ordinance proposed on their initiative or already enacted by the city council, but not yet effective. The petition is held at the office of the city clerk for 30 days for signatures. If the latter total 5 per cent or more of the registered voters a public hearing is held, followed by submission of the ordinance to popular vote. A majority of those voting on the question decides the matter.

Ordinances dealing with appropriations, tax levies or wages or hours of city employees are not subject to initiative or referendum.

Alabama Court Approves Birmingham Annexation

Birmingham, Alabama, is now thirteen and a half square miles larger and contains 13,000 more people. In November the Alabama Supreme Court upheld the validity of an annexation referendum held in the

Birmingham area in September 1949. According to Census Director Roy V. Peel, the additional population will be included in Birmingham's total for 1950, making it a city of over 300,000 people and 76 square miles in area.

Most of the territory taken into the city was residential in character although it did include a few industrial properties. The annexation did not include any of the outlying satellite cities since, under provisions of the statute, the population of each municipality was required to cast an affirmative vote to be included. None of the five did. The territory affected, therefore, was all unincorporated territory.

Lower Court Overruled

In approving the local referendum, the State Supreme Court overruled a decision in the local Circuit Court that the title of the act was not expressed clearly. This contention meant, of course, that the voter knew not for what he was voting. But presiding Justice Joel B. Brown, speaking for the court, held that this contention was without merit. Moreover, he put aside the plea that this situation constituted an unconstitutional delegation of legislative power to the voters of Jefferson County. It merely fixed the extent, he said, of the operation of the act—an act passed under a valid power of the legislature. Three other members of the court concurred.

According to City Commission President Cooper Green, the newly annexed areas will receive garbage collection, fire and police protection services "as soon as humanly possible"; and eventually, he added, the residents of the area will be served by new schools and library units of the Birmingham systems.

Extension of Birmingham's municipal boundaries was recommended by the Legislative Advisory Commission for Jefferson County early in 1947[1]; and after some modification by the local legislative delegation, the recommendation was effected by a local act of the legislature. The act provided for a referendum of the people in the area affected.

DONALD S. VAUGHAN
Bureau of Public Administration
University of Alabama

Revision of Iowa Municipal Statutes Offered

After long and thorough research and deliberation the Iowa Municipal Statutes Study Committee has prepared its report for the 1951 session of the state legislature. The conclusions of the committee were summarized by its chairman, Senator John H. Hattery, at the 1950 convention of the League of Iowa Municipalities. Some of them are briefly as follows:

1. Elimination of obsolete, repetitious or otherwise unnecessary provisions. At least one-third of the present laws relating to municipalities would be repealed;
2. A more uniform system of courts for all municipalities;
3. General powers, duties and responsibilities of cities of all classes to be set out in one chapter of the code; special powers of the several forms of municipal government and provision for changing from one form to another to be given in short separate chapters;
4. Four-year instead of two-year terms for city officials, with staggered terms for councilmen;
5. All regular city and town elections in November of odd-numbered years, county, state and national elections being in even-numbered years;
6. Uniform procedure for special assessments;

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[1] See "City-County Merger Proposed," by Roscoe C. Martin, the REVIEW, July 1947, page 367.

7. Establishment of nine functional funds for municipal governments instead of 164 separate funds now authorized;

8. More freedom to cities in the administration of their own affairs.

Inter-American Municipal Review Established

The third meeting of the Inter-American Congress of Municipalities, held in New Orleans in May 1950, provided for the publication of a quarterly magazine, *Inter-American Municipal Review* (*Revista Municipal Americana*), devoted to municipal administration and intermunicipal cooperation. It is supported in part by the Public Administration Clearing House (Chicago). Numbers 1 and 2 (July-December, 1950) constitute a special single issue incorporating the resolutions, recommendations, etc., adopted at the New Orleans meeting, including the "statutes of the Inter-American Municipal Organization," relating to the nature, form and functions of that body which, in effect, sponsors the Inter-American Congress of Municipalities.

Direct Primary Developments in New England

At a session of the representative town meeting of Greenwich, Connecticut, on January 8, a resolution was overwhelmingly adopted urging the state legislature to enact a direct primary law—Connecticut being the only state without one.

The second trial of Rhode Island's somewhat unique direct primary law occurred last fall on a statewide scale. The law, described in the March 1949 NATIONAL MUNICIPAL REVIEW, provides for designation of candidates for the party nomination by the party organization, subject to contests by candidates nominated by petition. Primaries are closed and were held by the Democratic party on September 18 and the Republican party on September 27. Organization candidates were indicated as such on the ballot by asterisks and encountered practically no opposition.

Civil Service Conference Attended by 500

The 1950 conference of the Civil Service Assembly of the United States and Canada, held in Atlanta, Georgia, late in November, was attended by approximately 500 people despite unfavorable weather. Stress was laid on problems related to an imminent shortage of manpower and skills in civil government. Charles H. Cushman, director of the Rhode Island Department of Civil Service, was elected president.

DIRECT LEGISLATION LABORATORY

(Continued from page 87)

Most of the symptoms of the ailment in the initiative arise from the very situation that brought it into being—failure of the elected government and of the political parties to provide a clear cut leadership policy. The initiative, referendum and recall alike, both at municipal level and at state level, are best used sparingly as a balance wheel to correct occasional aberrations of the normal machinery of government. The cities have returned to that equilibrium, the state is striving to return its political processes to a balance.

PERIODICAL DEPT

Manager Plan Proposed for Baton Rouge

Consolidation Sought in Philadelphia and Phoenix

FOUR of the seven members of the council of the consolidated parish of East Baton Rouge and city of Baton Rouge, Louisiana, have proposed that the manager form of government be adopted. The manager plan would replace the mayor-president setup adopted when the two units were consolidated several years ago. Mayor-President Higginbotham, however, advocates the commission plan. Both suggestions are being studied by a Plan of Government and Recommendation Committee.

The original plan of consolidation, as drafted by Dr. and Mrs. Thomas H. Reed, called for the council-manager plan but because of vociferous objections it was changed to the subsequently adopted mayor-president form.[1]

Citizens' Business, published by the Philadelphia Bureau of Municipal Research, discusses the question of the proposed constitutional amendment consolidating the city and county of Philadelphia. The 1949 legislature approved the amendment and if the 1951 legislature does the same, it will be submitted to the voters on November 6, 1951.

As a result of conversations between members of the Maricopa County, Arizona, commission and the Phoenix city council regarding the county's need for more office space, an agreement has been reached for the appointment of a nine-member joint committee to study the possibility of consolidating functions to eliminate duplications. The committee will consist of three county officials, three city officials and three representatives of the public. It is anticipated that the study may have far reaching results in simplifying the government of the area.

The Olmsted County—Rochester, Minnesota, joint health department is reported in *Minnesota Municipalities* as having been highly successful in securing the cooperation of many groups in raising the public health standards of the community. The Mayo Association, federal government and the city contributed to building the $270,000 unit in which the health services are housed, while operating expenses are borne by the county, city, school board, federal government, state university, Mayo Foundation, Kellogg Foundation, General Mills, Inc., and the Civic League. Begun in 1943, the organization was formed as an actual city-county unit in 1946.

County Managers Meet at ICMA Conference

At the annual conference of the International City Managers' Association, held in December at Houston, Texas, county managers held a session devoted to their specific problems.

A discussion of the place of the county in the governmental structure led to the conclusion that the county manager must constantly explore the possibility of consolidating functions of cities and counties and of adjoining counties in an effort to provide maximum service to the taxpayer at minimum cost. The county managers agreed that a complete study of federal, state, county and city tax structures should be made in order to allocate specified fields of taxation to each level of government. The county managers also advocated study of the advisability of accepting federal grants for road-building programs in order to ascertain the economic advantages or disadvantages of such grants. It was the belief of some managers that experience thus far indicates there is little advantage to the counties in accepting such grants.

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[1] See the REVIEW, July 1947, page 413.

Texas County Commissioners Favor Four-Year Terms

The annual convention of the County Judges and Commissioners Association of Texas, held recently in Austin, adopted the following resolution:

"Be it resolved . . . that it is the consensus of the convention that four-year terms for all elective state, county and precinct officials would be in the interest of the general welfare of the inhabitants of the state of Texas; that the legislature be called upon to submit a proposed amendment to the state constitution providing four-year terms for all elective state, county and precinct officers."

Santa Clara County Gets Suggestions on Manager

The Santa Clara County, California, League of Women Voters recently made a series of recommendations to the county commissioners regarding the selection of a manager as provided under the county's recently approved charter. Among its recommendations were:

1. The man chosen should have physical vigor and mature judgment;
2. He should be experienced as manager of a city or county;
3. A man with university training should be preferred;
4. Engineering training, broad executive experience and experience in finance and social welfare are important considerations;
5. The salary should be comparable to that paid the chief executives of the local public utility institutions, leading banks or other private corporations;
6. The vacancy should be listed with the International City Managers' Association;
7. There should be personal investigation of all promising candidates;
8. The supervisors should, if possible, be unanimous in their choice.

St. Louis County Begins Home Rule Government

The St. Louis *Post-Dispatch* recently featured the beginning of home rule government in St. Louis County. Pictures of the supervisor and seven councilmen were published and the history of the county government was outlined briefly. Regarding the shortcomings of the charter, the *Post-Dispatch* stated:

"Principal criticism of the new government is that much of the old political patronage system is retained. Present elective offices remain elective under the new charter, and neither the council nor the supervisor will have jurisdiction over internal operations of those offices except as to their budgets. Elected officials are: assessor, circuit clerk, collector, four constables, coroner, county clerk, highway engineer, public administrator, recorder of deeds, sheriff, superintendent of schools and treasurer.

"Proponents of the new charter felt that elimination of elective offices would have doomed the charter at the election because of opposition by officeholders and their employees. However, they hope that eventually most offices will be made appointive and that all will be placed under civil service."

Proportional Representation . . *Edited by George H. Hallett, Jr. and Wm. Redin Woodward*

(This department is successor to the Proportional Representation Review)

Israel Elects Municipal Councils by P. R.

80 Per Cent of Voters Cast Ballots; Few Were Invalid

Municipal elections in all cities and towns of Israel last November, under the list system of proportional representation, aroused considerable interest because of the prominence of national issues in the campaigns of the leading parties. The General Zionist party upset Prime Minister David Ben Gurion's party, the Mapai, in Tel Aviv, Israel's largest city, and ran second to Mapai in the nation at large. Extreme radical and conservative parties made a poor showing.

The greater strength shown by the General Zionists, compared with the results of the last Knesset (parliament) elections two years ago, indicates a swing to the right. However, it also reflects the probable fact that in the last election of the Knesset, Prime Minister Ben Gurion's leadership attracted votes from other groups to his party, according to a release of the Zionist Information Service in New York.

The General Zionist vote in two years rose from 7 per cent to 31 per cent of the poll in Tel Aviv, 1 per cent to 21.8 per cent in Jerusalem, 7 per cent to 22 per cent in Haifa, 8.5 per cent to 30 per cent in Petach Tikvah, 5 per cent to 22 per cent in Natanyah and 8 per cent to 18 per cent in Rehovoth. The Mapai vote dropped, in the same comparison, from 34 to 23 per cent in Tel Aviv, 28 to 24 per cent in Jerusalem, 37 to 33 per cent in Haifa, 40 to 26 per cent in Rehovoth and 39.5 to 21 per cent in Natanyah. Because all these municipalities use proportional representation, the changes were fully reflected in the newly elected councils. The results for the larger cities, Tel Aviv and Haifa, are tabulated below.

ELECTION IN TEL AVIV FOR CITY COUNCIL, NOVEMBER 1950

Party	Votes	(%)	Seats	(%)
General Zionist	42,287	(31.2)	10	(32.3)
Mapai[a]	31,159	(22.9)	7	(22.6)
Herut	18,713	(13.8)	4	(12.9)
Mapam	13,252	(9.8)	3	(9.7)

[a] The Mapai contested the election in alliance with some smaller groups, and the figures tabulated refer to this combination, known as Histadrut.

Seven small groups polling between 2,800 and 6,500 votes each obtained one seat. Two parties with about 1,000 votes apiece failed to obtain any seat.

ELECTION IN HAIFA FOR CITY COUNCIL, NOVEMBER 1950

Party	Votes	(%)	Seats	(%)
Mapai[a]	17,152	(33.1)	7	(33.3)
General Zionist	11,669	(22.5)	5	(23.8)
Mapam	7,572	(14.6)	3	(14.3)
Religious Bloc	4,560	(8.8)	2	(9.5)
Pro-Haifa	4,084	(7.9)	2	(9.5)

[a] See table for Tel Aviv.

Two small parties received one seat each, polling about 3,000 and 2,000 votes respectively, and two smaller parties failed to obtain representation.

With respect to the consolidated nation-wide totals tabulated below, the *Jerusalem Post,* which reported them on December 8, justly observed: "The distribution among parties is not reflected in the distribution of mandates, as there was a large discrepancy between the numbers of votes required to elect a councillor in different localities: while in Athlit each member was elected by 23 voters, in Tel Aviv a councillor represents 4,383 voters."

All together 519 councillors were elected. Out of 421,234 eligible voters 335,087, almost 80 per cent, cast ballots and only 1. 5 per cent of the ballots were invalid.

MUNICIPAL ELECTIONS IN ISRAEL, NOVEMBER 1950—CONSOLIDATED RETURNS

Party	Per Cent Votes	Seats	Per Cent Seats
Mapai	27.3	179	34.5
General Zionist	24.5	97	18.7
Religious Bloc	13.3	68	13.1
Mapam	11.5	80	15.
Herut	10.3	30	5.8
Progressive	4.7	18	3.5
Communist	2.4	5	1.0
Yemenite	1.6	5	1.0
Others	4.4	37	7.1

P. R. in Cincinnati Attacked in Courts

On November 13 a suit was filed in the Ohio courts seeking a declaration that the details of the P. R. ballot as used in Cincinnati conflict with the requirements of the constitutional amendment establishing an "office" type ballot. The amendment, passed by statewide referendum in November 1949,[1] in explicit terms exempts "party primaries and nonpartisan elections." Cincinnati's P. R. elections, as those of many other cities in the state and the country, with or without P. R., are nonpartisan, as are also judicial and school board elections in Ohio.

The suit, according to the *Charter News Letter* published by the Cincinnati City Charter Committee, was brought on the contention that the amendment requires the use of "X" marks rather than numerals and a listing of "Republican" or "Democratic" after or below the name of the candidate.

Elections Held in Germany

Election of state parliaments in the American occupation zone of the West German Federal Republic, November 19, and election of the council of the city of Berlin (western sectors) appear to have used a modified form of proportional representation, presumably that used in the election of the parliament of the Federal Republic.[1]

The positions of the leading parties on the issue of rearmament seem to have played an important part. In the U. S. zone states, the Social Democratic party, which had insisted upon fulfillment of certain conditions before rearmament, made considerable gains at the expense of the Christian Democrats who had, under the leadership of Chancellor Adenauer, taken a stand favoring rearmament measures. In Berlin, where public opinion evidently opposed delaying rearmament on any pretext, the Social Democrats lost their council majority and the Christian Democrats gained a leading position.

The U. S. zone elections resulted in the elimination of all communist delegations in the state parliaments because the party's vote fell below the 5 per cent figure required for representation under the electoral law.

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[1] See the REVIEW. December 1949, page 558.

[1] See the REVIEW, June 1949, page 298.

Taxation and Finance • • • • *Edited by Wade S. Smith*

States and Cities Face Defense Problems

Air Raid Shelters, Other Defense Costs Loom Large

AS THE tempo of America's armament program increases, the impact of the defense effort on governmental units below the federal level will certainly become a matter of growing concern both to local officials and to all citizens and taxpayers. Enough of the administration's plan has been revealed to suggest that in some areas rather acute problems may be anticipated before the year is over.

Foremost of the emerging problems, of course, is that of manpower. With civilian employment late in 1950 approximately 61,000,000—about 8,000,000 above the World War II peak—and as many as 4,000,000 workers to be added to defense production before the end of 1951, state and local governments will share with nondefense industries an apprehension both as to keeping their present workers and securing such additional help as may be necessary in certain lines. Cities like Dallas, Texas, which added close to $900,000 to its 1950-51 budget to bring pay scales more nearly into line with private pay, and reduced the work week to 40 hours for most city employees, may before many months have to make further adjustments.

Defense manpower requirements will, of course, affect also state and local improvement programs, which in addition will face obstacles in material shortages and prospective allocations. The localities fortunately have made considerable progress the last two years in pushing some of the more urgently needed construction projects to completion or near completion.

In other cases, projects not yet under construction but essential for defense production would be authorized even under rigid controls, as in the case of some water, sewer, power and transportation additions. It will be a shortsighted federal program, too, which fails to see to it that additional school plant is provided in some of the rapidly growing sections where already acute conditions will be made chaotic as and when any number of defense workers move into the community. Situations such as existed in Richmond, California, during the last war—where small children went to school in almost as many shifts as did adult workers in the shipyards—cannot be tolerated if the "American heritage" is to retain its vigor.

Complicating local construction programs also, as it did during the last period of hostilities, is the problem of providing works essential to the operation of expanded or newly acquired defense manufacturing establishments. In the field of housing, particularly, difficulties can already be foreseen, and the cities may be expected this time to make a more vigorous effort to insure that, as far as possible, new units are located where service facilities are already installed rather than in unserviced areas as was the case in the much publicized Linda Vista development at San Diego.

The construction problem is rendered especially acute, however, by a new element—the widespread anxiety that there be some comprehensive program of shelters adequate to give at least a sense of security from atomic bombs. This is a part of the defense effort which evidently has not yet been thought through on a truly comprehensive basis.

Governor Dewey of New York in his inaugural address disclosed that, under the proposed federal-aid program for air-raid shelters, the state would be entitled to the large grant of $249,000,000 provided the money went for structures suitable for defense use only and that the state matched the federal contribution. New York City's best idea to date has been to expend $200,000,000 or so to start the proposed Second Avenue subway and use its tunnels as underground shelters. The federal administration has proposed $250,000,000 to be available for such dual-purpose projects but as a loan, not a grant, an offer not presently palatable to either the New York City or state administration. Officials from other sections of the country may be expected to join New York in strongly urging on the Congress that the initial impact of local defense costs be at the federal rather than the local level.

Impact Obscure

The possible impact of specific defense costs on the finances of state and local governments during the year is, in fact, one of the more obscure aspects of the present situation. While a number of communities paid rather dearly in the last conflict for the privilege of being selected for large war industries, incidental costs for large projects were met mainly at the federal level and civilian defense costs were negligible compared with the cost of the civilian shelters, etc., being proposed now.

During the last war, the curtailment of ordinary operating budgets and the virtual elimination of improvement programs enabled the typical city to accumulate substantial financial reserves during the war period, and either to liquidate the inherited deficits of the great depression or set aside funds for postwar use. Ordinary operations will undoubtedly be curtailed during the coming year, and there will be a decline in at least non-essential types of improvement construction. The big question will be whether savings accruing from these sources will offset the higher defense program costs now being asked of the local communities.

One fact seems certain for both private individuals and local governments alike: the situation is going to continue to develop with a mounting acceleration. (The President, in his economic message, noted that whereas some $18,000,000,000 went into the defense effort in fiscal 1949-50, expenditures early in January 1951 were at an annual rate of more than $20,000,000,000, with a level prospective by the end of the 1951 calendar year of between $45,000,000,000, and $55,000,000,000.) Local governments whose fiscal years end toward the middle of the calendar year may well finish 1950-51 with the plans made in 1950 rather closely realized and considerably clearer indications to guide them in preparing their 1951-52 budgets. Where budgets were adopted late in 1950, however, or where the fiscal year is the calendar year, it is likely that some rather radical budget changes will be necessary before the period ends.

Toledo Readopts City Income Tax

Toledo, the first Ohio city to adopt a municipal income tax, reenacted the excise for another five years beginning January 1, 1951. The new ordinance provides for "reciprocity," however, allowing out-of-city residents subject to city income taxes where they live and Toledo residents working elsewhere to make appropriate offsets. The earmarking of receipts was also changed, the amount earmarked for the general city fund being raised $925,000 to an estimated $3,100,000 annually—on the basis of estimated annual collections of $6,000,000—while the county will be paid for schools a sum equal to what would be raised by a one-mill property tax, a device whereby the city in effect relinquishes one mill within the tax rate limit in favor of the schools. An estimated $1,380,000 of the collections is earmarked for capital improvements, but the amount is to be reduced $100,000 for each one point rise in the consumers' price index and the $100,000 transferred to the general fund for mandatory wage and salary increases.

States Dye Tax-Free Gasoline

Because mounting refunds of taxes on motor fuel used for non-highway purposes are becoming increasingly costly, six states have adopted the expedient of adding dyes to the fuel intended for non-highway use so as to facilitate detection of its fraudulent use on the highways. Customarily, all purchasers of motor vehicle fuels pay the tax, which is refunded to exempt non-highway users on presentation of claims for a refund.

The six states adding dyes are Arizona, Arkansas, Kentucky, Louisiana, Mississippi and New Mexico. Three Canadian provinces also use the dye technique—Alberta, British Columbia and Nova Scotia, according to the *Tax Administrators News*, while the province of New Brunswick adds not a dye but an invisible but readily detected chemical.

The problem of detection of illegal refunds is more acute now than formerly. According to the association, refunds mounted from $56,274,000 in 1941 to $73,760,000 in 1945 and have increased steadily since to $132,871,000 in 1949. They amounted to only 7.5 per cent of gross motor fuel tax collections in 1941, reached a peak of 11.4 per cent in 1945, and held somewhat below 10 per cent in 1946 and 1947. In 1948, however, refunds rose to 10.3 per cent of the gross collections and for 1949 were 9.9 per cent of the gross.

'Landed Gentry' Sold Out in King County

In one of those "believe it or not" stories which are no novelty to citizens who manage to get under the surface at the local government level, the *Seattle Municipal News*, organ of the Municipal League of Seattle, describes the extraordinary bargains in rural "estates" available at the King County tax foreclosure sale in December. Especially noteworthy was the plight of a taxpayer whose property tax had increased five-fold from 1943 to 1950; the poor fellow hadn't paid his taxes since 1938, however, and his lot was on the block—1950 tax delinquency 31 cents, accumulated total of uncollected taxes, $1.95.

According to our informant, there are hundreds of similar parcels on the tax rolls, some with annual taxes as low as fifteen cents for 1950. Most of them date from real estate subdivisions in the 1890s, when they were sold sight unseen to midwestern and eastern buyers, and are either submerged (under water, not taxes), nearly vertical or isolated. They appear recurringly on the tax sale lists, and occasionally someone assembles enough of them to return the land to acreage or to build on it. Needless to say, they do not repay the cost of assessing the taxes.

Citizen Action . . . . . . *Edited by Elsie S. Parker*

How Qualify for Tax Deductions?

Civic Groups Should Assure Exemptions for Supporters

By Harry W. Wolkstein*

MORE and more frequently the executive director of the taxpayers association or the civic organization is asking, "How can I assure prospective donors that their subscriptions, donations or dues are deductible on their federal income tax returns?" He has found that it is important for his organization to qualify officially with the Bureau of Internal Revenue as a tax-exempt association if he is to raise the funds his organization requires.

What are the legal requirements necessary to secure income tax exemption and deductibility of contributions? The civic organization may generally attempt to qualify as one of the three following types: an educational organization, a business association or a civic organization.

Consider first the definition of a tax-exempt educational organization.

The Internal Revenue Code, our basic legal document for income tax purposes, states that an organization must meet three tests before it can obtain tax exemption under Section 101(6):

1. It must be organized and operated exclusively for one or more of the specified purposes — religious, charitable, scientific, literary, educational or for the prevention of cruelty to children or animals.
2. Its net income must not inure in whole or in part to the benefit of private shareholders or individuals.
3. It must not by any substantial part of its activities attempt to influence legislation by propaganda or otherwise.

If an organization meets these tests then donations are deductible for income tax purposes.

Can a civic organization distribute controversial literature? Can such an organization engage in propaganda activities to support or oppose some new legislation or a candidate for political office without losing its classification as an educational organization for tax purposes? The answer is not a simple yes or no. The Regulations of the Commissioner of Internal Revenue include the following section:

> An organization formed, or availed of, to disseminate controversial or partisan propaganda is not an educational organization within the meaning of the Revenue Code. However, the publication of books or the giving of lectures advocating a cause of a controversial nature shall not of itself be sufficient to deny an organization tax exemption, if carrying on propaganda or otherwise attempting to influence legislation forms no *substantial part of its activities*, its principal purpose and substantially all of its activities being clearly of a nonpartisan, non-controversial and educational nature.

This section does not state that the organization must refrain from *all* legislative activity.

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*This article is based upon the address of Mr. Wolkstein, certified public accountant and tax practitioner of Newark, New Jersey, at a meeting of the National Association of Civic Secretaries, held in connection with the National Conference on Government of the National Municipal League, Buffalo, New York, November 20, 1950.

To secure and maintain tax exemption the civic organization must be careful to distinguish between its educational activities and propaganda activities. Educational activities will spell out tax exemption and approval for deductibility of contributions by the donors, while substantial propaganda activities will mean defeat on these counts and consequent difficulty in raising funds from prospective contributors.

Rulings and Court Decisions

The distinction between educational activities and propaganda activities is best illustrated by a ruling of the Commissioner of Internal Revenue on February 11, 1939, as to the National Tax Association. The ruling declared that this organization is exempt from income tax and that contributions to the association are deductible by donors. This reversed a bureau ruling of January 12, 1938. Commissioner Helvering commented:

> From the evidence submitted it appears that you were incorporated in 1930 as a scientific and educational corporation to educate and benefit its members and all others who may be interested in the subject of taxation and the subject of public finance, of which taxation forms a part, by promoting the scientific study thereof generally, by the encouragement, by collecting, preserving and diffusing scientific information and knowledge relating thereto, by organizing conferences and bringing together for discussion public officials, and by formulating and announcing through the deliberately expressed opinion of its conferences the best informed economic thought and ripest administrative experience available for the guidance of public opinion, legislation and administration, on questions relating to taxation and public finance.

Over the years the commissioner has denied tax exemption to many an organization that functioned as a lobbying association or spread controversial information for the purpose of influencing legislation.

The Citizens League of Cleveland received an adverse decision from the Board of Tax Appeals (now the Tax Court of the United States) in 1932. (*John H. Watson, Jr.* v. *Commissioner*, 27BTA 463 Dec. 7880.) It was held to be subject to federal income taxation because it was not organized and operated exclusively for educational purposes. The board also denied the deductibility of contributions by donors on the reasoning that the Citizens League was political and not exclusively educational. The league's constitution, which apparently caused the disapproval, stated the objectives of the organization as follows:

1. To promote businesslike, honest and efficient conduct of local government;
2. To collect and disseminate information relative to local and state government and the conduct of public officials;
3. To investigate the administration of local offices and the operations of local laws;
4. To induce citizens to take a more active interest in the affairs of government and the conduct of public officials; and
5. To encourage competent men and women to stand for public office and to support wholesome leadership in public affairs.

The trouble in this case was that the league investigated candidates for office and classified such candidates as "preferred" or "qualified" or "not recommended." The league, when it was considered desirable, advocated the amendment of existing laws and its agent presented its recommendations to the proper legislative body.

The court held that members of the Citizens League of Cleveland would perhaps paraphrase its purpose as "the bringing about of better local government and the election of better fitted men in office." But in that very statement the court said they assume the soundness of their conclusions and the accuracy of their judgment of fitness. Furthermore, they impute that those not in agreement with the league are mistaken in their philosophy and unsound in their judgment. "On the facts before us we are not convinced that the Citizens League of Cleveland was organized and operated exclusively for educational purposes."

In a similar case the Board of Tax Appeals ruled against the City Club of New York (12 BTA 1186). The purposes of the group, as set forth in its articles of incorporation, were:

> To promote social intercourse among persons especially interested in the good government of the City of New York, to secure honesty and efficiency in the administration of city affairs, to sever municipal from national polities and to procure the election of fit persons to city offices.

The court held "that there is some element of education in the dissemination of information through the club's publications but its advocacy of or opposition to candidates and proposed municipal measures carries it beyond the exclusively educational purposes contemplated by the taxing statute."

Just as Section 101 (6) of the Internal Revenue Code sets forth the legal requirements for tax-free existence for the donee organizations, so Section 23(0) of the code sets forth the conditions under which an individual donor can deduct from his gross income donations to an educational organization, and Section 23(q) sets forth the conditions under which a corporation may deduct similar contributions. The proper test of deductibility is the character of the organization to which or for the use of which the contribution is made.

Charter Wording Important

The court decisions tell us that the original charter of a civic association is an important document. The need of drawing it carefully was illustrated in the case of the National League of Women Voters. *(Henrietta T. Noyes* 31 BTA 121.) In 1934 the Board of Tax Appeals held:

> Education was undoubtedly one of the most important purposes, probably the most important purpose, for which each of these leagues of women voters was organized and for which each was operated during 1930. However, the certificate of incorporation of the National League states: "The business and objects of the corporation are to foster education in citizenship and to support needed legislation."

In many instances the leagues agitated for and supported a particular view upon subjects extremely controversial in nature. The Board of Tax Appeals accordingly affirmed the commissioner's disallowance of contributions of $250 and $2,100 to the Minnesota League of Women Voters and National League of Women Voters.

It should be noted that in 1938 the constitution and by-laws of the National League of Women Voters were amended by deletion of the phrase the objects of the corporation "are to support needed legislation" and restating them "to promote political education through active participation of citizens in government."

The tremendous importance of the revision was emphasized in the 1944 case of *Luther Ely Smith, Petitioner,*

v. *Commissioner of Internal Revenue* (3 TC. 696). In that case the U. S. Tax Court held that contributions to the St. Louis League of Women Voters were deductible as contributions to a corporation organized and operated exclusively for educational purposes. The court held:

> The evidence discloses that neither the St. Louis nor the National League had any provision in their constitution for legislative activities. Such appearances as the St. Louis League may have made before legislative bodies did not constitute any substantial part of their activity.

Business Contributions

The same case was interesting in several ways, and important too, as to the question of a donor deducting a subscription as a business expense. Mr. Smith, a practicing attorney, contributed $2,500 to the Missouri Institute for Administration of Justice, an organization having as its immediate purpose the establishment by constitutional amendment of a modified appointive method for the selection of judges to take the place of selection by primary and general election. Mr. Smith, it seems, was motivated in making his contribution by civic considerations and also by a desire to protect and improve the practice of law in which he was engaged. The commissioner disallowed the contribution as a donation or charity and the case went before the U. S. Tax Court. The court said:

> The educational activities in which the Missouri Institute engaged so successfully were simply one of the means by which the end for which it was organized could be achieved. . . . To hold this organization to have been organized exclusively for educational purposes would be to distort the fundamental meaning of the term "educational" and enlarge the applicability of section 23 (0) far beyond its intended scope.

The deduction claimed under this section was thus denied, but the court did allow the contribution as an ordinary and necessary business expense on Mr. Smith's income tax return under Section 23 (a) (1) (A).

The logic of the court was: "The business of Mr. Smith was a component element of the administration of justice, and a contribution by him to an organization which promotes the interest of this business by improving the administration of justice should likewise be deductible." (See Reg. 111, Art. 23(a) 5.)

The courts had held earlier, in April 1931, that contributions to the League for Industrial Democracy were deductible. This association conducted research work, gave lectures, held debates and discussions and supplied information concerning economic and social problems. (*Bertha Poole Weyl* v. *Commissioner of Internal Revenue* (CCA-2) 2 USTC 717-48 Fed (2d) 811.) The court stated: "The fact that this league's aim may or may not resemble that of a political party does not of itself remove it from the category of an association engaged in educational work."

In light of these decisions we may conclude that the law extends the privilege of tax exemption to an organization when "its principal purpose and subsequently all of its activities" are nonpartisan and noncontroversial as well as educational, charitable or civic.

In harmony with the statutes and regulations, judicial decisions have consistently recognized that an association does not cease to be educational solely because its activities at some point touch the legislative field. The case of the National Tax Association indicates that the commissioner recognizes the distinction between "influencing legislation" and activities which are designed to promote enlightened public opinion even though the latter activities may be intended to have an effect upon legislative processes.

So far we have discussed but one of the methods by which a civic group may seek classification as a tax-exempt organization—as an educational organization entitled to a tax-free existence under Section 101 (6). The Revenue Code, however, provides other methods whereby an organization may be free from federal income tax. Section 101 (7) provides:

> The following organizations shall be exempt from taxation under this chapter: business leagues, chambers of commerce, real estate boards, or boards of trade, not organized for profit and no part of the net earnings of which inures to the benefit of any private shareholder or individual.

Likewise Section 23(a) provides that the donor may deduct his subscriptions to such an association "as an ordinary and necessary expense paid or incurred during the taxable year in carrying on his trade or business," provided the donor is in business. (This was cited in the Luther Ely Smith case.)

In 1945 the Commissioner of Internal Revenue held that:

> Contributions or dues paid to the "State of R. Taxpayers Association"[1] by businessmen are deductible if it can be shown that such payments have resulted in a reduction of taxes in connection with the operation of the business or that there is a reasonable expectation that the payments will result in tax benefits to the business commensurate with the amount of the payments. (3745 CB 1945 p89.)

The main object or purpose of the State of R. Taxpayers Association is to bring about through nonpartisan means the greatest possible economies in government consistent with efficiency in the collection and expenditure of public funds in the State of R.

In light of these court decisions and the commissioner's rulings we may conclude that a taxpayer may deduct a contribution to a municipal reform organization or to a taxpayers association as an ordinary and necessary business expense only if the following conditions are met:

1. The donor must have a reasonable expectation of business benefit as a result of his contribution to the taxpayers association;
2. The amount of the contribution must bear some relationship to the benefit derived;
3. The political activities of such an association must be limited to the furnishing of information upon request;
4. Promotion of legislation or opposition to legislation by that association will defeat deductibility of the subscription as an "ordinary and necessary" business expense.

Welfare Groups Exempt

Section 101 (8) grants tax exemption to welfare organizations which are not clearly charitable, educational, scientific or a business league and yet serve patriotic or community purposes for the general good. It therefore exempts from federal income taxation "civic leagues or organizations not organized for profit but operated exclusively for the promotion of social welfare."

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[1] The name of this association has not been made public. It is the general policy of the Commissioner of Revenue not to divulge the name of an organization upon which he issues a ruling.

ODICAL DEPT.

The term civic league seems to have no peculiar significance except perhaps to make clear that coverage is extended to organizations that render an essential public service in advancing the general welfare, peace and order of the community.

The American Legion has been held exempt under Section 101 (8) and so have the Navy and Marine Memorial Associations operated for the promotion of social welfare.

In 1945 the Circuit Court of Appeals reversed the U. S. Tax Court in holding that a corporation conducting a free public radio forum for the dissemination of liberal and progressive social views, and obtaining the wherewithal from commercial activities, was entitled to exemption though organized as a memorial to the late Eugene Debs—even though the radio station also sold time for commercial programs with a view to raising funds for its educational work. (*Debs Memorial Fund, Inc.* (45-1USTC 9258) decided April 12, 1945.)

General Conclusions

What conclusions can be drawn from this survey:

1. The main advantage of a civic organization qualifying with the Revenue Bureau as a tax exempt association is not the fact that its own income is tax-free but that contributions made to it are deductible on the donor's federal income tax returns. The civic association's secretary will undoubtedly be able to raise a much greater amount of money when he is able to assure prospective donors, corporate donors in particular, that they can deduct their contributions or dues or subscriptions on their federal income tax returns. With the return of excess profits taxes to be levied upon corporations, the taxpayers association or other civic group will find much less sales resistance on the part of a business corporation in the excess profits tax brackets when it can assure the firm that its contributions are deductible for income tax purposes.

2. Whether the particular taxpayers association or citizens league should try to qualify for tax exemption under Section 101 (6) (educational organizations), Section 101 (7) (business leagues), or under Section 101 (8) (civic leagues) depends upon the particular facts and circumstances surrounding the setup of each organization and its objectives.

3. I believe the rulings and cases show that it has been the fundamental policy of the federal government — that includes the Bureau of Internal Revenue — to encourage by tax exemption those non-profit organizations which seek to promote the general good and welfare of the entire community, as well as those organizations which seek to promote better government for the community, provided the organization renders an essential public service and is neither political, partisan nor engaged in lobbying.

4. If the citizens group really desires to qualify as an educational organization under Section 101 (6), so that a donor can deduct his contribution as a charitable contribution, then it behooves that organization to refrain in its operations from lobbying or propagandizing for or against legislation to any substantial degree. In addition, it is essential that the organization's original charter spell out clearly that its primary objectives are educational and not to influence legislation or the election of candidates.

5. If the primary objective of the organization is political and the substantial activities of the organization are such as to attempt to influence legislation or to bring public opinion in line with its own views on political matters, there is little hope for that

particular organization qualifying as an educational group under Section 101 (6). Under those conditions it is advisable generally for such an organization to seek to qualify officially as a business league or civic league under Section 101 (7) or Section 101 (8).

But what if that association also has a bona fide educational task to be performed for the good of the community at large, such as research work or distribution of educational literature? Then, possibly its officers can arrange to have another organization, a research organization or educational foundation, formed, whose primary function will be to conduct research and to educate the public. The two organizations can operate side by side, but the following qualifications exist:

a. The educational foundation must not carry on propaganda to any extent;

b. It should not attempt to influence legislation or have a legislative program;

c. It should not assume or publicize the soundness of its own judgment on controversial subjects, but it can present both sides of controversial subjects impartially;

d. It can act as an information bureau, collecting data and distributing literature, arranging lectures and debates, etc.

e. The foundation must not intermix its financial operations with those of the civic organization or taxpayers association.

It is my understanding that several citizens leagues have set up affiliated research bureaus or educational foundations that enjoy tax exemption under Section 101 (6).

6. If the civic association really expects to raise a sizeable amount of money, then my advice is: Do not depend upon curbstone opinion or upon an informal ruling from the Collector of Internal Revenue. In order to obtain official approval as a tax-exempt association the organization is required to file an application (Form 1024) with the Commissioner of Internal Revenue in Washington, D. C., and thereafter file an annual statement on Form 990 with the Collector of Internal Revenue.

7. Civic association secretaries concerned with fund-raising should not overlook one large potential source of funds—bequests from wealthy individuals who are civic minded. (See *Estate of Robert Marshall* 2TC No. 1048.)

ILLINOIS BLUE BALLOT

(Continued from page 91)

tional amendment it may be shortened.

The state courts and the method of selecting judges have not been changed materially in the past century. The bar associations and many lawyers and students of the judicial system would like to see politics taken out of the administration of justice. The tax system is archaic. The constitutional uniformity rule alone makes an honest and effective intangibles tax impossible. The answer to the problem, of course, is the classified property tax, but such a tax is possible in Illinois only by means of constitutional change.

All the work and energy devoted to the Gateway campaign represents only a start in the direction of better state and local government in Illinois. The renovation of the state constitution still lies ahead. The Gateway amendment is conservative; the amending process is still difficult. The gate is still padlocked, but at least the people now have a key.

It behooves them to use it.

University Bureau Heads Talk Shop

Improving State and Local Government Buffalo Theme

EDITOR'S NOTE: Report by William F. Larsen, University of Florida, on a panel discussion at the National Conference on Government of the National Municipal League in Buffalo, November 20, 1950.

FORTY-SEVEN people, including 22 members of an especially invited panel of representatives from 21 universities, attended a discussion of "University Services and the Improvement of State and Local Government" in Buffalo on November 20, 1950. The chairman, York Willbern of the University of Alabama, noted the wide representation across the United States from Maine to California and from Washington to Florida with ample representation between these distant points.

Stuart MacCorkle, of the University of Texas, opened with a discussion of the problem of getting university staff members closer to the persons in state and local government. He raised the question of how the university can find out what local governments want. The Institute of Public Affairs of the University of Texas has a three-point approach, he said: research, service, training.

Harvey Walker, of Ohio State University, suggested that the university's function was that of a clearing house or broker in dealing with the problem. Dr. Willbern pointed out the difficulty of attracting professors into field work when no material for articles or books could be promised.

William Ronan, New York University, said that New York University is considering giving recognition for field work even though it does not result in work appearing in learned publications.

James Donoghue, University of Wisconsin, said that the criterion at Wisconsin for publications in the state and local field was simply whether the work would be found later on the desk of a local agency or official and in use.

The question of "experts vs. the practical men" was debated at some length with no clear-cut result.

The issue of the extent to which university services are sought out and utilized by public officials received several comments. Winston W. Crouch of the University of California indicated that state agencies in California come to the university for reports and that staff members receive credit for work done. George D. Braden of the Yale University Law School said that law students at Yale were being brought into public legal aid work and John M. Kernochan of Columbia University thought that law schools might do more bill drafting for legislatures.

John W. Agnew, Northeastern University, Boston, reported that the bankers in Massachusetts who lend money to the cities asked Northeastern University to have a short course set up to train city and other public financial officers. He said the work had been successful in improving the quality of local fiscal services through better trained fiscal officers.

Mr. Donoghue told how off-campus activities in political science at the University of Wisconsin have been put in the Extension Division, but that there is close contact between the resident department on the campus and the work off-campus.

In discussion on where universities should put program emphasis in local government work, it was generally agreed that university bureaus and staff members should stay out of actual operations and be prepared to withdraw once facts and studies have been adequately presented.

Christian L. Larsen of the University of Maryland supported a close connection between the university and the state league of cities. He felt that in this way the university's research was more likely to be put into use and that it served to keep the thinking of the academic and research staffs geared to the practical thinking of local officials.

Official Technical Service

Gerald W. Shaw of the University of Tennessee spoke of the work of the Municipal Technical Advisory Service of the university in his state. This new university adjunct is officially sponsored by statute and financed from the sales tax and general fund in Tennessee. Two kinds of service are rendered—expert advice and publications. This service does not use students but has its own professional staff. In effect, it represents the cities' own program for tying into the university. The Tennessee Municipal League is recognized in the legislative act as the spokesman for the cities. Principal agencies of the university are represented on its advisory council.

The problem in Pennsylvania was referred to by Charles F. LeeDecker of Pennsylvania State College, who indicated that there were six leagues of cities in that state and all were tied into the research in government done by the university. He said there were times when the cities actually did not want material collected by the university released and there were some research projects which were actively opposed on occasion.

James W. Miller of Michigan State College spoke to the point of opportunities in adult education in the field of government and indicated that follow-up of training courses and the like is of primary importance. Michigan has instituted some mobile workshops and is also turning to summer workshops because of the demand on the part of state and local officials.

Southern Methodist, through W. E. Benton, reported good attendance and success in a course for county officials and Donald H. Webster, of the University of Washington, said that more than one thousand people attended the summer Institute of Government at the University of Washington.

Kirk H. Porter of the State University of Iowa warned of the dangers of getting university bureaus and staff too deeply involved in action programs as the result of surveys and recommendations.

Edward W. Weidner of Michigan State College said that the impact of university work on officials depended on several things: (1) whether the research was applied or theoretical; (2) whether the officials were elected or appointed; (3) personal relationships with officials. In developing a bureau of government research he felt that it should be responsible to the staff of the political science department and that the staff should work both in the bureau and in teaching.

Mr. Ronan of New York University offered the results of several years with a three-part program at that institution: (1) the training program for public officials which has been going on for some thirteen years has achieved good results; (2) the practical approach by way of masters' theses had proved productive for research; (3) a group project employing eight to ten good students on one topic supervised by project director has worked well.

Dr. Willbern closed the meeting with the observation that in his experience the universities inevitably learn as much from the officials as they are able to impart.

Research Pamphlets and Articles

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The Effect of County Equalization on City Revenues. Schenectady 5, New York, Bureau of Municipal Research, *Research Brevities,* December 20, 1950. 3 pp.

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The Impact of Inflation. The League Reviews the School and the City Budgets for 1951. Pittsburgh 22, Pennsylvania Economy League, Western Division, *Newsletter,* November-December 1950. 14 pp.

Mounting County Budgets. Syracuse 2, Governmental Research Bureau, *Your Government,* December 2, 1950. 4 pp. Charts.

The 1951 City Budget. Waterbury 2, Connecticut, Taxpayers' Association, *Governmental Briefs,* December 13, 1950. 5 pp.

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Miami's Charter Needs Revision. Miami 32, Dade County Research Foundation, *News Letter,* December 8, 1950. 3 pp.

Two City Charter Drafts. Part I, Mayor-Council Form of Government. Part II, Council-Manager Form of Government. By Victor C. Hobday, Lee S. Greene and Gerald W. Shaw. Knoxville, University of Tennessee, Bureau of Public Administration and the Municipal Technical Advisory Service, in cooperation with the Tennessee Municipal League, 1950. 86 pp.

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Some Questions About Our Courts. By Francis H. Heller. Lawrence, University of Kansas, Bureau of Government Research, *Your Government,* December 15, 1950. 4 pp.

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Police Crime Prevention Activities. By William H. Wilcox. New York 20, Governmental Research Association, *GRA Reporter,* November-December 1950. 2 pp.

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Salary Increases for School Employees. Schenectady 5, New York, Bureau of Municipal Research, *Research Brevities,* December 22, 1950. 1 p.

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People. Toronto 5, Citizens Research Institute of Canada, *Effective Government,* December 15, 1950. 6 pp.

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[1] For a listing of Part I see the REVIEW, October 1950, page 475.

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To the Five Local Taxing Bodies in the City of Milwaukee on a Joint Capital Improvement Program Committee. Milwaukee 2, Citizens' Governmental Research Bureau, *Bulletin,* October 5, 1950. 4 pp.

Interstate Cooperation

INCODEL — An Interstate Coordination Agency. Philadelphia, Bureau of Municipal Research, *Citizens' Business,* December 11, 1950. 3 pp.

Legislative Bodies

Annual vs. Biennial Legislative Sessions. Springfield, Illinois Legislative Council, 1950. 40 pp.

How the Illinois Legislature Operates. Chicago 2, The Civic Federation, *Bulletin,* December 1950. 6 pp.

Legislative Councils

Fourth Biennial Report 1949-1950. Jefferson City, General Assembly of the State of Missouri, Committee on Legislative Research, 1950. 26 pp.

Legislative Research in Kentucky. First Biennial Report 1948-1950. Frankfort, Legislative Research Commission, 1950. 81 pp.

Report for 1949-1950 of the Illinois Legislative Council. Springfield, Illinois Legislative Council, 1950. 31 pp.

Noise Abatement

Swarthmore Regulates Sound Trucks But With Caution. Philadelphia 4, University of Pennsylvania, Associated Institutes of Government of Pennsylvania Universities, *Municipal Administration,* December 1950. 3 pp.

Parole

Indeterminate Sentence and Parole Laws. Springfield, Illinois Legislative Council, 1950. 59 pp. Tables.

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Can New Charter Require County Civil Service? Philadelphia, Bureau of Municipal Research, *Citizens' Business,* December 25, 1950. 3 pp.

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One-Man Patrol Cars. Buffalo 2, Municipal Research Bureau, *Just a Moment,* December 14, 1950. 3 pp.

Police Fatalities Throw Light on Patrol Methods. By Robert H. Kirkwood and Bruce Smith. (Reprinted from the FBI *Law Enforcement Bulletin,* November 1950.) New York 20, Governmental Research Association, 1950. 3 pp.

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Towards Better Public Improvement Programming. Baltimore 2, Commission on Governmental Efficiency and Economy, *Your Tax Dollar,* December 1950. 4 pp.

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Utah's Public Welfare Program and the 1950 Social Security Amendments. Salt Lake City 1, Utah Foundation, 1950. 3 pp.

Welfare Spending Rises as Other Costs Checked. Los Angeles 15, Property Owners Association of California, *Tax Facts,* December 1950. 2 pp.

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Report on Snow Removal. Cleveland, The Citizens League, *Greater Cleveland,* December 20, 1950. 4 pp.

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Missouri's Old Age Assistance Program and the National Emergency.

Jefferson City, Missouri Public Expenditure Survey, December 1950. 7 pp.

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Review of 1950 Tax Year. Madison 3, Wisconsin Taxpayers Alliance, *The Wisconsin Taxpayer,* December 1950. 4 pp.

State Expenses Increase But Revenue Declines. Helena, Montana Taxpayers' Association, *Montana Taxpayer,* December 1950. 3 pp.

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[1] For a listing of a preliminary edition of this volume see the REVIEW, March 1950, page 165.

Books in Review

A Half Century of Municipal Reform. By Frank Mann Stewart. Berkeley and Los Angeles, University of California Press, 1950. xi, 289 pp. $5.

The editors of the Review have allowed me a maximum of 600 words for this comment. With such a limit I might be well advised to content myself with something like this: "The full title of this book is *A Half Century of Municipal Reform: The History of the National Municipal League.* The key word in this title is the first 'The'. This is it. Nobody will need to say anything more on this subject for many, many years." But let's look just a little further, in the 500 words left.

This is one of the best organized studies I have seen in a long time. The ten chapters (excepting the last) are set up each with a generous number of subheads, which appear in the table of contents. The result is that one can see what he is about to read before he reads it. He can also find what he is looking for without searching through the whole book.

The volume is heavily documented: there are 40 pages of footnotes, which appear at the end of the book rather than page by page. Somebody deserves to be complimented on this piece of rare judgment. A page-by-page arrangement of such a number of footnotes would have destroyed completely the continuity of the text. There is a 29-page bibliography, which includes, I am informed, the only complete and systematic listing of all the League's publications. Finally, there is an eleven-page index which I found extremely useful.

One might mention, indeed should mention, the fact that the publisher on his part has done a first-rate job. The book is a big one, but does not appear to be so: the pages are full, but not crammed; and the volume presents an attractive appearance.

In content, and as indicated in the opening strains, the book covers its subject thoroughly. From the spoils era, from which, according to the author, the municipal reform movement grew, to the first meeting in Philadelphia in 1894 and the subsequent meetings which culminated in the National Municipal League, to the several programs proposed by the League in solution of the myriad problems confronting the cities, to the varying fortunes of the League and its vicissitudes in carrying on—the whole story is here. It is a story told with honesty, forthrightness and thoroughness, and with a regard for care in detail which is nothing short of amazing.

One who had seen an early copy of this book remarked to me, "It's a carefully done job, but from its style nobody would mistake the author for a newspaper columnist." That's right: Stewart is not Winchell, nor has he written a Gilbert and Sullivan libretto. But if he has done less, he has also done more: he has produced an extremely useful history (with no small percentage of analysis thrown in) of the forging of democracy down where people live.

What is the value of such a study? Well, for one thing, the author has equated the National Municipal League with municipal reform—and who will question the need for knowing something about the reform movement if one is to understand our local institutions today? For another, many of the things we talk about today have a strangely reminiscent ring in light of the evidence adduced here. There is nothing—or at any rate, not much—new under the municipal sun: the volume at hand will impress that fact on the reader again and again.

The essence of the book is to be found in its last paragraph (page 200): "The National Municipal League is a school of thought that stabilizes reform along sound and practical lines; it represents the consensus of opinion of thinking people as to what local government should be. It has been and is the heart of the municipal reform movement in the United States." Frank Stewart has made his case, and made it very well.

Roscoe C. Martin
Syracuse University

Public Administration in a Democratic Society. By W. Brooke Graves. Boston, D. C. Heath and Company, 1950. xvi, 759 pp. $6.

This volume is a useful addition to the texts in the field. Graves begins with a brief description of the general pattern of administrative organization at the federal, state and local levels and a chronicle of attempts at administrative reorganization. In subsequent chapters he develops the traditional concepts of administrative theory relating to organization, in which he relies chiefly upon the classical works in the field by such commentators as Gulick, Gaus, MacMahon and Dimock. The later contributions of the sociologists and anthropologists are not considered. A concise chapter on intergovernmental relations and a chapter on field office problems round out the first part of the book.

The second part of the work is given over to personnel management. Here the treatment stresses the procedural aspects of personnel administration with considerably more detailed description of recruiting techniques, the placement process, counselling and the types of training than one usually expects in a survey text. The author's own experience in the federal government probably accounts for the heavy reliance in this section on federal experience. The amount of detailed information included on personnel procedures tends to overshadow consideration of the broader problems of developing and maintaining a responsible bureaucracy in democratic society.

The third section, that on fiscal management, is, in this reviewer's opinion, the best section of the book. Here Graves describes especially well, and more fully than other texts, the processes of fiscal management. Not only is budgeting considered but the collection and custody of funds, disbursement and the accounting and auditing functions as well. Other texts have generally been lacking in adequate consideration of this phase of public management.

The fourth section of the book deals with internal problems of management and supervision and includes a chapter on leadership in administration. The fifth and last section covers the forms of administrative action and administrative adjudication. The two concluding chapters deal with democratic controls over administration and public relations respectively.

Throughout, the treatment is descriptive rather than interpretive, and the book's chief distinction is its comprehensiveness rather than its incisive analysis of the administrative process. Its approach is traditional. It is conveniently organized and well documented. Like most texts in the field there is a heavy emphasis on staff activities. For the beginning student or the otherwise uninitiated the book offers a systematic factual introduction to public administration. To scholars in the field it offers no new insights but that was not the author's purpose in writing it.

William J. Ronan, *Director*
Graduate Division of Public Service
New York University

Transit Modernization and Street Traffic Control. By John Bauer and Peter Costello. Chicago, Public Administration Service, 1950. xiii, 271 pp. $5.

Dr. Bauer, who has dealt extensively with problems of electric utility control and utility regulation generally, turns his attention in this book to questions of urban mass transportation. It is prepared in collaboration with Peter Costello, accounting and statistical associate. It stresses the role of mass transportation as a primary means of alleviating street congestion by a multitude of private passenger cars and proposes common control for public transit and general street traffic. The latter is not dealt with in detail, however; the book is almost entirely about public transportation and efforts to make it more attractive and to draw patronage from private cars.

The authors take a somewhat controversial stand for complete substitution of modern buses for street railways and even for electric trolley coaches, with rapid transit subways correlated to surface buses in the largest cities.

Municipal as against state regulation is advocated, with a much greater scope and intensity of control if not complete municipal ownership and operation; the control to extend over all street traffic, with continuing study and planning of transportation and street utilization in the light of community needs.

H. M. O.

Additional Books and Pamphlets

(See also Researcher's Digest and other departments)

Adult Education

Education for Aging. A Symposium. By Clark Tibbits, Wilma Donahue, etc. Cleveland 14, American Association for Adult Education, *Adult Education,* December 1950. 39 pp.

Child Welfare

Child Welfare Laws of Kentucky. A compilation of the chapters and sections of *Kentucky Revised Statutes* which treat children as a special class. Frankfort, Kentucky Legislative Research Commission, 1950. vi, 198 pp.

Debt

Governmental Debt in 1950. Washington 25, Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, 1950. 10 pp.

Defense

Financing Defense. Is an Excess Profits Tax the Solution? New York 20, Committee on Postwar Tax Policy, 1950. 27 pp.

Paying for Defense. A Statement on National Policy by the Research and Policy Committee. New York 22, Committee for Economic Development, 1950. 43 pp.

Renegotiation of Defense Contracts. A Statement of the Business Committee on National Policy. Washington 6, National Planning Association, 1950. 16 pp. 15 cents.

Education

The Functions of State Departments of Education—with an Inventory of the Services Provided by the 48 Departments. By Fred F. Beach. Washington 25, U. S. Government Printing Office, Superintendent of Documents, 1950. ix, 70 pp. Tables, charts. 40 cents.

Improving Economic Understanding in the Public Schools. The Story of a New Movement on the Part of School and Community Leaders. By James T. Howard. New York 22, Committee for Economic Development, 1950. 16 pp.

Federal Reorganization

Reorganizations in the Executive Branch of the Government. Report of the Committee on Expenditures in the Executive Departments. Washington, U. S. Government Printing

Office, Superintendent of Documents, 1950. 83 pp.

Metropolitan Areas

Governing Our Metropolitan Areas. By Eric Hardy. Toronto, Citizens' Research Institute of Canada, 1950. 4 pp.

Motor Vehicles

A Comparative Study of West Virginia Motor Laws with the Uniform Vehicle Code. Charleston, West Virginia Commission on Interstate Cooperation, 1950. 55 pp.

Municipal Government

Cleveland—Your City and Mine. An Activities Report to the People of Cleveland from the Mayor and Council. Cleveland, Office of the Mayor, 1950. 96 pp. Illus.

Nuisances

"There Ought to be a Law Against. . ." By the Kansas City Departments of Fire, Health, Public Works, Welfare. Kansas City, Missouri, City Manager's Office, 1950. 16 pp.

Parking

Private Enterprise in the Parking Field. By John F. Hendon. Washington 6, Urban Land Institute, *Urban Land,* November 1950. 5 pp.

Population

Population of State Economic Areas: April 1, 1950. Washington 25, Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, 1950. 7 pp.

Projected Population—Detroit Region Development Areas 1960 and 1970. By Paul M. Reid. Detroit 26, Detroit Metropolitan Area Regional Planning Commission, 1950. 24 pp. Charts, tables.

Public Health

Your Best Buy. By Federal Security Agency, Public Health Service. Washington 25, U. S. Government Printing Office, Superintendent of Documents, 1950. 6 pp. Illus. 5 cents.

Public Relations

The Individual Fireman's Responsibility in Public Relations. By Committee on Fireman's Training. Boston 10, National Fire Protection Association, 1950. 20 pp. 35 cents.

Recreation

Recreation in California. Compilation of Laws Relating to Recreation. (Revised 1950.) By State of California Recreation Commission. Sacramento 14, State Printing Office, Documents Section, 1950. 197 pp. $1.03.

Rents

Survey of Residential Rents and Rental Conditions in the State of New York. By Joseph D. McGoldrick. Albany, Temporary State Housing Rent Commission, 1950. xvi, 365 pp. Tables.

Streets and Highways

The Story of American Roads. By Val Hart. New York, William Sloane Associates, 1950. 243 pp. $3.

Taxation and Finance

Facts and Figures on Government Finance 1950-1951. (Sixth Edition.) New York 20, Tax Foundation, 1950. xiv, 209 pp. $2.

An Introductory Study of School Finance in West Virginia. Report by the West Virginia Commission on Interstate Cooperation and the Joint Committee on Government and Finance. Charleston, the Commission, 1950. 31 pp.

Talk About Taxes. Trenton, Educational Planning Commission of New Jersey, 1950. 34 pp. (Apply Frederick W. Branca, 200 Stacy-Trent Hotel, Trenton.)

Total Tax Collections in 1949. New York 7, Tax Institute, *Tax Policy,* November 1950. 8 pp. 25 cents.

Traffic Safety

Operation Safety. Program Kit on Traffic Safety Promotion for February 1951. Theme: **Know and Obey Traffic Laws.** Chicago, National Safety Council, 1951. Variously paged.

Pick 'All-American Team of Cities'

Eleven communities whose citizens fought for good government have been named by a jury of municipal experts as "All-American Cities of 1950," says an Associated Press report.

The story originated with *The Minneapolis Tribune*, which sent able Reporter Rolf Felstad to the National Conference on Government at Buffalo to repeat the stunt begun a year earlier at the St. Paul conference by Jean James, who stayed home this time to get married.

A jury of authorities on municipal affairs selected the 1950 "team" on the basis of their display of civic competence, governmental progress or the willingness of citizens to, as Felstad put it, get "mad enough to fight for governments by the people." The jury, recruited from among the delegates attending the conference, was made up of the following:

Alfred Willoughby, secretary, Naional Municipal League; Harold S. Buttenheim, editor, *The American City;* Lawrence Pelletier, Bowdoin College, Brunswick, Maine; Ronald E. Gregg, xecutive secretary, Toledo Municipal League; Dr. and Mrs. Thomas H. Reed, municipal consultants, Wethersfield, Connecticut; Stuart A. MacCorkle, diector, Institute of Public Affairs, Uniersity of Texas; Forest Frank, excutive director, City Charter Commitee, Cincinnati; John E. Bebout, asistant secretary, National Municipal League; Louis Brown, secretary, Govrnmental Research Association; Allen I. Seed, Jr., director of field services, National Municipal League; and Dayon D. McKean, Dartmouth College, Hanover, New Hampshire.

1950 Winners

CINCINNATI — Approved big building program at a penny a day per home owner.

HARTFORD—Formed junior city council after adoption of a new charter.

KANSAS CITY—Formed permanent citizens group to "keep the rascals out."

MONTCLAIR, N. J.—Where citizens are still not tired after sixteen years of fighting for a modern charter.

MONTGOMERY COUNTY, Md. — Efficiently governs both urban and rural areas.

NEW ORLEANS—Won right to draft home rule charter despite hostile Long state machine.

PHOENIX—Fixed bad charter, hired expert manager, turned $400,000 deficit into surplus.

PORTLAND, Me.—Established neighborhood "town meetings" to stimulate civic understanding.

RICHMOND — Originated "Gold Feather Day" to turn out vote—35,000 instead of the old 3,000.

TOLEDO—Paid off debt, renovated city with payroll tax.

YOUNGSTOWN, Ohio—Kicked out racketeers.

Suffrage Pioneer Dies

Mrs. F. Louis Slade, early campaigner for woman's suffrage and a founder of the League of Women Voters, died January 12 at her home in New York three days after she presented the last of Carrie Chapman Catt's records to the Library of Congress. Mrs. Slade was an active member of the National Municipal League for many years. She was an honorary vice president at the time of her death.

Women Coached on State Problems

At the request of the League of Women Voters of Maryland the National Municipal League assembled experts on state government to consult with Maryland civic leaders on constitutional revision at a special dinner in conjunction with the meeting of the American Political Science Association in Washington, December 29.

The group included men who played leading roles in winning new constitutions in New York, New Jersey and Missouri and others concerned with similar movements elsewhere.

Mrs. Joseph Hirschmann, president of the League of Women Voters, quizzed the group on how to make the most of the opportunity to modernize Maryland's patchwork constitution through the convention for which the people voted in November.

The importance of electing to the convention persons who would approach controversial issues with a single-minded determination to arrive at solutions which would best serve the public rather than special interests was emphasized. It was pointed out that recent experience indicates a tendency for members of a constitutional convention to recognize that they have a special responsibility to take the long view of statesmanship rather than the short view of immediate political advantage. This tendency is strengthened if the citzens are organized to see to it that there is full and informed discussion on important matters, both before and during the convention, the consultants said.

During the last year the League has had extensive correspondence with Marylanders working for revision, and Richard S. Childs and John E. Bebout of the League's staff have been called to Baltimore to speak at public meetings and confer with civic leaders.

Discuss Program for '51 Conference

Political scientists who specialize in state and local government and problems of citizenship put a high value on the National Municipal League's National Conference on Government because it gets political scientists, civi leaders and public officials together on practical problems.

This was made clear at a round tabl discussion with fifteen political scientist at a dinner conference December 28 a the annual meeting of the America Political Science Association in Washington.

The League called the group togethe to discuss the program of the 1951 National Conference on Government. Th conference will probably be held i Ohio, at the request of civic leade who feel it would help set the stag for the vote on a constitutional convention in 1952. Because of this, an the fact that there is active interest i reorganization or constitutional r vision in more than half the states, th 1951 conference is expected to p more than usual emphasis on sta problems.

The invitation calling the group t gether in Washington pointed out th an essential function of the League to help citizens who want to put t practical findings of political scien to work in their home states and communities.

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NEWS for League Members

Southern Cities Get Field Services

It would be difficult today to go anywhere in the United States on a civic mission without hitting a high percentage of places busy with important moves to improve our system at the grass roots.

In late January, Allen H. Seed, Jr., the League's director of field services, reached New Orleans just as a newly appointed committee (page 97, February REVIEW) was preparing to start work on that city's first home rule charter. He conferred for three days with the committee and other civic leaders.

In early February he addressed the Conopus Club of San Antonio, which is composed of prominent civic and business leaders. The civic war, hot or cold, is always under way in San Antonio, where discriminating voters last Christmas season turned down what was branded a "fraudulent" civil service charter amendment (page 97, February REVIEW) and where an intermittent campaign for the council-manager plan has been going on for years. Had the civil service proposal, sponsored by the ruling political group, been adopted it would have prevented a vote on the manager plan for another two years.

During his tours of the country since he joined the League's staff last April, Mr. Seed has turned up in many other places at about the right moment: in Kansas City just as the new Citizens Association was being formed to "keep the rascals out," in Seattle when a county home rule charter was in preparation, in Portland, Oregon, when a reform campaign was about to be launched, in Pawtucket, Rhode Island, when a civic group was struggling to be born.

From coast to coast and border to border, his past experience as director

(*Continued on page 126*)

Allen H. Seed, Jr., about to speak before the Conopus Club of San Antonio on "Citizen Action for Improved Local Government"

Golden Voice of Civics Stilled

Probably the most eloquent voice ever raised in behalf of progress in local civic affairs was silenced January 31 when Walter J. Millard died suddenly at his home near Cincinnati.

Trained in electrical and mechanical engineering in London, the city of his birth, Mr. Millard came to the United States in 1901. He took an early interest in local civic campaigns and soon devoted his entire time to this work, becoming a professional speaker and campaigner. He addressed more people in more places on city government than any other man.

A typical tribute to his eloquence appeared some years ago in *The Detroit News:*

"There had been a dozen speeches. Everybody yawned when the chairman of the Detroit Charter Commission announced that there was another speaker. An hour later nine commissioners were catching every word. Nobody yawned. Nobody whispered aside to his neighbor. Walter J. Millard had made interesting the subject of proportional representation."

He was equally at home before an audience of factory hands or a class at Columbia University and retained his good-humor with friendly or hostile groups.

At various times during his nearly half-century of campaigning, he served as field secretary for the National Municipal League and for the Proportional Representation League. At the time of his death he was director of the Public Ownership League of America.

WALTER J. MILLARD

Field Service

(*Continued from page 125*)

of organizations in New York, Toledo and Minneapolis, and as a former president of the National Association of Civic Secretaries, has been useful in his current work with local civic leaders and groups on problems of organization and program.

Since the first of the year, Seed has visited Washington, D. C., Richmond, Winston-Salem, Augusta (Georgia), and Atlanta, Birmingham, New Orleans, Houston, San Antonio, Tucson, Phoenix, San Diego, Los Angeles, Albuquerque, Santa Fe, Oklahoma City, Tulsa, Dallas and other cities.

He has travelled more than 25,000 miles into 40 states, in addition to the District of Columbia, Canada and Mexico, has advised with scores of local civic and research organizations and has made a number of public addresses.

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Some Answers on Civil Defense

By Hubert R. Gallagher*

A number of questions were raised on the editorial page of the NATIONAL MUNICIPAL REVIEW for February which can and should be answered promptly. The Civil Defense Administration is most appreciative of the space afforded for that purpose in this issue.

1. It was suggested that, as a nation, we may be giving too much attention to the threat of the atomic bomb and not enough attention to sabotage and other dangers. Actually, a number of manuals and public information booklets on *all* possible forms of attack are in preparation. These include booklets on bacteriological warfare, chemical warfare and fire fighting.

2. Are we striking a proper balance, the editorial asked, between efforts to keep bombs from dropping and efforts to minimize the damage after they have dropped? Civil defense is not and cannot be concerned with the interception of enemy bombers, which is the task of the military. Nor does the Civil Defense Administration propose to spend five billion dollars on air raid shelters alone. The entire civil defense program is expected to cost in the neighborhood of three billion dollars for all purposes.

3. As to whether civil defense planning is fully coordinated with the overall, diplomatic, military and industrial plan, it should be obvious that civil defense cannot operate on any other basis. Diplomatically, our use of British rescue training schools and our mutual aid agreements with the border cities of Canada are two examples of close cooperation in the international field. Militarily, the Civil Defense Administration maintains active liaison with the Pentagon. States and cities are working closely with industry because continued industrial production in case of enemy attack is a primary objective of civil defense.

4. Participation by representatives of state and local governments has been a basic principle of the government program from the very beginning. As a result, the national plan entitled "United States Civil Defense" has been widely accepted throughout the nation and is now serving as a guide for literally hundreds of state and local authorities. Effective and whole-hearted cooperation has been received and is being received from governors and mayors.

5. Contrary to the assumptions of the February editorial, regional as well as municipal planning is a fundamental part of the civil defense program. Mutual aid agreements between neighboring cities have been provided for, and hundreds of communities have entered into such agreements. Regionally, a model interstate civil defense and disaster relief compact was submitted to state governors by the Federal Civil Defense Administration last December. It has been approved by a number of state legislatures.

6. The question was raised as to whether we have taken full advantage of the English experience during the last war. English experts were consulted in the preparation of "United States Civil Defense," and the English staff college and training schools are being used by key American personnel today.

7. As to a realization that the conservation of manpower and other re-

(Continued on page 158)

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*Mr. Gallagher, formerly associate director of the Council of State Governments, is now with the Federal Civil Defense Administration.

Editorial Comment

A Timely Proposal

REVELATIONS of the last few months tend to give the impression that there has been a sudden increase in political corruption in United States cities. Not so.

The corruption has been going on undetected or ignored for years and, stimulated by the huge funds of organized gambling, it has been getting progressively worse. It has been actively protected by venal law enforcement officials, to their great profit, and condoned by an apathetic public and press who remained unperturbed by revelations of the Chicago Crime Commission, the California Crime Commission and various grand juries and public officials with a high sense of duty.

It is shocking and fantastic that officials and policemen who come under suspicion have been permitted in some places to retire on pensions or refuse to testify upon matters relating to their offices on the ground that their answers might tend to incriminate them.

Very timely and appropriate, therefore, is the proposal of the Council of State Governments that states adopt laws to remove this impediment to investigation.

In its 141-page volume, *Suggested Legislation,* as developed by a drafting committee of state officials, the council includes the draft of a proposed act originally suggested by the Chicago Crime Commission.

The act requires an official attempting to hide behind the constitutional provision against self-incrimination to forfeit his office and prohibits him from holding other office for a period of five years.

Answering the argument that the bill nullifies a time-honored protection, the council asserts that officials may still exercise their privilege to refuse to testify. It merely provides that "no person serving the public can hide his criminality behind that privilege and still hold public office. An official may assert his constitutional right, but he has no constitutional right to hold his office."

This suggestion should be widely adopted. And there should be other penalties that, as the council puts it, would "tend to eliminate from public office those individuals whose only desire for public office is to abuse the trust by participating in practices which cannot stand the light of public exposure."

For example, should a policeman who finds it embarrassing to answer questions about his conduct or his bank account be permitted to retire on full pension? Might it not be appropriate for him to receive only the actual amount he has paid into the pension fund?

Exempting the Big City

IN THE few states which still deprive their cities of the right to adopt the council-manager form of government, there is a growing demand for freedom of choice.

Typical of this demand is a recent editorial in the *Bloomington* (Illinois) *Pantagraph,* which blames "small time politicians" for what, essentially, is a nullification of self-government and quotes Governor Adlai E. Stevenson, in his message to the legislature, as follows:

"Many students of municipal government in Illinois conclude that the problems of our cities would in some instances be lessened by the city manager method of operation. Existing laws permit a city manager only in towns of 5,000 population or less. Larger cities in other states have found the system effective. As a step in the direction of greater home rule and increased flexibility, I believe the legislature could well offer to all cities under 500,000 population the additional option of the council-manager form of government to be adopted by referendum."

Why "all cities *under* 500,000"? Because the not so small time politicians of Chicago would be sure to fight any move for efficient government that might interfere with their privilege and pap?

There is no evidence, of course, that the council-manager plan will not work well in large cities. All evidence indicates that efficiently organized administration, as in the manager plan, tends to produce good results in them as in small places.

And why not? One might as well argue that a small business has to be run properly but that efficient organization and competent management is bad for our great corporations.

Explaining Civil Defense

The burden of the February editorial on civil defense, to which Hubert Gallagher replies on page 128 of this issue, was that no matter how clear the federal authorities may be in their own minds the public generally is far from clear about basic objectives, to say nothing of the many essential procedures and priorities of civil defense.

Mr. Gallagher's answers provide the kind of clarification of which there must be much more before we achieve the understanding and teamwork required.

Whether intermunicipal mutual aid agreements and interstate compacts will produce the concerted regional action achieved in England during the worst bombings of World War II is questionable, to say the least.

Their success will require a rare community of understanding and uniformity of preparation among the scores or hundreds of governments in a defense area.

In any event, the diversion of citizen interest from normal voluntary civic or welfare activities is worthy of thoughtful consideration. Come what may, most of our cities will not be destroyed; it would be physically impossible. Meanwhile, in getting volunteers for civil defense the temptation will be to recruit people who are already in the habit of giving time for the public good. Every effort should be made to enlist others. Civil defense can be made interesting to them.

A Winning Run for Richmond

Mayor, who formerly opposed council-manager plan, adds up gains and finds himself transformed into a crusader.

By T. NELSON PARKER*

THREE years ago I opposed the council-manager form of government for Richmond. A year ago I had changed my mind and come to favor it. And now I have changed my mind again. Today, I am a crusader for Richmond's city manager government.

My story, I believe, is the story of many Richmonders who at first opposed adoption of the council-manager charter. It is a narrative of how in little more than two years we have seen enough of our new government to know that we have gained far more than what we thought we might lose.

Five years ago an aroused group of Richmonders went to bat for better city government. By now they have won the ball game. In four separate and distinct achievements in this contest for better government the Richmond team has in effect put a man on first base, advanced him to second, then to third and finally driven him home for the winning run.

I said the citizens of Richmond went to bat five years ago. They were few in number, only about 200 who gathered at the Hotel John Marshall and decided to organize a citizens association to encourage interest in municipal government. The young Citizens Association collected signatures to petitions for a referendum on the form of city government and secured a large vote in favor of the appointment of a charter commission. The Richmond team had put its man on first base.

A charter commission of seven men, all backed by the Citizens Association, was elected and, after intensive review, proposed a council-manager government. Over 70 per cent of the more than 26,000 voters approved the new charter. The winning run was now on second base.

In the spring of 1948 the Citizens Association selected nine men who, it felt, were best qualified to serve as members of the new council and it vigorously campaigned for their election. Eight of those nine men were elected. The new government had been adopted and it was now to be launched under the stewardship of men who were its publicly avowed friends.

Some might conclude that this double-barrelled achievement was in effect a two-base hit that advanced our man on second base to home and thereby scored the winning run. But most of us knew that the game was far from won. We had advanced our winning run to third base. There was one more base to be made.

The winning run could be called safely across home plate when the new government in its operation had demonstrated to a substantial majority of the community that it justified the hope and faith Richmonders had placed in it. Our new government has done just this. That is my own personal conviction but I believe I speak the sentiments of thousands of others who originally opposed adoption of the manager charter.

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*Mr. Parker was elected in 1950 to the city council of Richmond under its council-manager charter on the ticket of the Citizens Association and was chosen by that body as its president and mayor of the city.

Our new manager government has brought many benefits. I have not time to recount all of these, but I do wish to mention some of those things which have impressed me most during first-hand observations over the past two years.

I am impressed with the operation of our impartial, nonpolitical merit system of employment. We have secured a higher quality city employee; we have gained the respect and confidence of the average employee; we have built the prestige and the reputation of the city service and we have relieved the members of council from the cheapening, troublesome and often embarrassing requests of those seeking favor in employment and promotion in the city service.

I am impressed with the effectiveness of our new, nine-man, unicameral council elected from the city at large. It has demonstrated that it handles the affairs of our city expeditiously and yet with far greater knowledge and skill than that of the old bicameral 32-man council. No longer are important matters defeated through delaying tactics such as leaving ordinances pigeon-holed in committees. No longer are decisions made in committees with the majority of the members of council following committee recommendations and voting despite their lack of knowledge on many measures. No longer are ordinances adopted without full consideration and thoughtful preparation. Today, each measure proposed in council has the careful scrutiny of the city manager and his staff, so that members of council may have the fullest advice prior to their deliberations. No longer are important matters defeated by secret votes in executive sessions. Today each measure to come before the council is voted upon in open session and each vote is recorded.

No Sectionalism

I am impressed with the spirit of unity that prevails in our city government. No longer is there sectionalism with representatives of one ward battling against those of another. Today, our councilmen represent the entire community. No longer is there log-rolling. Today, we pave streets, build schools and establish playgrounds on the basis of the overall community need and not on the basis of "I'll vote for yours if you'll vote for mine."

I am impressed by the abolition of the ward politician. No longer does he thrive on favors, large and small, which he can hand out in return for questionable support at the polls. No longer does he weaken administration and influence legislation for the benefit of the minority. Today, the ward politician is through in Richmond.

I am impressed by the fact that administration is left to those who are employed to administer. No longer does the council attempt to

Public Library
Kansas City, Mo.

influence those decisions not properly the prerogatives of the legislative branch. Today, the council sets down policy. The manager sees that it is carried out.

I am impressed with sound fiscal controls and planning which we have been able to achieve under our new charter. No longer do we have deficit spending. No longer do we have hit and miss capital improvements. No longer do we have slush funds. Today, we live within our income, we borrow for recognized capital needs only and, when we borrow, we know how we are going to pay back.

Citizens Serve City

And I am impressed with the remarkable increase in citizen interest in local government and the active participation of literally thousands of our citizens in some branches of municipal affairs. For the first time we have put many community problems in the hands of citizen committees for study and for action. We have set up a committee on beautification, one on traffic problems and, most unusual of all, a number of committees to work with the department of personnel in reviewing applicants for certain jobs. Twenty-six different boards consisting of 165 citizens who are specialists in their particular fields have aided the department of personnel in judging the aptitudes and the qualifications of applicants seeking jobs in the city service.

Finally, I am impressed with many specific increases of services rendered and by many major public improvements that have occurred in the past two and one-half years. For instance, in the field of traffic problems we have modernized and extended a major part of our traffic light control system. We have established a municipal off-street parking facility.

We have resurfaced more streets in the past year than had been resurfaced in the previous five years.

In stepping up our safety programs we have increased by more than 30 per cent the inspections made by our fire prevention bureau. A boiler inspection program has been activated. Two new fire stations are being erected.

In the field of recreation we have opened a new playground and two new community centers. We have expanded the community center programs and coordinated them with the efforts of the school system. We have developed a new football field.

In public health we are erecting the city's first modern health center building. We have modernized and enlarged our tuberculosis center. We have increased the number of public health nursing visits by 25 per cent.

Educational facilities are rapidly expanding and we have set up a five-year program involving an expenditure of more than $12,000,000. We are building more schools today than were erected in a quarter of a century before.

Richmond owns three utilities operations. The municipally owned water plant is regarded as one of the finest in the nation. It has just recently been completed. The present administration set up the city owned gas utility on a profitable basis while at the same time anticipating savings of more than $1,000,000 a year in consumer gas rates.

These are some of the concrete accomplishments. There are many more in the field of operating efficiency which indicate that we are well on our way to increasing our services to the citizens of Richmond.

With justified incredulity you now could well ask me, "To be such a crusader for the manager form of government today, how was it you saw such little light three years ago?" And I will have to confess that three years ago I did recognize many of the weaknesses that were inherent in our old government, but I thought I saw in the new charter a challenge to many of those things which I felt were more important in local government than the mere attainment of business efficiency.

Fears Unfounded

I feared a loss of some of the democratic character of our government. It seemed to me a mayor, elected by the people, would be a more responsive administrator than an appointed manager. I was concerned about the abolition of ward representation because I thought councilmen elected at large might not be as sympathetic to the problems of individuals and specific areas. I questioned the drastic reduction of the number in council from 32 to nine, and I had doubts about a one-chambered legislative body which might take precipitate action because of its lack of the traditional American system of checks inherent in our two-house legislatures. But I have come to learn these things:

An appointed city administrator, able to resist special interest and minority pressures, is capable of being as democratic, and even more so, than an elective one.

A small one-chamber council, with no standing committees in the accustomed usage and no executive sessions, affords a greater opportunity for full play of the democratic processes than is found in the bicameral council.

Nine well informed men can reach as democratic and as sound conclusions as 32 who might or might not be as well informed.

Councilmen who represent the entire city, and who are influenced by consideration of the city's welfare as a whole, approach more closely the democratic ideal because territorial minorities are frequently the demanding type.

Yes, I feared weakening of the democratic processes in the manager plan but I found instead a strengthening of these cherished values.

I am glad that five years ago a group of Richmonders had the vision to go to bat for better municipal government. I am glad their team won, for all Richmond has won. And I am proud to be just a rookie on this winning team.

Hague's Domain Revisited

Freedom bursting out all over in Jersey City but eventual rise of a new strong man foreseen by visiting author.

By **DAYTON D. McKEAN***

THE Statue of Liberty stands with her back to Jersey City. For a generation that fact was regarded as particularly significant by people who looked at what was long Frank Hague's domain. Probably no city in America had a worse record than his for the suppression of those liberties that are supposed to be guaranteed by the first ten amendments to the constitution.

The lady could turn around now, for freedom is bursting out all over. People can growl freely as they wait for their busses or pour out of the tube trains at Exchange Place or Journal Square. "Jersey City is a good town," said an attendant in a service station to a perfect stranger, "but the taxes is awful." Before the "Revolution of the Tenth of May" (1949) he would not have dared to make such a complaint unless in his own home with the blinds pulled down.

It was the Freedom Ticket, headed by John V. Kenny, formerly a ward leader in the Hague machine, that toppled the old boss from his throne. The victory was nation-wide news. In the Newark papers it got top billing, above the defeat of Newark's own mayor on the same day, because Hague was a figure known the world over, a Democratic national committeeman, a former national vice-chairman, a maker and breaker of governors and senators.

The Kenny revolution was, for several reasons, successful when previous revolts had been crushed. Kenny was personally popular. People did not like Hague's attempt to establish a dynasty with his nephew, Frank Hague Eggers, as his successor. As far as that went, they did not like Eggers, either. But probably of greater importance was the fact that the Freedom Ticket recognized, as Hague had refused to do, that the Irish have seen their best days in the politics of most American cities, and they must now move over to give room to the later arrivals. In Jersey City these ambitious nationality groups are composed principally of citizens of Italian and Polish descent.

Freedom was won by nominating Charles S. Witkowski (Polish), Louis J. Messano (Italian), Donald Spence (Republican, Yankee) and only two Irishmen, James F. Murray and Kenny. Although the Hague forces were scornful of this "League of Nations" ticket, as they called it, conspicuous public positions are of great importance to nationality groups, because they give the individual members of the groups a sense of belonging, of prestige. It was not enough for the Italians that Hague had provided thousands of jobs for

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them through his chief garbage collector, Michael Scatuorchio ("Mike Scat"). He had never permitted an Italian on the city commission, a prestige job, and Kenny offered such a place in exchange for Italian support. The Kenny slate won in eleven of Jersey City's twelve wards.

Hague Opponents Split

Freedom, hard to win, is often harder to live with. The litter of the victory celebration had hardly been cleared from the streets when the two Irishmen on the city commission, Kenny and Murray, were leading rival factions. Many, but by no means all, of the colonels, captains and lieutenants in Hague's army thought the war was lost and either applied for pensions or deserted to the enemy. Most gave their allegiance to Kenny. But not the Honorable Mary Norton, member of Congress from the thirteenth district of New Jersey. For a score of years she had been a faithful adherent of Hague's, and she would not follow any other leadership. She took Mayor Kenny's hint that her long service to the nation entitled her to a handsome retirement pension and after a series of farewell dinners, at one of which Hague himself showed up, she did retire. The vacancy thus created in the congressional delegation seemed to Commissioner James F. Murray an ideal spot for James F. Murray, Jr. After all, Jersey City had a tradition older than any citizen living that political leaders took care of their relatives.

But this proposal was a challenge to the leadership of Mayor Kenny, and besides he had his own experience to convince him that the Jersey City market had been oversold on Irish candidates. He wanted, and ultimately won with, Major A. D. Sieminski, a hero of the Korean war. In the general election Kenny's man carried the district by 8,000 which Mary Norton had usually taken by 40,000. There were rumors that Hague, Murray and the Republicans had all worked against the absent Sieminski.

A citizen of Cincinnati may open his morning paper and expect no more startling news about his municipality than that the city manager and the council have just done something constructive. The turbulent politics of Jersey City provides its people no such dull fare. Some official is always being indicted or sued for libel or thrown out of office. Politics in Hudson County is a rough game. Indictments are still pending against Hague's second in command, former Deputy Mayor John Malone, and six other members of the Hague faction, who are charged with obtaining in 1948 and 1949 a 3 per cent salary kickback from public employees for the organization. Although ignorance of the law excuseth no man, they might well plead in the court of public opinion that the assessment of officeholders for campaign expenses was in Jersey City a custom hallowed by such long usage as to be as fully accepted by the community as betting on a number or playing the ponies.

Ready to expect anything, the citizens could not have been too surprised, then, when Mayor Kenny and city commissioners Messano and

Spence met and by resolution stripped Commissioners Murray and Witkowski of most of their administrative powers and duties, as the New Jersey Walsh Act permits a majority of a city commission to do. They left Mr. Murray the city bathhouse to operate. He was unhappy about this and barricaded himself in his office for a while, where he had his picture taken shaving. But with dire threats of litigation he came out after a few days.

All this uproar leads many citizens of Jersey City to assert that Kenny is not the boss Hague was. Indeed he is not. He appears to have good intentions. He has not permitted the assessment of officeholders. He will not interfere with cases in the courts or in quasi-judicial agencies, such as the county tax board.

For a Jersey City politician he showed an immense amount of political courage when he and his faction in the city commission turned down Commissioner Murray's demand for a Christmas bonus of $500 for each city employee. This would have cost the taxpayers about four million dollars and would have raised the tax rate 116 points. The taxpayers must have been astounded at this unaccustomed consideration. An increase in the tax rate had never worried Mayor Hague, who had always managed to shift the blame to the wicked railroad lobby.

The unaccustomed freedom in Jersey City was extended further by Kenny when he called off the City Hall New Year's reception. In Hague's day this reception had been a command performance at which every public employee was expected to appear to shake the boss's hand. Huge floral offerings such as those at a gangster's funeral were also appreciated. Hague had set so much store by the receptions and the homage shown by the faithful at them that he had even returned from Florida for a day or two to attend them. For once, however, the public employees were free to sleep late on New Year's Day. They were also spared the embarrassment that might have arisen had there been a Murray as well as a Kenny reception line at City Hall.

Hague Bids for Return

When Hague was dethroned in the "Revolution of the Tenth of May" a headline writer, forgetting Flynn, Byrd, Talmadge, Earl Long and others, wrote, "Kenny Upsets Last of the Bosses." The last or not, he was upset, and for the third time in his career Hague said he was through with politics. This abdication, however, did not last longer than his earlier ones. He did not resign his place on the Democratic national committee. He soon opened a headquarters and attempted to regroup his shattered forces. He worked hard. Indeed, his friends say that since his defeat he has spent more time in Jersey City than he ever spent there while he was mayor. He has not made even one trip to Europe since May 1949.

Hague came close to electing his candidate for governor in 1949. Alfred E. Driscoll is governor today only because Kenny, the Democrat, threw his strength to Driscoll, the Republican. Instead of the Democratic candidate for governor receiving 75,000 to 100,000 majority in Hudson County, as Hague candidates had done time out of mind, Driscoll almost carried this Democratic stronghold. He did not do well in the rest of the state, but with the help of Kenny he pulled through.

Kenny had an unhappy choice to make: he had either to support a Republican, who might or might not be friendly, or he had to support a Hague Democrat who would appoint judges and prosecutors. From a lifetime of political experience he knew what hostile judges and prosecutors could and would do. He chose the lesser evil but now, with only one Democratic vote besides his own on the commission, he is at the governor's mercy. If the man he made governor should persuade Spence to side with Murray, the roof would fall in.

The old boss knows the situation. Early in January, while fighting off a million-dollar libel suit, he recaptured control of the Hudson County Board of Freeholders. This powerful county board, with all its patronage, had deserted him in the hard days after his defeat. The means Hague used to persuade a majority of the board to return to its former allegiance have not been fully revealed, but the signal that the old master was back in power in the county was given when, by a five-to-four vote, the board elected a Hague man its director and ousted a Kenny man from the $7,500 office of county auditor to which it then appointed Raymond M. Greer. Greer had been associated with Hague in the days before Elba. He was the financial wizard who had been able to make the tax rate go down a little in every municipal election year even though it shot up to a new high in every non-election year. The touch of the master's hand and telephone manner were also shown in the manipulations just before the crucial five-to-four vote—one wavering freeholder was kept in protective custody in the law office of Frank Hague Eggers until ten minutes before the board met.

Charter Question Debated

Shortly after this coup, the Hague Democrats, now operating under the somewhat surprising title of Regular Democrats for Clean Government, held a mass meeting at which Eggers and others urged support for a movement to change from the commission to the mayor-council form of city government. At the meeting Eggers was hailed as the next mayor, and petition blanks were circulated to force a referendum. Circulation of the petitions led the Kenny faction in the city commission to try to head off the movement. It adopted a resolution, later followed by an ordinance, to provide for the election of a city charter commission at the general election in November. When the Clean Government (Hague) petitions were filed, the city's attorney announced they would be ignored in favor of the commission's resolution and ordinance. A court fight impends to decide precedence, but in all probability the voters on or before November 6 will be called upon to pass or reject some measure

PERIODICAL DEPT.

looking toward a fundamental change in the government of Jersey City.

The next milestone on Hague's return road will probably come at the April primary elections. Two Republican factions promise each to have full tickets for assemblymen and county offices, and there will also be two Democratic slates, a Kenny list and a Hague list. What way will Murray and Witkowski go? Murray is an old Hague-hater, but amazing political transformations have occurred in Jersey City since freedom came, and he may now hate Kenny more than he does Hague. James F. Murray, Jr., was one of the speakers at the Clean Democrats rally. At any rate, a confused and complicated situation such as this gives the old boss just the opportunity he needs.

If Hague wins the primaries, he will solidify his control over Hudson County, and his next step may well be a recall election aimed at Kenny. Whether he can win with his nephew, Eggers, seems doubtful. Eggers could not lead the ticket in 1949. Hague may have to run himself, but he is 75 years old and, while he is excellently preserved, the sunset years are not appropriate for the slam-bang campaign that would be necessary. In the latest edition of *Who's Who* he listed himself as an ex-mayor but nevertheless gave his address as City Hall, Jersey City. Clearly he looks forward to a return from Elba, and every one in Jersey City seems to believe that in the lush years he saved up enough millions to finance a hard campaign.

If Hague does regain power it would seem unlikely that he has sufficient years remaining to reassemble his machine and to adjust it to run again with its old efficiency. After an interlude of freedom for the people, it will certainly be difficult to reestablish the old ruthlessness with which Hague's opponents got beaten up, run out of town or sent to jail on trumped-up charges.

Kenny No 'Boss'

Kenny, for his part, seems to lack the qualifications necessary to be boss of Jersey City. When he was elected he was quoted as saying, "I am going to be manager of Jersey City, not a boss." This resolution he appears to have attempted to keep, although he is no reformer—had he been one he probably could not have been elected in Jersey City. He did not abolish the sinecure jobs created under Hague; he simply removed those Hagueites who would not come over and put Kenny people in. In this action he showed that he is a true son of his city, where public employment is regarded above all else as a due reward for party work. Even in his treatment of Murray and Witkowski he was long suffering; Hague would not have tolerated their trouble-making for a moment.

Jersey City used to have a slogan, "Everything for Industry." If it does not have everything, it does have many attractions, especially its location, but it sadly lacks a stable government. The conflict of nationality groups in the area is comparable to that in Chicago, and the struggle is just as likely to last for a generation to come.

The commission form of city government, moreover, is probably one of the worst ever devised, because it encourages each sizeable minority to contend for one or more of the five places, not on the basis of an overall city program but on the basis of prestige, of recognition. Each commissioner is independent of every other and therefore feels that he must build up his own machine, making such alliances as he can, using the patronage of his own department, to secure his reelection. The commission type of city government encourages, institutionalizes, conflict. Finally the time may arrive when the people will welcome a boss who can end the bickering, even if he has to knock some heads together, or off.

The attractiveness to industry, especially to railroads, has been both a blessing and a curse to Jersey City—a blessing because it has produced hundreds of millions of dollars of taxable property, much of it owned by absentees—but a curse because it has produced a smoke-filled atmosphere, grimy buildings, miles of unsightly railroad yards and factories, and vast slums. Most of Jersey City, indeed, is slum, and would be so classified by any city planner. But, unlike most large cities, Jersey City with its peninsular location, has no outlying, high-class residential, suburban sections. Instead, it has only islands of respectability in the sea of slums. It has not many of the islands, because when a citizen prospers he is likely to move his family into another city and county—to a Maplewood or an East Orange. The civic leadership, therefore, that ought to develop to bring Jersey City the government it needs is always being drawn off to other places. Conditions of misrule that ought to be temporary harden into traditions that inefficiency and graft are inevitable.

Freedom is likely to remain in Jersey City for some years, either under Kenny or, if he returns to power, under Hague. But the long-time prognosis is only fair; a period of battling and confusion is indicated, followed by the rise of another strong man. Then once again will the position of the Statue of Liberty be symbolic.

Health Consolidation Works

With aid of federal-state cooperation Topeka-Shawnee County department improves its services and personnel.

By **DOROTHY LUBER***

CAN autonomy in the administration of a local health unit be maintained where four levels of government—city, county, state and national—contribute to its budget? An administrative survey conducted over a two-year period in a consolidated city-county health unit, the Topeka-Shawnee County Health Department in Kansas, indicates that, for the most part, the local unit can continue to call the tune, even when it pays the piper only part of his fee.

Public health services countrywide are provided by 18,500 governmental units, which originated in the era of horse and buggy distances. These governmental structures, in that they afford the necessary legal machinery for levying of taxes and appropriation of funds, are convenient agencies for the administration of health departments. On the other hand, as Haven Emerson has noted in his reports on local health units, a minimum population of 50,000 should be contained within the area covered by a single health department if economy of administration is to be achieved.[1] That is why the United States Public Health Service encourages consolidation of health services among various units of government, especially between county and city.

Serious shortages of public health personnel during the war accelerated the movement for consolidation and the growth in numbers of this type of health organization continues. Many of the consolidated health departments receive federal funds, channelled through the state board of health. Each of the four contributing levels of government, therefore, is involved in the fiscal operation of the local health department. In some areas, the public, and more particularly the city and county officials, resist consolidation because they fear that restrictive regulation by state and federal agencies will follow.

In the 105 counties of Kansas there are only fourteen full-time health departments. With a population density half that of the United States as a whole, it would be impracticable for Kansas to maintain full-time health services in each of her counties and cities. Yet only 40 per cent of her population, as compared with an average of 67 per cent in the United States as a whole, enjoys the protection of public health facilities that approach minimum standards. As a solution to the problem of providing adequate protection without incurring prohibitive costs, five counties in Kansas during the 1940s established combined city-county health units. All of these are in areas where the density of population is well above the state average. In Shawnee County the population of over 100,000 includes about 80,000 urban residents.

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*Prior to her recent marriage the author was assistant professor of political science at Washburn University in Topeka.

[1] Haven Emerson, *Local Health Units for the Nation.* New York, The Commonwealth Fund, 1945.

Before consolidation of city and county health services, the Topeka Health Department was under the jurisdiction of the park commissioner, in the commission plan of government. The ordinance that created a joint health unit made the health board an advisory body, for the most part, with the park commissioner relegated to the position of board member. The power to make policy is vested in the city and county commissions, and administrative functions are assigned to the director of the health unit. The health board, composed of doctors from the city and county, laymen resident there, the county director of welfare and the city park commissioner, has power to recommend to the city commission a health director whose qualifications meet the standards set by the Kansas Joint Merit Council. The Public Health Nursing Association has been absorbed into the unit, the local Tuberculosis Association contributes funds and, during the first several years of consolidation, the board of education voted an annual appropriation to the department. Later, however, the schools withdrew from the program.

A medical care program was established for the medically indigent by the county medical and dental societies in cooperation with the county welfare board with the understanding that physical facilities and some personnel and services should be provided by the new health unit. Specifically, the health unit provides the medical care clinics with office space and equipment, clerical assistance, nurses, a bacteriologist and laboratory services. In numbers of employees the health unit has increased since consolidation from twenty to 45 full-time and six part-time workers.

Some Problems Faced

Limitations on the administrative authority of the director come from several sources, although these restrictions are not significant. The structure of the health unit is established by city ordinance, and the director must wait upon changes in the ordinances to achieve reorganization of divisions within the department. Some employees are paid from city, some from county and others from state funds. Only those on the city payroll participate in a retirement program, which the other two levels of government lack. It is not easy for the director to decide on what basis employees shall be assigned to the city payroll, because most of them want the advantages of a retirement program.

Some of the problems of fiscal administration result from the earmarking of funds allocated to the local department by the federal government through the state board, from the uncertainty about the amount of money that will be forthcoming from federal-state sources and from the inconvenient fact that three levels of government operate on different fiscal calendars. Budget planning is complicated by the lack of a central local health fund. The federal contributions are drawn from eleven earmarked categories, the state from 21 tax funds and seven license fee funds, and the city and county from separate appropriations made by city and county commissioners. There is also apparent a reluctance on the part of city and county to provide the funds necessary to maintain health services at their present level in the face of reduction of federal-state contributions. A loss of $9,000 in a budget of $105,000 resulted from the withdrawal of schools, except parochial, from the public health program, following a conflict between school authorities and the health director over the philosophy of a school health program.

Relations among the four contributing governments have created some problems for the director which are more annoying than serious. Some county officials feel that the city is absorbing a county activity rather than sharing it. A larger portion of the budget is contributed by the city than by the county, as the former requires more health services. But the county enjoys more and better health services than it did before consolidation, although some county officials are reluctant to recognize improvements. The division for local health administration of the state board acts in an advisory capacity and does not restrict the authority of the director, but occasionally consultants are provided for the local department by the state board without adequate opportunity for pre-program planning. Aside from federal requirements affecting the selection of personnel, the federal agencies have not acted to limit the powers of the local health unit. Allocation of federal-state funds for specific purposes can affect the nature of local health activities, of course, although the health department may or may not participate in the various programs, at the discretion of the director.

Many Accomplishments

In spite of administrative wrinkles that are only gradually being ironed out, the local health unit has an impressive list of achievements for the nine-year period since consolidation. An effective nursing program has been developed to provide maternal, infant and child health conferences and bedside care, with a staff of twenty nurses, one of whom acts as director, two as supervisors. An in-service training program is flourishing, and participation of staff members in regularly scheduled conferences is encouraged. Recognition of the good work of the division is evidenced by its selection as a cadet and graduate field training center for participating universities. The quality of personnel is generally superior: seven nurses have B.S. degrees in public health nursing, six have had special college training in this field, and the remainder are graduate nurses with previous experience in public health work. Case histories on patients are carefully maintained and excellent follow-up work is done with the aid of a medical social investigator and a psychiatric social worker, who are associated with the medical care and public health clinics.

The success of the department in working out a medical care program with the local medical society has resulted in greater service to the community than could have been made available under public health auspices alone. In addition, the department provides six public health clinics. Under the administration of the local health unit, the United States Public Health Service is conducting a census and morbidity study, a fly control project and a field training center for sanitarians from the midwest.

Many of the improvements in the quality of services offered the public grow out of improved personnel policies. All employees must meet qualifications set by the Joint Merit Council and members of the department may obtain additional graduate training upon the request and approval of local and state directors. Employees are encouraged to join their professional organizations and to attend workshops, public health institutes and conferences.

Diverse Activities Centralized

The cooperation of various community agencies has been obtained, resulting in centralization of diverse public health activities under one administrator, with elimination of duplication of activities and a saving in administrative costs. After consolidation of city and county health services was achieved, there followed a period during which standards that met the requirements of federal and state agencies were established. Increased appropriations were made available by federal and state agencies while the local governments also increased their expenditures for health services. As a result of these changes, the importance of public health work has received wider recognition in the local area.

Improvements in the quality and quantity of health services will be reflected in statistics on child and maternal death rates, morbidity rates, and in the acceptance of regulations of the sanitation division by the community. The consolidated unit has not provided a panacea for all the problems besetting the local health administration. It will be necessary to obtain the cooperation of school authorities if the program is to provide truly effective service for the whole community; the city and county may have to compromise on some of their differences; and increasing local financial support must be gained if facilities are to be maintained at their present level because a portion of federal-state contributions will be diverted to the development of additional consolidated units.

The Topeka-Shawnee County Health Department derives special significance from the fact that its continued existence over a period of nine years, with significant improvements in services and quality of personnel, suggests that four levels of government can cooperate successfully in carrying out a local government function. If local administration is effective, local autonomy may be maintained and developed, even when substantial support is accepted from other levels of government.

Problems of Public Officials

Sessions of National Conference on Government discuss municipal public relations and citizen official's job.

THE reports below cover two of the fourteen concurrent morning sessions held by the National Municipal League's National Conference on Government at Buffalo, November 20-22, 1950. The story on the citizen official's job was prepared by Professor Arthur W. Bromage of the University of Michigan, a member of the city council of Ann Arbor, who presided at that session. Harold S. Rand, public relations officer for Rochester, New York, and former president of the American Municipal Public Relations Officers, presided at the session on municipal public relations and made the report given here.

Citizen Official's Job

By Arthur W. Bromage

AT THE 1950 National Conference on Government the National Municipal League experimented with a panel discussion on the responsibilities and techniques of citizen officials. The participants included: Stuart A. MacCorkle, city councilman, Austin, Texas; William Bailey, mayor, Battle Creek, Michigan; Peter J. Crotty, president, Buffalo Common Council; Paul A. Volcker, former city manager, Teaneck, New Jersey; John H. Cooke, chairman, Erie County Board of Supervisors; Charles Schohl, village trustee, Orchard Park, New York; Wallace H. Miller, president, Buffalo Board of Education; A. B. Holmstrom, mayor, Worcester, Massachusetts; and Anthony J. Keller, city councilman, Niagara Falls, New York. Arthur W. Bromage city councilman of Ann Arbor, Michigan, served as chairman of the panel.

In the past too little attention has been paid to the methods and responsibilities of those who serve as representatives on local governing bodies. How do their techniques vary from school board to city council to county board? What is the "actual" effect of mayor-council, commission and council-manager government on the elected public servant?

The answers provided by this panel of "experts" were so rich and varied that any precise summary is certainly beyond the capacity of this writer. Some of the participants may very well disagree and may even wish to write rebuttals which will be gladly entertained. However, with these apologies and reservations, here goes!

First, an amazing similarity exists in the techniques and problems of the elected representatives in all units—cities, villages, counties and school districts. All must deal with the public, with budgets, with employee demands, with that much publicized character, the citizen and taxpayer.

All the participants could cite book, chapter and verse on how to handle the public. Their skill in this fundamental operation came not from books but from the day-to-day problem of dealing with belligerent and/or active and reasonable citizens. Councilman MacCorkle coined the most picturesque phrase for this process when he said that the elected representative has "to feel the flesh of the people."

All gave evidence of that subtle rôle of the "politician": we are here to do the will of the voters, not solely to put over our own ideas in local administration. Trustee Schohl indicated that, at the village level, a walk down Main Street inevitably produced a lot of lore about citizen reaction. School Board President Miller got the same lore from parent-teacher meetings. In the large city and county operation, press, radio, the telephone and the U. S. mail kept the elected representative informed of public reactions.

Form of Government Important

Second, some contrasts developed between the rôles of the elected representatives in the no-executive or weak-executive types of government on the one hand and in the strong executive systems on the other hand. Mayor Holmstrom applauded the council-manager system because he could devote his time primarily to the policy problems of Worcester. He indicated that individual citizens rarely consumed his time with details such as traffic tickets and minor complaints. In the large county board with no executive and independently elected officers Chairman Cooke conceded that things had to be done by committees, and that committee decisions were usually ratified by the board. In case of conflicts over committee reports, the partisan majority could command enough votes to win. He stressed the significant position of the controller in Erie County operations.

President Miller of the Buffalo Board of Education outlined the importance of having a good executive as superintendent and indicated that much of the battle in school administration is won or lost by the choice of a superintendent. Under the commission form of municipal government, Mayor Bailey of Battle Creek emphasized the value of employing outside consultants to audit administrative operations and point the way to economy and efficiency in administration. He demonstrated that such a survey had paid for itself in actual cash by improved techniques. In general, it seemed obvious to this observer that in weak or no-executive types of government, elected representative officials must necessarily give more time to the broad and the detailed aspects of management.

Third, conflicts developed among the panel members on the significance of "forms" of government in relation to "personalities" in government. President Crotty of the Buffalo common council was perhaps most pronounced in arguing that the people can make any form of government work, provided they get good men in office. Mayor Bailey seconded his motion. Councilman MacCorkle countered with the thought that form as such is not so important in the small city or village. However, in the large unit, he presented the case for a form with clear lines of responsibility leading upward from administrators to chief executive to council. He pointed out that the council-manager plan did not eliminate but tempered and refined councilman-citizen relations. Councilman Keller declared that Niagara Falls had gone through many years of making the manager clear too many details through council; now a majority in council were determined to allow the manager to manage.

In conclusion, this panel discussion seemed, to the chairman, to be an extremely worthwhile experiment. The audience appeared to enjoy the show, and the participants let some of their remaining hair down. If we are going to make democracy work more effectively, we must probe more deeply into the responsibilities and techniques of city councilmen, county and school board members, and village trustees under all forms and structures. The elected public servant is the key to much that goes on under any system. It is to be hoped that the National Municipal League will put this show on the road again at an ensuing National Conference on government, with new performers in the same old acts of representative democracy.

Municipal Public Relations

By Harold S. Rand

THE panel discussion on municipal public relations, sponsored by the Association of Municipal Public Relations Officers at the 1950 National Municipal League Conference on Government in Buffalo, New York, was well attended. Representatives from Chicago, Boston, Richmond, Cincinnati, Buffalo, Rochester, Schenectady, Toronto, as well as Germany, were in attendance.

The panel included Irving G. McNayr, county manager of Montgomery County, Maryland; Irving Beck, assistant to the city manager of Schenectady; J. R. Watson, executive secretary of the National Civil Service League; H. J. McFarland, New York State Department of Civil Service; Harold S. Buttenheim, editor of *The American City*. Harold S. Rand, public relations officer of Rochester, New York, was chairman.

Paul D. Vergakes of the new Boston Committee undertook the task of assisting secretary for the panel. It was a job for which all participants are grateful to him.

The discussion centered largely upon the mechanics of keeping citizens informed about their local government. It was evident that there were many avenues available to the municipalities for this purpose. In Montgomery County the civic, political and farm groups, as well as local social and church organizations, take an active part in the administration of the county government. Mr. McNayr has an in-service training program for his employees. This latter point was picked up by both Mr. Watson and Mr. McNayr, who developed the theme that a well informed, trained and satisfied employee is the very basis of a good public relations program.

Both Mr. Buttenheim and Mr. Rand stressed the point that business and industrial groups in a community should be used to assist a city public relations program. Mr. Buttenheim suggested that business and industries have technical personnel which might be available to municipalities on a civic basis to assist city hall in its efforts to inform the public. Mr. Rand pointed out that industries in Rochester, both through employee publications and by employee participation in civic affairs at all levels, work closely with the city government. He also pointed out that it was the interest shown and the active promotion by business and industry that has enabled Rochester's government to assist many necessary and desirable civic programs which city hall itself could not get across.

The panel discussed the problem of instituting a public relations program in cities where no definite program exists. It was pointed out that initiative and direction must come from top level administration officers. The public relations or public information officers must work with the city manager or mayor and council so that the program has uniformity. It was noted that such organizations as the American Municipal Public Relations Officials, the National Municipal League, *American City*, as well as most communities which now have public relations programs, are good and willing sources of material on how to establish proper municipal public relations programs.

Following Mr. McNayr's lead, the panel discussed the roll of the civic organization in public relations. It was felt that citizen groups are the

(Continued on page 178)

News in Review

City, State and Nation . . . . *Edited by H. M. Olmsted*

Suburban Population Rises 35% in Decade

General Urban Growth Shows Accelerated Rate

NEARLY half the gain in population in continental United States in the decade from 1940 to 1950, according to census results, was in the suburbs of the 168 "standard metropolitan areas" as delineated in connection with the census of April 1, 1950. These areas contain about 55 per cent of the country's population. The preliminary census figures show that out of a total increase of slightly more than 19,000,000 the 168 metropolitan areas gained nearly 15,000,000, the central cities in the areas showing an increase of 5,700,000 and the outlying or suburban portions 9,000,000. Thus the suburban increase was nearly half the national increase of 19,000,000.

The ten-year suburban increase, percentagewise, was 35 per cent; the gain in the central cities, 13 per cent; the gain in the 168 metropolitan areas as a whole, 21 per cent; and the over-all national gain 14.5 per cent. In 1940 as compared to 1930 the suburbs of 140 metropolitan areas gained 17 per cent while the central cities gained 6 per cent.

A standard metropolitan area consists in general of a central city of at least 50,000 people, together with the remainder of the county and in some cases one or more adjacent counties (or, in New England, towns) provided certain criteria of population and social and economic integration with the center are met.

In the twelve largest metropolitan areas the suburbs increased 32 per cent while the central cities gained less than 9 per cent.

As a group the 136 metropolitan areas of from 100,000 to 1,000,000 inhabitants had a greater rate of growth than the larger or smaller areas. The group of fourteen largest areas increased 18.2 per cent, the middle group 24.7 per cent and the group of smaller populations 22.5 per cent.

From a general geographic standpoint the heaviest trends of population have been toward the coastlines and the Great Lakes, according to Roy V. Peel, director of the census. The greatest percentage increase was in the west. Relatively, the Mississippi-Missouri basin and New England have continued to lag in rate of growth.

The Census Bureau also has set up 443 "state economic areas," each consisting of one or more counties with relatively homogeneous agricultural, industrial, social and demographic characteristics that differentiate them from adjoining counties in the same state. More than three-fourths of these areas had population increases from 1940 to 1950; 120 had gains of 20 per cent or more and 220 had gains of 10 per cent or more. The areas showing heavy growth were largely concentrated in the west and south. In the west about 60 per cent of the 59 state economic areas had gains of 20 per cent or more, including all but one of the seventeen such areas in California, the state of largest population increase, both in number and percentage. In the south nearly 30 per cent of the 181 state economic areas showed gains of 20 per cent or more. Two areas—one in Maryland, the other in Virginia—adjacent to Washington, D. C., more than doubled their population.

Council-Manager Plan Developments

The board of supervisors of **Marple Township, Pennsylvania,** unanimously adopted a plan for a township manager at a special meeting late in January, attended by more than a hundred township residents who expressed overwhelming approval. Marple is the first second-class township to adopt the plan since the state legislature extended manager enabling legislation to second-class townships in 1949. Formerly only boroughs and first-class townships could adopt the manager plan.

A charter committee in **Barre, Vermont,** has been working on a council-manager charter.

The towns of **Howland** and **Enfield, Maine,** are considering consolidation under a town manager plan of government. It is expected that special legislation to provide the consolidation will be introduced into the current legislature.

The **Massachusetts** legislature has rejected a proposal to restore to Plan E charters the provision that elected officials cannot become city managers until two years after the expiration of the term to which they were elected.

The Committee on Town Manager Form of Government for **Dedham, Massachusetts,** has issued its report. It is appearing serially in the Dedham *Transcript*.

At a public meeting in the **Arlington (Massachusetts)** town hall on January 10, the town manager charter committee, appointed by a special town meeting last fall, presented a report for discussion. Under the proposed plan the board of selectmen would appoint the manager, accountant, board of appeals, election officers and registrars of voters. The manager would be a non-resident, when appointed, experienced in the work with a term of three years. Objection was raised at the meeting to the proposed number of elected officials; besides the selectmen these would include the moderator, town clerk, treasurer and collector, three assessors, the school board and veterans' housing board.

The charter revision commission of **Warwick, Rhode Island,** is preparing two types of charter—strong-mayor and council-manager.

In the borough of **Maywood, New Jersey,** the Taxpayers League circulated petitions in January calling for a referendum on the question of adopting the council-manager plan, obtaining 840 signatures—767 was the minimum requirement. On advice of the newly appointed borough attorney the clerk not only declared that 197 signatures were disqualified but refused to return the petition to the league or to permit any amendment or additional signatures. The league announced that on advice of counsel it was convinced the borough attorney was in error but that, rather than invite the delays of litigation, it was proceeding to circulate a new petition. A total of 958 carefully checked signatures was obtained.

The manager idea is receiving attention in the borough of **Emporium, Pennsylvania.**

The city council of **Albemarle, North Carolina,** unanimously adopted a resolution on January 23 calling upon the (Stanly) county representatives in the legislature to introduce a bill authorizing a referendum on adopting the council-manager plan. It is favored by the Albemarle *News and Press*.

A committee in **Delaware, Ohio,** has been preparing a manager charter for that city.

Interest in the council-manager plan is again being shown in **Steubenville, Ohio.**

The **Tennessee** Municipal League is

working for enactment of a revised council-manager enabling act by the present legislature.

The charter commission of **Farmington, Michigan,** has prepared a council-manager charter. A vote is scheduled for April 2.

In **St. Charles, Missouri,** the Junior Chamber of Commerce has been circulating petitions to obtain a vote on council-manager government at the city election in April. The movement also has the support of the St. Charles Labor Council and Mayor Homer Clevenger, who retires from office this year.

The city council of **Jefferson City, Missouri,** rejected, six to three, a proposal for a popular vote on the question of changing to the council-manager plan. One councilman stated that several members of the council of Columbia, Missouri, to whom he had talked, expressed disappointment in the manager plan there. The mayor of Columbia replied that a check of his council showed no basis for such a statement.

The U. S. Atomic Energy Commission has drafted a proposed council-manager charter for **Richland, Washington.**

A council-manager charter for **Arcadia, California,** has been drafted by a special citizens committee.

Philadelphia's New Charter to Be Submitted to Vote

April 17 has been set as the date for a referendum on the first home rule charter for Philadelphia. The charter commission's final draft was made public February 14.

The final draft generally follows the preliminary outline set forth in the REVIEW for October 1950, page 455. The departmental arrangement is somewhat different. The following fifteen departments are provided: Police, fire, water, public health, streets, recreation, public welfare, public property, licenses and inspections, collections, audit, procurement, records, commerce and law.

The earlier proposal of ten councilmen elected from districts and seven elected at large is retained, but in voting for the latter group the voter will cast his ballot for five instead of four. This "limited vote" will insure the election of at least two minority representatives.

The provision for a managing director under the mayor, to supervise the service departments, is retained. The Philadelphia *Inquirer* expresses doubt, editorially, that a "strong" mayor, such as the charter contemplates, will allow his managing director much actual power.

Three separate questions are to be voted on at the April 17 election. The first is on the charter in general; the second is on the council proposal; the third on appointment, rather than election as at present, of the receiver of taxes (called revenue commissioner in the new charter)—this appointment to be by the director of finance with the approval of the mayor.

New Orleans Committee Selects Governmental Experts

The charter committee for the city of New Orleans[1] has employed as its director Val C. Mogensen, who has been the executive director of the New Orleans Bureau of Governmental Research since 1949. He has been given a fourteen-months leave of absence from the bureau. He is a native of New Orleans and a graduate of Tulane University there.

The committee also engaged as general consultant Lennox L. Moak, director of the Philadelphia Bureau of Municipal Research and formerly director of the New Orleans bureau. He will visit New Orleans at intervals.

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[1] See the REVIEW, February 1951, page 97.

A research staff is being recruited and it is expected that special consultants will be called in from time to time.

The committee must submit its final draft of a new charter to the New Orleans commission council not later than April 1, 1952, and the latter must pass upon the charter by May 30, 1952. The deadline for filing any other charter is July 31, 1952. Thus, in case the commission council rejects or drastically amends the committee's charter, independent citizens or groups have 60 days to secure the requisite 10,000 signatures of qualified voters on a petition to place the committee's or any other charter on the ballot for November.

Public Relations Board Created in Ashland, Kentucky

The city council of Ashland, Kentucky, has voted to create a city advisory commission to work with the city commission for the purpose of improving public relations. The new board is to consist of 35 to 40 members selected by the city commission as representative of various business, professional and civic organizations.

International Congress of Local Authorities

The 1951 Congress of the International Union of Local Authorities will be held in Brighton, England, June 25-30. Chief subjects will be "Local Authorities and Education" and "Water Supply and Sewerage."

Each member organization is preparing reports for its country on these subjects to be presented at the Brighton meeting. The American report on education has been prepared by Alonzo G. Grace, former chairman of the Department of Education at the University of Chicago and recently appointed head of New York University's Division of Advanced Study. Donald F. Herrick, executive director of the American Public Works Association, is drafting the American report on water supply.

Anyone planning to attend the congress may obtain additional information from N. Arkema, general secretary, International Union of Local Authorities, 5 Paleisstraat, The Hague, Netherlands.

Maryland Legislature Prohibits Convention

The House of Delegates of the Maryland legislature, by a vote of 64 to 56 on February 7, denied the people of Maryland their right to a constitutional convention that had been called for by a popular vote of 200,439 to 56,998 last November.

The Baltimore *Sun* of February 8, pointing out that in addition to the popular vote both political parties had pledged themselves to support the calling of a convention, said of the action in the legislature:

"What the vote expressed, only too clearly, was the firm intention of the dominant group in the legislature—that representing the small counties—not to take the slightest risk that their dominance might be upset. In vain has it been pointed out that a more equitable scheme of representation would not transfer dominance from the smaller counties to the heavily populated areas of the state but would only go part way toward the present grievously unbalanced state of affairs. That argument made no impression whatever. The representatives of the small counties, which formed an impregnable coalition to beat this bill, are simply not going to take the slightest chance that their present power in the legislature might be disturbed."

New Constitution Urged for South Carolina

Governor James F. Byrnes of South Carolina is reported to favor a new state constitution as a primary objective of his administration. The present constitution dates from 1895 and has been amended many times; it is said to contain much obsolete material. Governor Byrnes has indicated a desire that a constitutional convention be called to draft a new state charter. An alternative would be to amend the present constitution so as to permit submitting a proposed new constitution to popular vote.

The 1948 legislature set up a commission to make a tentative draft of a new constitution which reported last spring.

Constitutional Convention Proposed for Pennsylvania

An administration bill for calling a constitutional convention in Pennsylvania was introduced in the legislature early in February. Delegates would be elected this fall, to meet in January 1952.

Constitutional Amendments Proposed in Nebraska

The Nebraska Legislative Council recommends several amendments to the state constitution and also that a popular vote be had in 1952 on the question of calling a constitutional convention, according to *State Government*. If the 1951 legislature approves the proposed amendments they would be put to popular vote. They would: place the University of Nebraska and the four state teachers' colleges under a single board of higher education; abolish the office of state superintendent of public instruction as now constituted and create a department of public instruction under a board to be appointed by the governor, the board to choose the state superintendent; eliminate the present provision that prevents a state treasurer from being elected for more than two consecutive terms; and remove the constitutional limit of five mills on county tax levies.

Unicameral Legislature Urged for Oregon

A proposal for a legislature of one house of 40 members has been introduced in the Oregon Senate by Senator Richard L. Neuberger, as Senate Joint Resolution No. 1. Half the members would be elected every two years for four-year terms. Districts would be as nearly equal in population as practicable.

New York Expects Special Session on Apportionment

Upon its becoming practically certain that sufficiently detailed official census data would not be available in time to make a new congressional apportionment in New York State prior to the expected adjournment of the legislature late in March, a special session appears likely in August or September. New York's delegation to the House of Representatives will drop from 45 to 43 and, unless a reapportionment is made, the entire 43 must be elected at large in 1952.

Apportionment of the State Senate on the basis of the 1950 census will probably not be undertaken by the legislature until 1952. It seems quite possible that the present membership of 56 will be increased to 58, with an additional seat going to Queens County (part of New York City) and one to Nassau County, adjacent thereto on Long Island. Senate districts are supposed to be based on citizen population while congressional apportionment is on the basis of citizens and aliens together.

The 150 State Assembly districts

are to be set up within the new Senate districts by the county boards of supervisors except in the five counties of New York City, where the city council has the responsibility. This body, since proportional representation was discarded, consists of 24 Democrats and one Republican, thus placing a great strain upon it if gerrymandering in the five counties of the city, comprising half or more of the state's citizens, is to be prevented.

Despite an earnest effort throughout the nation to give more nearly equal representation to urban residents as compared to country dwellers, a movement away from this idea has appeared within New York's Joint Legislative Committee on Reapportionment. F. Morse Hubbard, its research counsel, has prepared a 105-page printed report, presenting a suggested constitutional amendment that would—especially in the Assembly—give additional advantage to the smaller counties and would make equality of population of districts secondary to such controversial criteria as "the convenience of the inhabitants and the effectiveness with which they can be represented by one senator (or assemblyman)."

In-Service Schooling for Massachusetts Legislators

New members of the lower house of the Massachusetts legislature have been attending school after they finish their legislative duties for the day. The classes are intended to give a working knowledge of legislative procedure and of how to make effective use of the rules of the house. Such classes have been conducted for the last fifteen or sixteen years. This year the legislators attending a majority of the class sessions will receive university extension certificates.

Classes are held for one to two hours every Monday, Tuesday and Wednesday afternoon during the first eight or ten weeks of the session. At the first class this year, 52 of the 58 eligible legislators attended.

Health Departments Study Sanitation Administration

More than 40 full-time health departments, from Connecticut to California, serving more than five and a half million people, are engaged in a cooperative study with the American Public Health Association of sanitation administration, conducted by the engineering section of that organization. The announced purpose is to increase the efficiency of sanitation personnel and of sanitation services in local health departments.

Included in the study are measurements of the work load in each participating community, measurements of the time devoted to each program and a study of the qualifications needed by sanitation personnel.

The health departments are divided into three groups: city, country and suburban. Only health departments in which the health officer and the sanitary engineer or chief sanitarian have both been with the department more than a year are included. The average length of duty both for the health officer and the engineer or sanitarian is about six years.

Headquarters for the project are at Bethesda, Maryland.

First State Adopts Federal Social Security

Oklahoma is the first state to cover state and local employees under the old age and survivors' insurance program of the Federal Social Security Act, according to the American Municipal Association. The State Department of Public Welfare has been designated the state's agent under an agreement signed with the federal government on December 14, 1950, and by authority of a 1949 statute. Covered by the agreement are the employees of 135 cities and towns, 70 counties, 16 county hospitals and all state employees not specifically excluded.

Public Control Sought for Roadside Development

In various states the problem of unrestricted roadside development, particularly as to cross-country highways, is receiving special attention, according to the American Society of Planning Officials. Commercial exploitation, causing undue interference with traffic and safety as well as difficulties in protecting roadside scenery from billboards and other defacement, is leading to increased public regulation.

The most successful method of controlling roadside development has been through passage of legislation permitting construction of limited-access roads, the society states. Motorists can drive onto these highways only at designated places and not from gas stations, stores, homes, farms and rural roads. However, this method of control is feasible only in the case of new or lately constructed facilities and is best suited to high volume throughways. Thirty-two states have adopted legislation creating limited-access facilities, but in at least one—Washington—the courts have taken an adverse view.

A less drastic measure to regulate roadside use is a requirement that a permit be obtained from the state highway department before establishment of any access point on a state highway.

Rural roadside zoning regulates the use to which lands immediately adjacent to the roadway may be put. Counties in California, Georgia, Washington and Connecticut have utilized this method but the zoning procedure has not always worked well because of the lack of uniformity in zoning regulations.

One of the newer means for controlling roadside development is right-of-way reservation. Under this scheme the state highway department acquires the rights of development of a strip of land on either side of the roadway large enough to preclude the possibility of commercial development. Owners of such abutting land retain all the privileges of ownership except the right to develop the land in a manner not consistent with the traffic needs of the roadway. It is claimed that an agency which has the right to take private property for highway development also has authority to reserve private property for the same purpose in accordance with a recorded plan. Ohio has used such a procedure in acquiring land for the proposed Cincinnati-Cleveland expressway.

As to billboards, *Better Roads* points out various methods in use, including county zoning and limited-access highways. At least nineteen states forbid the erection of signs within highway rights of way. Sign permits in a corresponding number of states furnish some control, but the National Roadside Council recommends stricter application, with annual permit fees, distance regulations for safety, and state zoning laws. The billboard industry seeks to substitute promised cooperation for proposed legal control, and some success is reported for cooperation in New Hampshire, limited results in New York and poor results in Pennsylvania.

County and Township . . . . *Edited by Elwyn A. Mauck*

Counties Seek Help from Legislatures

Ask New Taxes, Greater State Aid for Highways

COUNTIES and townships, along with states and municipalities, are seeking new tax revenues from the state legislatures now in session. The governor of Washington, in a message to the legislature, has suggested taxes on rentals on property other than residences, on hotel and tourist rooms, on real estate transfers, as well as severance taxes as possible sources of county revenue.

In Ohio the townships desire authority to levy a tax on amusements and California counties want authority to levy a one-cent sales tax, revenues from which would be shared with municipalities. Many other counties and townships are seeking expansion of their taxing powers or larger shares of state-collected taxes.

Over one-third of the Mississippi boards of county supervisors have signed petitions asking the governor to call a special session of the legislature to provide immediate financial aid to counties not now able to participate in the state-aid road program. The state-aid program was first established by a 1949 special session of the legislature.

The legislature is asked to appropriate $5,000,000 for counties to be used to match state grants and to pay county engineering fees and right-of-way costs. The counties also ask permission to borrow up to 50 per cent of the anticipated revenue from five years' state aid, the money to be used for immediate and emergency road-building programs.

A bill before the Washington state legislature would permit counties to form local road improvement districts similar to those in cities. The proposal meets the recommendations of the legislature's interim committee on highways, streets and bridges, which for the last two years has been studying road problems, and is sponsored by the Association of County Commissioners and the Seattle Municipal League. It has the support of the Good Roads Association, the Automobile Club of Washington and numerous civic groups.

The legislative program of the North Carolina State Association of County Commissioners, prepared for submission to the 1951 General Assembly, includes four-year, staggered terms for county commissioners and a constitutional amendment prohibiting local legislation.

Ask End of Taxing Cities for Unincorporated Area Service

Legislation has been introduced in both the Senate and Assembly in California to put an end to taxing city property owners for municipal services to urban unincorporated areas, according to the League of California Cities. The identical bills provide:

1. After March 1, 1953, county boards of supervisors may provide any municipal-type service to an urban unincorporated area only if costs of such services are paid by the area served. Postponement of the effective date until 1953 will enable the counties and the affected areas to take steps necessary to adjust to the new situation

2. "Urban unincorporated area" is defined as unincorporated county territory of a minimum of one square

mile, with a minimum population density of 300 persons per square mile, and subdivided into parcels of not more than five acres each with improvements on not less than one-third of the parcels.

3. "Municipal-type services" are defined as meaning those services provided by the county in such areas in the same manner and to the same general extent as provided by cities, particularly police protection, structural fire protection, recreation and parks, sewage, street construction and maintenance at a standard higher than similar work on rural farm roads, and other services not performed on a county-wide basis but customarily provided by special districts and cities.

4. The county or the legislative body of any city within the county may, or upon petition of 25 or more affected taxpayers shall, initiate a proceeding in the superior court to determine, define and establish the boundaries of all urban unincorporated areas within each county.

New York County Law Commission Reports

The New York Temporary State Commission to Study, Codify, Revise and Make Uniform, so Far as Practicable, Existing Laws Relating to Counties, appointed under chapter 407, Laws of 1944, has released its sixth report. After a historical introduction of the development of county government, the report explains the commission's recommendations regarding transfer of provisions within the state laws as well as the major features of the new law it proposes. This codification constitutes the first revision since the general revision of county law in 1909, which also was a matter of improving the form with very few changes in substance.

More Honors for Montgomery County

Montgomery County, Maryland, has been picked by the Minneapolis *Tribune* as one of eleven outstanding American communities for 1950. Aided by a "jury,"[1] this newspaper has for the past two years selected a "team" of All-American communities based on outstanding achievements in providing good government.

The selection of Montgomery County stemmed from its successful council-manager form of government which was established in 1948 after a ten-year struggle by many civic groups, including the League of Women Voters, to install a home rule charter. Under this new form of government, Montgomery County has embarked upon a program of development which thus far has resulted in a five-year building program, raising of teachers' salaries, establishment of citizens' advisory committees to many of the county's departments, and the provision of large amounts of off-street parking. Other features are a large school building program, new roads and the extension of planning and zoning.

This high award is the second to be bestowed on Montgomery County. Last year it received the 1949 Achievement Award from the Municipal Finance Officers Association for outstanding improvements in the field of fiscal management, organization and public and financial reporting.

New York Towns Hold Meeting

The New York State Association of Towns held its 1951 annual meeting February 6 to 8 in Buffalo. In addition to general sessions, special sessions were held by supervisors, justices of the peace, town clerks, superintendents, assessors, welfare officers, attorneys, fire officers, tax collectors, planning and zoning officers, historians and police officers.

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[1] See the REVIEW, February 1951, page 123.

University Conducts Novel County Government Course

Southern Methodist University has established a novel course in county government open to advanced students, county employees and interested citizens. It meets weekly in the Dallas County Courthouse and is addressed by faculty members, civic leaders and various county officers. After two introductory lectures, the topics include general administration, the judiciary, finances, law enforcement, health, welfare, education, planning and zoning, politics and elections, personnel and home rule. The course is under the general supervision of Professor J. M. Claunch.

Kansas Conducts Second County Clerks' School

On February 8 and 9, the University of Kansas conducted its second annual school for county clerks. Topics discussed included assessment of property, budgeting and finance, records administration and public relations.

Mergers Reduce Wisconsin's School Districts

School district reorganization in Wisconsin is continuing to whittle down the number of small rural school districts unable to support a good educational program, the Municipal Finance Officers Association reports. The number of common school districts in the state was reduced to approximately 5,200 from 6,376 in the school year 1944-45. As a result, thousands of rural youngsters are receiving an education comparable to that of their city cousins for the first time.

Most recent efforts of Wisconsin officials to reorganize their school districts resulted from action by the 1947 state legislature establishing county school committees to draft plans for reorganization. Most of the reorganizations have developed from studies of the committees which indicated school districts could operate more economically and simultaneously provide a better education for Wisconsin children.

Since January 1, 1948, common school districts have been reorganized in 17 per cent of the state's land area. These reorganizations have replaced 438 old school districts in 29 counties with 57 larger integrated districts affecting more than 31,000 children. The number of one-room schools in the state has been reduced from over 4,400 three years ago to about 3,600.

Generally, integration of districts has not raised the total school costs, despite the addition of services and equipment. Costs have been reduced substantially in some districts through operational savings. Also important is the fact that, under the present law, special incentive aids are given by the state to integrated districts.

Kentucky County Requires Off-Street Parking

In an attempt to facilitate the flow of traffic, Jefferson County, Kentucky, has adopted off-street parking requirements for new buildings erected outside the limits of Louisville. Manufacturing and storage plants are excluded from the initial order but it is planned to include them at a future date. Every one-, two- and multi-family dwelling built hereafter must provide one parking space on the premises for each dwelling unit. Curb parking cannot be counted. Louisville made similar provisions last year concerning all new apartments, schools, churches, retail stores, hospitals and other types of buildings.

Officials Study Highway Relations

The National Association of County Officials is participating in a project designed to improve intergovernmental relations in highway administration. Improved machinery is expected to give effect to the requirements of the federal aid highway act for cooperation between state and local governments. Other groups participating in the project are the Federal Bureau of Public Roads, Council of State Governments, American Municipal Association and Automotive Safety Foundation.

The first step will be to develop a statement of policy acceptable to all the sponsoring groups, setting forth desirable means for cooperative effort. This will be followed by a pilot study in a typical state to determine the legislative and administrative changes required to put the approved policy into practice. From the county point of view, it is hoped that this study will contribute toward solving the problems of domination by state highway departments, of unnecessarily high standards and of neglect of rural roads.

CIVIL DEFENSE

(Continued from page 128)

sources is basic to our defense needs, the Federal Civil Defense Administration has shown itself to be well aware of those needs. For example, the mass shelter program has been deemed impractical at this time because its demands on critical manpower and materials make it inadvisable. Instead, emphasis has shifted to the survey and designation of safe shelter areas in existing buildings and the strengthening of other buildings to meet shelter needs.

There was a puzzling reference in the editorial to the fact that time and effort spent on civil defense would be at the expense of other interests and duties of the average citizen. Surely it must be apparent that, if our cities are destroyed, the inhabitants of those cities will not be able to maintain such interests. Other voluntary civic or welfare activities would cease to exist once the bombs began to fall.

The need for civil defense has been adequately demonstrated. In the last war no enemy possessed the planes or the weapons with which to attack our civilian population. Today we face an aggressor who has both—and the will to use them. There is no certain way to keep him from striking successfully at any city in the United States, according to the Department of Defense.

For the first time in 135 years our people at home and our armed forces abroad are in equal danger. A civil defense program to meet that danger can be conducted on a voluntary basis. Its details cannot be left to individual decision, however, because there must be some degree of standardization and uniformity in our home defense efforts. The Federal Civil Defense Administration is supplying those qualities in the fields of planning, public information and financial aid. Responsibility for the operational side of civil defense rests by acts of Congress with the states and cities.

Editor's Note.—See also editorial, page 130, this issue.

Taxation and Finance • • • • *Edited by Wade S. Smith*

Training Assessors in Connecticut

Guidebook Widely Endorsed by Officials, Boards of Review

AS WITH many other municipal activities, the accurate assessment of real and personal property demands of the assessor ingenuity, resourcefulness, energy and a large measure of courage. Though these qualities can't be learned from a book, a cooperative intergovernmental project in Connecticut has attempted to assist in this important area of public finance by providing a unique guide for valuation officers.

That it has been successful is attested by the fact that the state's nine hundred assessors and members of boards of tax review have wholeheartedly endorsed its results. In addition, officials from 29 other states and three Canadian provinces have expressed a direct interest.

For over ten years the assessors from the state's 169 towns and cities, each succeeding state tax commissioner and several official studies, including the Connecticut Tax Survey of 1948 and the report of the recent Commission on State Government Organization, have recommended that some sort of tangible assistance be furnished local assessors. All cited inequities, irregularities and inconsistencies, but no action was taken until the fall of 1949.

In an effort to achieve essential uniformity in property taxation, a special committee was set up composed of two members of the State Tax Department, appointed by the tax commissioner, and six active assessors, named by the Connecticut Association of Assessing Officers to represent rural and urban centers as well as various geographical areas. A full-time staff member, who was responsible for the coordination of committee efforts, and secretarial help were provided by the Institute of Public Service, University of Connecticut.

The committee issued a general policy statement saying that it was its aim to provide a guidebook for Connecticut assessors that could serve as the basis of: (1) a training guide; (2) a reference book on the latest and most advanced assessment practices; and (3) a suggested uniform standard of assessments. The idea of such a handbook had been aired at each of the six annual week-long schools for assessors conducted by the Institute of Public Service. Thus, its preparation was assured of enthusiastic support.

With the full-time staff member acting as a clearing house for ideas, drafts and suggestions, outlines and special studies began to arrive. Outside experts, federal agencies, the National Association of Assessing Officers, the tax departments of several states and other agencies of the state of Connecticut, such as the attorney general's office, were consulted. The initial draft of the guidebook was completed in six months. This was submitted to assessors attending the 1950 Assessors School and several sessions were devoted to its proposed use and final make-up.

Assessors attending the school were most analytical and they made many suggestions. Each proposal was followed up with great care and on the basis of these criticisms the study was revised, edited and finally printed. Assessors and boards of tax review received copies just eleven months after the start of the project.

The *Handbook for Connecticut Assessors,* as it became known, covers every aspect of real and personal, urban and rural property. It discusses assessment administration and the administrative and legal review procedure. Its 150 pages contain many pictures, illustrations, tables and charts.

The book is divided into six sections. Each deals with specific problems involved in one phase of assessment administration. Subjects discussed include rural land and buildings, depreciation, personal property, urban land and buildings, exemptions and the assessment review process. The appendix contains some 30 valuation tables on everything from garages to chickens. A very complete index enables anyone to quickly refer to information he is seeking.

A month after publication the handbook had received wide acclaim from assessors, boards of tax review and the press. Taxpayer groups said they were sure the project would be of direct benefit, while the State Tax Department immediately set up some of its recommendations as required practice.

The *Handbook* describes the assessor as the anchor of the financial lifeline of each town or city. A look at its pages will show that the anchors are now more secure in Connecticut and a review of the process by which it came into being certainly points up a possible cooperative solution to a long list of joint state-local problems.

JOSEPH M. LOUGHLIN, *Director*
Institute of Public Service
University of Connecticut

Finance Officers Outline Emergency Policy

Local governments should make every effort to cut back expenditures in this period of conversion from a peacetime economy to a defense preparation status, says the Municipal Finance Officers Association. A statement by its executive board outlines a nine-point program on "recommended policies for public finance officers."

"The costs of operation, maintenance and public improvements may be expected to rise at the local level because the increased material and personal service requirements of the federal government and of industry will cause competition for material and services in a market of lessened supply," the association points out. "As a minimum program under such conditions, local and state governments should study their present operation with emphasis on seeking methods for retrenchment in expenditures to reduce costs and plan only the most essential services and capital improvements consistent with the safety, health and basic welfare of their inhabitants."

Anticipating that the federal government will finance part of its defense budget from higher as well as new types of individual and corporate taxes, the association recommends that local governments be prepared to seek revenue sources other than those they are now utilizing in order to close the gap between revenues and expenditures that may exist by reason of the changing policies of taxation at the federal level. The association suggested also that laws pertaining to assessment of property and collection of taxes be tightened.

Here are other key recommendations set forth by the association's executive board:

1. Present budget procedures should be surveyed realistically in the light of modern principles of budget administration. Performance type budgets—planning expenditures on the

basis of a definite work program—should be adopted so far as practicable.

2. Borrowings should be at a minimum and new debts should be created only for essential projects which have been designed and for which construction will proceed.

3. Deficit financing should be avoided. If it becomes apparent that revenues will not be realized to cover appropriations made for the year, then expenditures must be reduced or additional sources of revenue must be found.

Governors Propose New and Increased Taxes

Because of inflated costs, many states are faced with the problem of raising additional revenue in 1951 to maintain their current level of services.

Proposals increasing tax rates or imposing new taxes have been put forward in more than half the 42 states where legislatures have already convened this year, according to the Federation of Tax Administrators. These measures have been proposed chiefly by the governors or by legislative tax study committees.

Major budget-expanding factor stressed by nearly all governors is the problem of providing adequate civil defense facilities. Few of the budgets submitted to the legislatures thus far make provision for civil defense preparations on the scale envisaged by the federal government, however.

Here is the state-by-state breakdown on tax and fiscal proposals before 1951 legislatures:

Arizona—The governor opposes new taxes and favors use of federal income tax returns in state income tax collections.

Arkansas—To produce $18,500,000 for added school, welfare and hospital needs, the governor has recommended doubling income tax rates, higher liquor taxes, increase in the cigarette levy from four to six cents per pack and a two cents per bottle soft drinks tax.

California—A balanced budget of one billion—$75,800,000 under last year—was presented to the state legislature by the governor. He pointed out that any substantial increase in the proposed budget would necessitate new taxes.

Colorado—The governor favors no tax increase except in an extreme emergency, but recommended revising the state income tax law to correspond with that of the federal government. A legislative bill would reduce state income tax exemptions from $750 to $600.

Connecticut—More than $42,800,000 in new revenue will be needed to finance the governor's record $241,800,000 budget for the next two years. He suggested that the state sales tax be increased one per cent and the state corporation tax by an equal rate.

Delaware—The governor opposed reenactment of the modified gross income-payroll withholding tax passed in 1949. The net income tax automatically reimposed on January 1 may yield $5,000,000 less than the expired levy.

Georgia Seeks 75 Million

Georgia—A record $175,000,000 annual budget and $75,000,000 in new taxes to finance expanded functions were recommended to the Georgia legislature. A 3 per cent sales and use tax, revised income tax rates and repeal of the state property tax and "nuisance" licenses was proposed.

Idaho—The proposed state budget is $5,000,000 under that of the current biennium. The governor favored no new taxes but proposed review of the methods of taxing highway users.

Illinois—A gas tax raise from 3 to 5 cents per gallon and passage of a cigarette use tax has been proposed.

Indiana—Indiana's 1951-3 budget exceeds that of the current biennium by $17,000,000. The governor favors use of available surplus to meet added costs, but said new taxes would be needed if the proposed budget were exceeded.

Iowa—The governor opposes tax boosts and proposes to use rising yields and surplus to finance a $4,700,000 budget increase.

Kansas—The governor indicated that the proposed budget of $61,100,000, about $11,000,000 under that for the current biennium, can be financed without raising taxes.

Maine—The governor proposed a sales tax to offset a $7,700,000 deficit in the proposed budget. He said a 2 per cent sales tax would also permit the repeal of the state property tax and the 20 per cent cigar tax.

Maryland—The governor opposes tax increases. A special commission has recommended a 2-mill ton-mile tax on state or out-of-state trucks weighing at least 25,000 pounds loaded, however.

Massachusetts—The governor reported that $48,800,000 in new revenues are needed to finance a $271,400,000 annual budget. His proposals included higher income, wine and highway user taxes, disallowance of federal income tax deductions, and a sales tax on motor vehicles.

Michigan—General fund revenues for fiscal 1952 have been estimated at $265,800,000, $29,000,000 under budgeted expenditures. The governor has proposed a corporate net income tax while legislative proposals include a sales tax on used cars and repeal of the sales tax exemption of materials used in industrial processing.

Minnesota—The governor's proposed budget is $28,200,000 above that of the current biennium. He proposed boosts in iron ore, occupation and beer taxes. However, an estimated $53,000,000 balance in the special income tax school fund will permit increased personal exemptions and dependency allowances.

Missouri—The governor reported his proposed budget, $12,600,000 above the current biennium, can be financed from existing taxes. However, he asked for a 2-cent increase in the gas tax for expanded highway operations.

Montana—The governor recommended a study of Montana's tax structure, measures to finance continued road construction other than taxes on private passenger vehicles, and repeal of the use tax on passenger vehicles.

Nebraska—The recommended state budget was $19,000,000 higher than that recommended in 1949 despite a sharp curtailment of state construction, and it appears that a higher property tax will be necessary to balance the budget.

Nevada—A tax on oil and gas production in the state on an ad valorem or a gross production basis was suggested by the governor.

New Hampshire—Salary raises and higher educational and hospital expenses are expected to produce budget-balancing problems. The governor has recommended a review of state fiscal policy to meet the indicated deficit.

Record Budget

New Jersey—A record budget of $180,600,000 was proposed by the New Jersey governor for fiscal 1952. He recommended no new taxes to meet the higher costs but proposed that they be met from estimated end-of-year surpluses and the expected higher yields from existing taxes.

New Mexico—The governor favors a gas tax cut from 7 to 6 cents per gallon.

New York—No new taxes are planned although the proposed budget hit a record high of $938,900,000.

North Carolina—The governor's biennial budget is balanced at $459,000,000. However, he asked an additional $38,000,000, for higher salaries and capital projects, to be obtained by eliminating sales tax exemptions with the exception of food and from a gross receipts tax on motion picture theatres.

North Dakota—Reenactment of the 2-cent sales tax was favored by the governor, but he opposed new taxes for general purposes. New revenues, however, may be needed for highways.

Ohio—Tax proposals before the Ohio legislature include: repeal of the stamp method used in sales tax collection; taxing sales between 15 and through 40 cents now exempt; raising pari-mutuel taxes and imposing a ton-mile tax.

Oklahoma—No new taxes are favored by the governor. His proposed budget of $139,000,000 is about $4,000,000 under the current biennium and deletes a current annual $6,600,000 general fund appropriation for highways.

Oregon—The governor favors disallowance of the federal income tax deduction, continuance of the state property levy, and financing of highway expansion by bond issues. The proposed budget is $42,400,000 above 1949-51. A legislative interim committee has proposed a cigarette tax for veterans' bonus purposes.

Pennsylvania—The governor has indicated that new tax measures will be necessary to balance the budget because of higher school costs, civil defense needs and debt service requirements for soldiers' bonus and capital projects bonds.

Rhode Island—The governor's fiscal advisory council has reported that without any expansion of state services, outgo will exceed income in fiscal 1952 by at least $5,000,000. The council said that budgetary problems would have to be resolved in the near future.

South Carolina—The governor recommended expanded educational appropriations and suggested the adoption of a sales tax to finance such a program.

South Dakota—The governor recommended a gas tax boost from four to five cents per gallon and the continuance of the veterans' bonus taxes enacted in 1949 only until bonus obligations are met.

Tennessee—The governor is reported to favor elimination of the federal income tax deduction for state corporation tax liability and an increase of from three to five cents per package in the cigarette tax rate.

Texas—The state comptroller has estimated that $110,000,000 in additional revenue will be necessary to maintain state services at their current level and the governor proposes to raise this through new taxes.

Utah—Exemption of groceries from the state sales tax and raised personal income tax exemptions are favored by Utah's governor. He asked consideration also of a tax commission plan for repeal of the state income and inheritance taxes and a sales tax boost from 2 to 3 per cent.

Vermont—The governor favors an increase in highway-user taxes and a review of state timber taxation to encourage timber production.

Washington Reduces Budget

Washington—A reduced budget was outlined for Washington with a $47,000,000 bond issue to take care of the current biennium deficit. A 4 per cent corporate income tax was also proposed.

West Virginia—The governor favors higher alcoholic beverage and cigarette levies to finance a $90,000,000 soldiers' bonus. He also recommended a higher gasoline tax and a soft drinks levy.

Wisconsin—The governor has recommended no new taxes but favors continuing a temporary 25 per cent surtax on personal income, enacted in 1949, and the repeal of the state's privilege dividend tax, imposed on dividends paid out to residents and out-of-state investors.

Wyoming—The governor favors exempting gasoline used for agricultural purposes, higher liquor taxes to pay for liquor law enforcement and a change in motor vehicle tax rates. A legislative interim committee has recommended enactment of a state cigarette tax with proportional reimbursement to cities of the state.

The Know-how of Public Relations

Basic Steps for Selling Local Civic Organizations

By Walter M. Megronigle*

SOME time ago I attended a meeting in a city in northwest Pennsylvania, called to stimulate plans for selling the advantages of the area to industrialists. Those attending were, for the most part, the kind of people one would expect to find there—utility and transportation executives, newspapermen and civic leaders of the various communities in the area.

Among this group one man, supervisor of a government forest, stood out as being somewhat out of place. As the discussion developed we all told what we thought we could do to sell that portion of the state to those who would be most interested. When this man's turn came he told us about the wonderful trees, the seasonal beauty of the forests and of his own day-by-day contact with nature. It was difficult for some to understand what this man could offer in helping to sell the area.

Later, when I had a chance to talk with him alone, I asked him about his activities and got the surprise of my life. He said he had several million board feet of lumber to sell each year; also that his was one of the few government agencies which showed a profit. He pointed out that for every dollar put into the upkeep of the forest, the government receives something like five in return. Now, the point I want to make is that we often emphasize the things of interest to us and not the things highly important to others.

In February 1949 my firm was called in by a civic agency with an excellent record, located about 70 miles from Pittsburgh. It had successfully promoted industrial areas, better recreational facilities and better streets for its community, but it had a problem which is well known to all. The organization was losing prestige and its budget was shrinking.

It was a relatively simple job to uncover the reason for this difficulty. A look at the bulletins which had been issued during the year revealed that everyone was getting away from the agency's objective, and that most of the time had been spent in trying to influence people with ineffective statements such as, "This is our year of decision, let's do something about it." Unfortunately the organization had been trying to sell air—and the air was not being bought by its members or residents of the community.

The simple technique used in getting the group back on the track was this. Industrialists, businessmen, clergymen, labor leaders and others were brought together in a series of meetings. They were asked to reevaluate the things which had been accomplished and to decide whether the organization was worth while. They were also asked to decide whether the objectives were clearly defined. The meetings worked like magic. Once most of the members had participated and had helped in formulating progressive and wholesome objectives, they sold themselves on their civic agency and then set about selling it to the community. Together they had found the most important thing—and it wasn't air.

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*Mr. Megronigle is manager of the Public Relations Division of Ketchum, Inc., of Pittsburgh. This article is based on his address before the National Association of Civic Secretaries at the National Conference on Government of the National Municipal League, Buffalo, New York, November 19, 1950.

In my own home community, a group organized itself several years ago with the purpose of influencing the community to build a swimming pool. The project was estimated to cost about $120,000. The committee wanted to sell the community on supporting a bond issue for the pool. They publicized the project through the local newspaper and via word of mouth, but it dropped dead. One member asked me why I thought it had failed. I pointed out that they had placed their emphasis on the wrong thing—the swimming pool. They should have emphasized the community problem—and it was a problem.

Stating the Problem

Many of our kids were hitching rides to places ten and twenty miles distant to get a swim. Some of them had had accidents, others had gotten into mischief. The committee had not sold this problem to the community—it tried only to sell the swimming pool project.

Many civic agencies overlook the fact that if they are to bring people over to their side they must first gain their interest by emphasizing the problem.

Once the problem is sold, then the character of the organization must be the next sale. This is best accomplished by publicizing the individuals within the group, showing that they are people of high repute and sincerity, people who are interested in the community and willing to do something about its problems.

Finally, after the problem has been sold and the character of the organization has been projected, you are ready to sell your program. But don't try to sell the program until the people are interested in the problem and know the type of organization which is working on it.

Here is an example. One of our clients is a well known state commission. This group has completed a long and elaborate study which should result in the betterment of state facilities. While the study was being made we were called in because some of the commission members recognized that such a report could not be sold to the public until it was interpreted so that the man on the street could understand it.

First, we started to sell the problem through all public opinion channels. We developed readable, understandable feature articles and news releases. We distributed comprehensive speech outlines to commission members and urged them to become salesmen for the commission. Over and over again we emphasized the problem. After six months of this activity we moved into the job of selling the commission itself. Soon we go into the final phase of selling the program.

How Reach the Public

Now let us consider certain fundamental methods of getting to the public. Too many agencies issue a press release or buttonhole a newspaperman and feel they are doing a good job of getting their story across. However, they often find that they draw a blank. There is only one way of getting a story across effectively and that is by providing public opinion channels with understandable facts. Every secretary should give consideration to producing a "facts package" about his agency. Such a package is a ready reference for those men and women who work for newspapers, wire services, magazines or radio stations. The facts package should be designed to outline the problem, the character of the organization and to explain the specifics of the program. It should contain the facts. Once it is published it should be released to press and radio by way of a press conference or personal contact.

In doing a big job in the community—an important job which is making news—this situation may be encountered: On one day a certain newpaperman will cover your activity, the next day someone will replace him and so on. All these men cannot be expected to have the facts about the organization and its activity at their finger tips. That's where the facts package will save the day.

Civic Sales Group

I would also like to recommend that every civic agency give some real thought to building a civic sales group. In Pittsburgh our firm has the job of selling Pittsburgh to Pittsburghers and to the nation. We are putting a lot of effort into this job. We've created countless sales tools, we've stimulated a tremendous amount of national publicity, but one of the finest ways we have found to sell the community to its residents is by using our Civic Salesmen's Club. The civic salesmen are young men—young attorneys, young newspapermen, young insurance men and young executives of industry. They are enthusiastic and progressive. Each year they make between 100 and 150 talks about their city to civic and service clubs and church organizations in all neighborhoods. We provide them with the necessary material. We schedule their talks and then they go out and do a marvelous job.

Now, what about everyday publicity? If you want it you must go after it. In plain words, you have got to make the calls if you hope to make the sales. But calling is not enough! You must have something in your hand when you get there. I've always been pretty successful in this respect, carrying a simple, understandable outline. Newspapers, magazines, radio stations want good stories about civic ventures, but they don't want long-winded, scholarly dissertations. The civic secretary who wants to do a publicity job merely has to set down in one, two, three fashion the thing he wants to sell on one piece of paper. With this in hand he should set out for his newspapers and radio stations, and I can guarantee he will be well received if he has some meat in his presentation.

Here is a little example of this technique. In July of 1947 we were trying to tell the nation about the smoke control program in Pittsburgh. I took a trip to New York and told one of the associate editors of *Life* magazine what we had accomplished. He was extremely nice but was somewhat concerned as to whether we really had a story. He pointed out that they had the same sort of thing in St. Louis and other cities, that it wasn't new at all. We talked it over for a while and finally he said he would investigate the progress which Pittsburgh had made in this respect. Some of you may recall the space which *Life* gave to Pittsburgh's smoke control program in September of that year.

There was nothing magic about this approach. It was just as simple as simple could be. We had a good story, we contacted a good magazine and they gave it a good play.

I know this is sometimes a thankless job but every bit of publicity which a group receives builds both the morale of the executive and the prestige of the organization. Perhaps these few suggestions will be of some help in strengthening the position of community organizations.

Brookfield Association Takes Stock

The Management Association of Brookfield, Illinois, which "aims to place honest, competent men in office," reviews the growth of good government in the village in *Facts,* its publication for October 1950. The review, says Orville Kocour, an association director, in an opening article, "will serve the dual purpose of refreshing the memories of the people who have lived in the village and contributed to this effort and also to bring to light to the new residents of the village a little of the background of this movement. . . .

"As far back as 1942 the sad plight of the financial affairs of the village of Brookfield was a matter of great concern to a small group of citizens congregated at the office of a local newspaper. Concerted effort by this group with local officials at that time failed to gain any headway. It wasn't until 1945 that this group entered the political field and made a dent in the 'machines' that held sway for so long. Three qualified men were elected to our village board of trustees. This minority held their own for two years and in the election of 1947 they were reinforced by a clean sweep which added three more well qualified members. In a very short time all of their platform promises were fulfilled or in process of realization. A village manager was hired through the City Managers' Association. Immediately, as the statistics in this issue of *Facts* show, the continual rise in our village debt was stopped, and continued efficiency of operation soon had the debt being reduced at a rapid and almost miraculous rate. Another clean sweep in the election of 1949 assured continued efficiency.

"These operations were cheerfully financed by all people who recognized an honest effort to bring good government to Brookfield. Their faith was justified.

"No contribution in excess of $25 was accepted from anyone, thus precluding the establishment of a vested interest. In the course of the last three elections not one cent was paid to anyone in this group or to workers for this group. A sincere desire to promote a civic and community spirit prevailed.

"The success of our present government is the inevitable product of well qualified officials, a hard working, well qualified manager and a community of people who insist on getting a square deal. We've got good government, let's work to keep it."

Before-and-after charts depict a 30 per cent reduction in village debt in three years under the manager plan. Improvements in the police court are described. "The good government we struggled so many years to establish is now a reality," says *Facts.* "Let us carry on, continually improving."

Honor City Manager

Walter K. Willman, former city manager of Port Huron, Michigan, has been presented with a plaque, in honor of his three years of service to the city, by the Citizen League. "It was a privilege to serve Port Huron," said Mr. Willman in his acknowledgment. "Your backing meant a great deal to me as a city manager and I know that your continued interest in public matters will result in an accelerated improvement in an already fine community."

* * *

Change of Name

Members of the Plan E State Association of Massachusetts, made up of representatives of local groups, have voted to change the organization's name to the Council-Manager Government Association of Massachusetts. Gerald F. O'Neill, of the Citizens' Plan "E" Association of Worcester, was elected president; Donald Spencer, Cambridge Civic Association, and Z. Cranston Smith, Quincy Civic Association, were elected vice presidents.

* * *

Snowed Under

The annual meeting of the Lake County Civic League at Waukegan, Illinois, scheduled for December 7, had to compete for attention with "the worst blizzard in Lake County's recent history." There were not enough members present to form a quorum so the meeting was postponed until January 18. But, says the *Civic League Reporter*, "Those present had a stimulating discussion of tax matters, civic affairs and legislation certain to be pending before the next General Assembly, as well as doughnuts and coffee enough for twenty times their number."

* * *

Annual Reports

Organizations issuing annual reports for 1950 include the Citizens Union of New York, McMinn County Good Government League (Athens, Tennessee), and the Municipal League of Seattle. The Chicago Citizens' Community Conference, inaugurated in September 1949 by the Citizens' Association of Chicago, has issued a small mimeographed brochure describing what the organization is, its purposes, what it could do, what it will do and what it will not do.

* * *

Air Raid Wardens

The East Detroit, Michigan, Civic League has been placed in charge of air raid wardens, reports the organization's *Civic News*. Its duty is to round up some 550 men and women to act in this capacity and to keep them alerted and informed.

* * *

To Read and Run

"Briefly, Sir" is the title of a one-page mimeographed digest of the Toledo Municipal League which also issues a monthly *Toledo Municipal News*. The new publication will go to associate and sustaining members "whenever and as often as pressing issues make it necessary and whenever the publication date of the *News* is inappropriate for the timing of a special item." It will "dish the news hot and fast to those interested in the facts and issues as they occur."

"For Your Information" is being sent by the Cincinnati City Charter Committee to a restricted list of active members and officers. It is mimeographed and covers such matters as important issues before the city council and council committees. The committee also issues a regular monthly *Charter News Letter*.

The Massachusetts Civic League, with headquarters in Boston, has begun publication of its *State House News Letter*, a single printed sheet discussing such matters as primaries, decisions to be made by the 1951 legislature, and legislative bills introduced by the league. Its monthly publication is called *The Lens*.

Researcher's Digest . . . . . *Edited by John E. Bebout*

Bureaus Report on Current Activities

Promotional Pieces Issued; Publications Listed, Analyzed

RESEARCH organizations which have long stressed adequate reporting by government are beginning to pay more attention to their own public relations. Annual reports are becoming more attractive, informative and easy to read and bureaus are indulging in more downright self-promotion.

Citizens At Work, a 22-page booklet issued by the Milwaukee Citizens' Governmental Research Bureau, was given a detailed by-line story in the Milwaukee *Journal* in addition to an editorial, which began: "The Citizens' Governmental Research Bureau has come out of its shell of modesty and is making polite but firm noises to attract more citizens' attention to itself. The reason: It has been operating on a minuscule budget of $30,000 a year, but needs twice as much if it is to continue keeping tabs on expanding local government."

The booklet, written and designed by Alexander L. Crosby, with drawings by Ajay, pays tribute to the honesty of Milwaukee's governments and the cooperativeness of their officials and employees. It goes on to demonstrate how the bureau's methods of fact-finding pay off in helping citizens and officials inject needed efficiency and imagination into the task of supplying desired services without imposing too heavily on the taxpayers. Copies of *Citizens At Work* may be obtained from the bureau by sending fifteen cents in stamps or coin.

The 1950 annual report of the Citizens Budget Commission, New York City, is an attractively printed and illustrated 28-page pamphlet of ten short chapters dealing with major current municipal events in which the commission has had a part. The first chapter title: "Water, Water Everywhere—The Hudson River Versus Distant Sources."

Other reports on bureau activities include:

Woodbury County (Iowa) Taxpayers Conference, October *Bulletin* summarizing activities during preceding twelve months;

Civic Federation of Chicago, *57th Annual Report,* for year ending September 30, 1950;

San Francisco Bureau of Governmental Research, *Progress Report,* a recapitulation of major bureau activities during 1950;

Taxpayers' Association of Fall River, Massachusetts, *Report of Accomplishments—1950*;

Waterbury (Connecticut) Taxpayers' Association, *Report of Activities for 1950*;

Municipal Technical Advisory Service of the University of Tennessee, *MTAS Covers the State . . . A Service Report* on its field consulting services;

Newark Bureau of Municipal Research, *Report of Major Activities 1950,* annual report on major projects with list of all publications issued during the year;

Bureau of Government, University of Wisconsin, *The Bureau of Government. What it is. What it does*;

Syracuse Governmental Research Bureau, *Balance Sheet at October 1950,* a statement to the membership listing ten major "productive results" of activities since the organization of the bureau in 1949 with reproductions of newspaper publicity and numerous testimonials.

The Bureau of Governmental Research of the University of Kansas has begun publication of a monthly bulletin, *News and Views*. Its purpose is "to give the public officials of Kansas a better idea of the month-to-month activities of the Bureau of Governmental Research and to report other university activities."

GRA Lists Reports

The Governmental Research Association has compiled a 15-page classified list of research reports issued during 1950 by various local bureaus. The list, published in *Notes and References,* indicates the conditions on which the reports are available, including price if any. Most of the reports are included in the GRA lending library kits, made up according to subject, which are available to members on a loan basis.

In another number of *Notes and References* the GRA presents a report by Leslie M. Gravlin, director of the Hartford Governmental Research Institute, on a recent survey of the periodical publications of some seventeen bureaus. The facts outlined include frequency of publication, size, style, method of mailing, etc.

New Organizations

The newly formed Hamilton County (Cincinnati) Research Foundation will share the same office and divide operating expenses with the Hamilton County Good Government League. The foundation, which "will concentrate exclusively on educational matters tending to promote good government," will have substantially the same relation to the Good Government League that the Cleveland Bureau of Governmental Research has to the Cleveland Citizens League.

A social science research center whose purpose will be to sponsor research and off-campus activities in political science, public administration, sociology, economics, history and related fields, has been organized by the Mississippi State College under the chairmanship of John B. Kettersworth, head of the Department of History and Government.

Boston University has established an Institute of Public Service which will extend the offerings of the evening school to public officials in the Boston metropolitan area. Its program will include preparation for specialization in public administration, municipal administration, financial administration and personnel management and supervision.

On the initiative of Governor Allan Shivers and other interested citizens, the Texas Economy Commission has been organized to study the executive branch of Texas state government. Stuart A. MacCorkle, director of the Institute of Public Affairs of the University of Texas, has been given leave of absence to act as executive director.

Other Bureau Activities

At its tenth annual conference (1950) in San Francisco, 143 members of the Western Governmental Research Association elected Garrett Breckenridge, assistant to the mechanical engineer of Los Angeles County, president; George A. Terhune, Los Angeles City Bureau of Budget and Efficiency, vice president. New members of the executive committee are J. Roy Holland, director of research, California Taxpayers' Association; Paul Oppermann, director of planning, San Francisco; and Frederick W. Weber, manager, Twelfth U. S. Civil Service Region Branch Office, Los Angeles.

General theme of the conference was "Emerging Problems of Governmental Research." Among the panel leaders and subjects were: performance budgeting, Joseph P. Harris, University of California; urban redevelopment, Paul Oppermann; civilian defense, Samuel C. May, director, Bureau of Public Administration, University of California; crime research, Ronald Beattie, California Department of Corrections; council-manager government, Wesley McClure, city manager, San Leandro. The last panel concerned itself mainly with the problem of community political leadership in manager cities, according to the report in the *Quarterly Bulletin* of WGRA.

The Institute of Government of the University of Utah has announced establishment of an annual award of $250, to be known as the Maurice Warshaw Prize, which will be given for "the most scholarly and significant article appearing in a volume of the *Western Political Quarterly*." It is intended to encourage research, particularly among young political scientists.

Tax Survey Group Beats Police, Fire Pay Raise

The Tax Survey Commission of Atlantic City, Howard G. Fishack, executive director, put research to work in such an effective manner that the voters of Atlantic City last November, on the basis of information supplied by the commission, defeated, three to one, proposals for substantial pay increases for policemen and firemen. Less than half the number of voters who signed the petition for the increases voted in favor of them at the polls.

The commission showed that Atlantic City was already paying a great deal more for police and fire service than other New Jersey cities more than twice its size and that the proposed increase of $850 for each policeman and fireman if adopted would mean that these employees had had a total increase of $1,450 since 1947.

The commission presented these and other facts to the voters in clear and simple terms in newspaper ads of varying size and in three giant postcards mailed to every registered voter urging a "no" vote. Altogether 115,000 mailing pieces were distributed. A particularly effective device, used both in an ad and in one of the cards, asked the voter to compare his job with that of the policemen and firemen. The ad was captioned "Figure It Out for Yourself!" and listed eight questions. Sample questions:

Police and firemen want you to pay them $4,000 a year with bonus.

How much do you get?

Police and firemen get good pensions, can retire in 25 years with half pay at age of 53.

How about you?

Police and firemen get sick-leave with pay up to a year.

What do you get?

Comparative Tax Rates

The Waterbury Taxpayers' Association, Robert D. Fleischer, managing director, in *Governmental Briefs* for January 25, analyzes the significance for Waterbury of the 1950 report on actual and adjusted tax rates of American cities prepared by the Bureau of Governmental Research of Detroit and printed in the January number of the NATIONAL MUNICIPAL REVIEW. The association points out that in Waterbury the ratio of assessment to sales value had gone down from 74 per cent to 60 per cent in 1950 and probably to 56 per cent by early 1951.

In commenting on the value to citizens and researchers of comparative tax rates, the statement suggests that "although neither the tax rate nor the assessed valuation are standards of municipal measurement, they may well serve as a starting point for further analysis of a city's government as to its efficiency of performance and its costs of accomplishment."

Upson Fellowships

The Detroit Bureau of Governmental Research announces for the second year the Upson Fellowships for graduate training in public administration for a period of twelve to fifteen months beginning in July or September 1951. Fellowships of $1,800 to $2,250 will be awarded to not more than five graduate students. They are in memory of the late Lent D. Upson and are made possible by a grant from the William Volker Charities Fund of Kansas City, Missouri. Academic work will be at Wayne University, with on-the-job training at the Detroit Bureau (810 Farwell Building, Detroit 26, Michigan).

Strictly Personal

Weldon Cooper, professor of political science and associate director of the Bureau of Public Administration, University of Virginia, has been granted leave of absence to serve as Governor Battle's chief of staff.

E. Maxwell Benton, research director of the Arkansas Public Expenditure Council, has resigned to accept appointment as assistant professor of public administration at Florida State University.

The Bureau of Business Research, University of Kentucky, has granted a leave of absence to its director, James W. Martin, who has been made consultant on financial administration to the Turkish Minister of finance. Rodman Sullivan will serve as the bureau's acting director.

Hugh McKinley of Portland has been appointed to replace Robert E. Moulton as research assistant on the staff of the Bureau of Municipal Research and Service of the University of Oregon.

Barry T. Mines, until recently executive aide to the director of Brookhaven National Laboratory, the northeastern center for atomic research operated by nine eastern universities, has been appointed to succeed John D. Langmuir as executive director of the New Hampshire Taxpayers Federation. Mr. Langmuir resigned to become administrative assistant to Governor Adams. Mr. Mines has had wide experience in advertising, journalism and industry.

Research Pamphlets and Articles

Aid to Aged

Some Provisions in Aid to Aged Programs. States and Territories of United States. Los Angeles 14, California Taxpayers' Association, *The Tax Digest,* January 1951. 14 pp. 25 cents.

Bill Drafting

Bill Drafting Handbook for the General Assembly of the State of Arkansas. Prepared by The School of Law, University of Arkansas. Little Rock, Arkansas Legislative Council, 1950. 84 pp.

Bill Drafting in Washington. By Mark H. Wight. Seattle 5, University of Washington, Bureau of Research and Services, 1950. 40 pp. 50 cents.

Budgets

Budget Requests Again Exceed Estimated Receipts. Denver, Colorado Public Expenditure Council, *Colorado Taxpayer,* December 1950. 7 pp.

Make the New State Budget a Real Budget. Baltimore 2, Commission on Governmental Efficiency and Economy, *Your Tax Dollar,* January 25, 1951. 3 pp.

Seventh Annual Compilation of County Budgets of Missouri's 109 Rural Counties. A Five-Year Summary. Jefferson City, Missouri Public Expenditure Survey, 1950. 16 pp.

Charters

Charter Commission Revises Department Proposals. Philadelphia, Bureau of Municipal Research, *Citizens' Business,* November 27, 1950. 4 pp.

The Vote on the County Charter. Cleveland 15, The Citizens League, *Greater Cleveland,* November 15, 1950. 4 pp.

City-County Consolidation

The Metropolitan Problem. I and II. Buffalo 2, Municipal Research Bureau, *Just a Moment,* January 18 and February 1, 1951. 3 pp. each.

What the Consolidation Amendment Will Do. Philadelphia, Bureau of Municipal Research, *Citizens' Business,* January 8, 1951. 3 pp.

Civic Centers

School Lease Plan vs. City Office Building. San Francisco, Bureau of Governmental Research, January 16, 1951. 2 pp.

Debt

Debt-Limit Amendments. Philadelphia 7, Bureau of Municipal Research, *Citizens' Business,* January 29, 1951. 6 pp.

Delinquents

An Indeterminate Sentence Law for Defective Delinquents. By G. Kenneth Reiblich and Herbert H. Hubbard. Baltimore 2, Legislative Council of Maryland, Research Division, 1950. 35 pp.

Education

Enrollment in New Jersey's Public Schools. Trenton 8, New Jersey Taxpayers Association, *Its Your Business,* December 1950. 5 pp.

Public School Expenses and State Aid in Connecticut's 169 Towns. Including Data for the School Year 1949-1950. Hartford 3, Connecticut Public Expenditure Council, January 1951. 33 pp. Tables.

Schenectady's Schools and Permissive Taxes. Schenectady 5, New York, Bureau of Municipal Research, *Research Brevities,* January 20, 1951. 4 pp.

Secretarial and Clerical Service in the Schools. Preliminary Draft of a Report to the Survey Committee, Newark Board of Education. Newark 2, Bureau of Municipal Research, 1951. 48 pp. Tables.

Election Administration

State Election Administration. Staff Report. Lansing, Michigan Joint Legislative Committee on Reorganization of State Government, 1951. 26 pp.

Grants-in-Aid

Federal Grants-in-Aid in Kansas. By Howard W. Hallman. Lawrence, University of Kansas, Bureau of Government Research, 1951. 25 pp.

Initiative

Initiative Legislation in California. History of the Use of the Initiative and Summary of Various Proposals for Amendment of the Initiative Process. (With arguments pro and con, charts and tables showing extent and nature of use of the initiative and voting thereon, and analysis of provisions governing the initiative state by state.) San Francisco, California State Chamber of Commerce, Research Department, 1950. Variously paged. Tables.

Intergovernmental Relations

Extension of Municipal Service to Subdivisions by Georgia Cities. Athens, University of Georgia, College of Business Administration, in cooperation with the Georgia Municipal Association, 1950. 12 pp. 50 cents.

Licensing

Professional Licensing and Regulation. Staff Report. Lansing, Michigan Joint Legislative Committee on Reorganization of State Government, 1950. 89 pp.

Museums

Public Museum Services Should Be Available to All School Children in Milwaukee County. Milwaukee 2, Citizens' Governmental Research Bureau, *Bulletin,* December 19, 1950. 3 pp.

Parking

Accounting for the Off-Street Parking Program. Boston 8, Municipal Research Bureau, *Bulletin,* December 29, 1950. 4 pp.

Personnel

Activities Concerning Workers and Employment. Staff Report. Detroit 26, Michigan Joint Legislative Committee on Reorganization of State Government, 1950. 37, vi pp. Charts.

Employment in the Public Service.

Third edition. (Information for students, especially those seeking training at Indiana University.) By W. Richard Lomax. Bloomington, Indiana University, Institute of Training for Public Service, 1950. 28 pp.

Getting and Keeping Good Workers. Philadelphia 4, Associated Institutes of Government of Pennsylvania Universities, *Municipal Administration,* January 1951. 2 pp.

Public Personnel Glossary. By W. Richard Lomax. Bloomington, Indiana University, Institute of Training for Public Service, 1950. 40 pp. $1.

State Personnel Administration in South Carolina. (Includes a bill to create a department of personnel in the state government.) By Raymond Uhl. Columbia, University of South Carolina, Bureau of Public Administration, 1950. 85 pp.

Planning

Highlights of the Proposed Planning Bill. Boston 8, Municipal Research Bureau, *Bulletin,* January 26, 1951. 2 pp.

Public Health

The Heart of the State Mental Hospital Problem. Reno, Nevada Taxpayers Association, 1950. 4 pp.

Hospital Facilities for Montgomery County, Maryland. By Maurice Leven. Rockville, Montgomery County Hospital Facilities Advisory Committee, 1950. xi, 85 pp.

Public Welfare

Detroit Welfare Investigations 1948-1950. Detroit 26, Bureau of Governmental Research, *Bureau Notes,* November 13, 1950. 2 pp.

The Heart of the State Welfare Program. Reno, Nevada Taxpayers Association, 1950. 4 pp.

New Mexico Department of Public Welfare's Policies Relative to Property and Resources of Applicants for Assistance. By Murray Hintz. Santa Fe, Taxpayers' Association of New Mexico, *New Mexico Tax Bulletin,* January 1951. 5 pp.

Public Works

Department of Public Works. Buffalo 2, Municipal Research Bureau, *Just a Moment,* January 25, 1951. 3 pp.

Salaries

Operation of Providence's Pay Plan. Providence 3, Governmental Research Bureau, December 1950. 2 pp.

Sewers

The Proposed Sewer Rental. Schenectady 5, New York, Bureau of Municipal Research, *Research Brevities* November 11, 1950. 4 pp.

Taxation and Finance

Financial Statistics of New Jersey Municipalities. Trenton 8, New Jersey Taxpayers Association, 1950. 42 pp.

Property Tax Rates of Missouri Municipalities and Counties. Jefferson City, Missouri Public Expenditure Survey, 1950. 5 pp.

Supreme Court Rules City Charter Must Be Followed in Making Appropriations. New Haven 10, Connecticut, Taxpayers Research Council, *Council Comment,* January 25, 1951. 2 pp. (A detailed report, *A Budget Plans All Expenditures,* is available upon request.)

Tax Reduction. Lackawanna, New York, Tax Research Bureau, *Comments,* December 1950. 6 pp.

A Two Year Analysis of Minnesota's State Fiscal Operations. St. Paul 1, Minnesota Institute of Governmental Research, January 1951. 4 pp.

Year-end Review and 1951 Preview of New York City Finances. New York 17, Citizens Budget Commission, December 31, 1950. 14 pp.

Workmen's Compensation

The Utah Workman's Compensation Program. Salt Lake City 1, Utah Foundation, *Research Report,* 1951. 4 pp

Books in Review

Minimum Standards of Judicial Administration. A Survey of the Extent to Which the Standards of the American Bar Association for Improving the Administration of Justice Have Been Accepted Throughout the Country. Edited by Arthur T. Vanderbilt. New York City, New York University, The Law Center, 1949. xxxii, 752 pp. $7.50.

New Jersey's chief justice, Arthur T. Vanderbilt, has provided in one volume of moderate length a series of reports and recommendations dealing with "the minimum standards that were needed in a practical way to make our court procedure work in the twentieth century," with a clear, succinct analysis as to the extent to which each state measures up to these minimum standards.

Each of the ten chapters average less than 50 pages and could well serve as a handbook on the subject covered. Beginning with "Judicial Selection, Conduct and Tenure," it is startling for one in a state where the governor appoints judges subject only to confirmation by the state Senate to note that in 35 states judges are still elected by popular vote. In "Managing the Business of the Courts" the standards of unified judicial systems, strong judicial councils or conferences and periodic judicial statistics, exemplified first by the federal judicial system and more recently, among the states, by New Jersey's modernized system, appear to offer a challenge to the bench and bar in a large number of states.

"Rule Making—The Judicial Regulation of Procedure" shows that a plurality of states entrust complete supervisory rule-making power to the court of last resort. The chapter on "The Selection and Service of Juries" sets forth numerous items of importance, e.g., first recommendation of A.B.A., July 1938, "The jurors should be selected by commissioners appointed by the courts." There is a description of the Cleveland - Key Number jury selection system, the Knox Committee's report, the varied and numerous methods of jury selection, the diverse and specific qualifications for jurors among the states. Citations and statutory references are plentiful.

It is, of course, understandable that New Jersey should rate highest among the states in its standards of judicial administration. However, Chief Justice Vanderbilt points out that the bar's inertia, complacence and distaste for learning new practices have accounted for much credit for procedural reform in most states going to laymen.

He also points out that, "Aside from inertia, the greatest obstacle to the modernization of judicial administration has been the lack of complete detailed knowledge of what should be done in each state to give it a reasonably effective procedural system." Such knowledge the present volume supplies.

This work constitutes a significant contribution to the cause of improved judicial procedure.

Joseph Harrison
Member of the New Jersey Bar

On the City Council. By Arthur W. Bromage. Ann Arbor, Michigan, George Wahr Publishing Company, 1950. v, 81 pp. $1.

The author, a political scientist on the faculty of the University of Michigan, was elected in 1949 to the city council of Ann Arbor under an old fashioned weak-mayor strong-council, tanglefoot government. Many thousands of citizens had had that experience but Professor Bromage was one of the first to bring to it the combination of freshness of experience and the perceptiveness of his theoretical background. He has found an amazing amount of material for his case study and has spun out of it fourteen brief chapters, one of which has been published in the NATIONAL MUNICIPAL REVIEW[1] and several others elsewhere.

The pamphlet makes a good handbook for freshman councillors elsewhere but is highly useful, too, for those who will never find themselves in such positions. It is a compact exhibit of how a municipal government ought not to be organized and how difficult it is for such a government to get out of its own way without stepping on its own feet, even when all the numerous steps which are required for every action employ the attention of decent people of ample and selfless good will, trying to do a job. R.S.C.

American State and Local Government. By Clyde F. Snider. New York, Appleton-Century-Crofts, 1950. xiv, 639 pp. $5.

The preface of this newcomer to the university textbook list explains that it is designed for courses that undertake to give balanced treatment to both state and local government. The last third of the volume follows functions in many of which both states and cities participate with consequent interaction and conflict.

A fine workmanlike job in lucid English.

The viewpoint of the National Municipal League is reflected with a completeness and fidelity that we have come to expect in college texts; a tally of a quarter of the pages indicates that the NATIONAL MUNICIPAL REVIEW is cited about 250 times! R.S.C.

Additional Books and Pamphlets

(See also Researcher's Digest and other departments)

Administrative Centers

Branch Administrative Centers. Los Angeles, City Planning Commission, 1950. 35 pp.

Annexation

A Factual Report on Annexation for the Metropolitan Area of Colorado Springs. By Joseph E. Chamberlin. Colorado Springs, Colorado, Office of City Manager, 1950. 113 pp. $1.

Louisville's Annexation Program. By Roy H. Owsley. Louisville, Kentucky, Office of the Mayor, 1950. 38 pp.

Authorities

Valley Authorities. By Raymond Moley. New York 17, American Enterprise Association, 1950. 78 pp. 50 cents.

Civil Defense

Civil Defense Against Atomic Attack. Chicago 37, Educational Foundation for Nuclear Science, *Bulletin of the Atomic Scientists,* August-September 1950. 64 pp. $1.

Civil Defense and Disaster Plan. San Diego, Disaster Council, 1950. viii, 40 pp.

Setting Up a Local Civil Defense Organization. By Dr. Walter L. Cronin. Cambridge, Massachusetts, Disaster Relief Coordinator, 1950. 9 pp. Charts.

The Status of Civil Defense in American Cities November 1950. Edited by Donoh W. Hanks, Jr., and Robert H. Blundred. Chicago 37, American Municipal Association, 1950. 159 pp. $3.

Codes of Ordinances

Code of the City of Ardmore. Compiled by Charles F. Spencer. Ardmore, Oklahoma, City Council, 1950. 487 pp.

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[1] June 1950, page 288.

Constitutions

Documents on the Constitutional History of Puerto Rico. Washington, D. C., Office of Puerto Rico, 1950. 151 pp.

Directories

County Directory, 1951-52. Listing the County Judges, Commissioners, County Clerks, Engineers, Auditors of Texas. Brownwood, County Judges and Commissioners Association of Texas, 1951. 44 pp.

Directory of Agencies and Officers of the Territory of Hawaii. (Fifth Edition.) Honolulu 14, University of Hawaii, Legislative Reference Bureau, 1950. vii, 55 pp.

A Directory of Elected State Officers and Members of 1951 General Assembly of the State of Connecticut. Hartford, Connecticut Public Expenditure Council, 1951. 20 pp.

Georgia Official and Statistical Register, 1945-1950. Compiled by Mrs. J. E. Hays. Atlanta, Department of Archives and History, 1950. 773 pp.

Elections and Voting

The Italian Vote in Philadelphia Between 1928 and 1946. A Dissertation in Political Science. By Hugo V. Mailey. Philadelphia, College Offset Press, 1950. x, 165 pp.

Libraries

Kansas Libraries — Survey and Recommendations. Kansas Libraries —Summary of the Survey Report. A Report to the Governor and the Legislature by the Temporary Library Survey Commission of Kansas. Topeka, Governor's Office, 1950. 52 and 9 pp. respectively.

Metropolitan Areas

Metropolitan Decentralization: A Study of Differential Growth. By Donald J. Bogue. Oxford, Ohio, Miami University, Scripps Foundation for Research in Population Problems, 1950. 17 pp. 25 cents.

Population of Standard Metropolitan Areas: April 1, 1950. Washington 25, D. C., U. S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, 1950. 13 pp.

Migration

An Exploratory Study of Migration and Labor Mobility Using Social Security Data. By Donald J. Bogue. Oxford, Ohio, Miami University, Scripps Foundation for Research in Population Problems, 1950. 14 pp. 25 cents.

Municipal Government

A Better Deal for Chicago. A Constructive Program for Nonpartisan Local Government. By Harry R. Booth. Chicago, Alexander J. Isaacs (1104 East 46th Street), 1950. 26 pp.

Natural Resources

Soil and Sky. The Development and Use of Tennessee Valley Resources. By M. H. Satterfield. Knoxville, University of Tennessee, Division of University Extension, 1950. ix, 120 pp.

Pollution

Air Pollution and Smoke Prevention Problems in Allegheny County. Proceedings of Local Government Conference October 27, 1950. Pittsburgh, University of Pittsburgh, Institute of Local Government, 1950. 54 pp.

Pressure Groups

Lobbyists in Action. How Strings Are Pulled. By Franklin L. Burdette. Manassas, Virginia, National Capitol Publishers, Inc., 1950. (Apply P.O. Box 7706, Washington 4, D. C.)

Public Relations

Milwaukee Is Yours. Welcome . . . (A public relations leaflet issued to new residents.) Milwaukee, Municipal Reference Library, 1950. 16 pp. Illus.

Social Security

Your Social Security Benefits. What you and your family get. How you become eligible. How and when you collect. Cash benefits before age

65 and after. New York 5, Commodity Research Bureau, Industrial Relations Institute, 1950. 20 cents (discounts on quantity orders).

Surveys

Report on Survey of Sheriff's Department. Report on Survey of Assessor's Office. San Francisco, Office of the Mayor, 1950. 57 and 60 pp. respectively.

Taxation and Finance

Compendium of City Government Finances in 1949. The 397 Cities Having More Than 25,000 Inhabitants in 1940. Prepared under supervision of Allen D. Manvel, Chief, Governments Division, Bureau of the Census. Washington 25, D. C., Superintendent of Documents, U. S. Government Printing Office, 1950. 98 pp. 40 cents.

An Introductory Study of State Finance in West Virginia. Charleston, West Virginia Commission on Interstate Cooperation and the Joint Committee on Government and Finance, 1950. 62 pp.

Oklahoma Sales Tax Including Operations of the Use and Music Box Tax. Oklahoma City, Oklahoma Tax Commission, Division of Research and Statistics, 1950. 40 pp.

Sources of State Tax Revenue in 1950. Washington 25, D. C., U. S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, 1950. 30 pp.

Sources of State Tax Revenue 1940-49. A Summary of State Tax Rates and Yields in the Last Decade. Chicago 37, Council of State Governments, 1950. 44 pp. 75 cents.

Taxation of Publicly Owned Real Estate. Chicago 37, Federation of Tax Administrators, 1950. 20 pp.

Your Money and Mine. State Finances 1949-50. Nashville 3, Tennessee State Planning Commission, 1950. 56 pp. Tables, charts.

Traffic Safety

How Can Driver Attitudes Be Affected by Education. By Herbert J. Stack. New York, New York University, Division of General Education, Center for Safety Education, 1950. 8 pp.

Operation Safety. Program Kit on Traffic Safety Promotion for March 1951. Theme: **Motor Manners.** Chicago, National Safety Council, 1951. Variously paged.

What Is Your C. A. Q.? (Crossing Accident Quotient). Chicago, National Safety Council, 1950. 8 pp.

Water Pollution

The Extent of Water Pollution. By Richard Martin. Hartford, Connecticut State Water Commission, 1950. 29 pp.

Zoning

Zoning and Civic Development. Washington 6, D. C., Chamber of Commerce of the United States, Construction and Civic Development Department, 1950. 43 pp.

PROBLEMS OF PUBLIC OFFICIALS

(Continued from page 147)

best possible means of developing broader interest in city hall affairs. It was suggested that communities might do well to cultivate the interest of local organizations by supplying them with material and speakers on subjects which would carry the city's message to them and to the community at large.

The general tone of the meeting was a confident expression that the techniques of municipal public relations are making headway and that this newest of administrative techniques is now on a solid footing in many of our communities.

—Photo, Worcester Evening Gazette

Delegation of Japanese officials greeted at airport by officials of Worcester Citizens' Plan "E" Association. From the left, Francis E. Harrington, C. E. A. president; Keiichiro Yoshioka, executive director of the Secretariat of the National Election Administration Commission; Gonshiro Matsuzaki, chairman, Election Administration Commission of Tokyo; Riemon Okamura, member, House of Representatives; Okira Takahashi, interpreter; Howard Porter, Allied Powers Supreme Command, Tokyo; Shinkichi Unno, chairman, National Election Administration Commission; Robert B. Service, Jr., past president, C. E. A.

Studying Democracy's Ways

"This information will be of great value to the Japanese people in the establishment of democratic principles and methods in their respective local governmental organizations," says a delicately illuminated Japanese New Year card, conveying to the League the "most sincere gratitude" of fourteen Japanese municipal and national officials who visited the League office last October.

The group included mayors of several cities, the chairmen of the Yokohama city assembly and of several other city and town assemblies and the headmen of several towns and villages.

The same day these officials were in the League office another group of the top election officials of Japan was in Worcester, on a visit arranged by the League, to observe the Citizens' Plan "E" Association program of educating the voters on the use of proportional representation and get a firsthand look at efficient Worcester registration and election administration.

At the request of the Institute of International Education, which is employed by the Department of the Army to arrange tours for Japanese visitors, the League helped plan the itinerary of the election group which included visits to Seattle, New York, Cleveland, Chicago and Washington.

When the delegation returned to New York, they reported that the day in Worcester had been the most stimulating single one in their entire trip. While these men were on their way home to Japan, Kenneth Holland, president of the Institute of International Education, wrote the League:

"As officials responsible for election legislation and administration in Japan they seemed to be impressed with the diversity and flexibility of American political life. The activity of our nonpartisan citizens groups particularly interested them and they appreciated the opportunity of meeting and talking with members of these organizations."

Other Japanese groups that have visited the League included the governor of Tokyo, members of the powerful Local Finance Commission, and

(*Continued on next page*)

Here to Study How We Do It

(*Continued from preceding page*)

other high officials, as well as a top journalist.

When one of these groups reaches the League office Richard S. Childs, Alfred Willoughby and John E. Bebout become a panel at which questions are fired after Mr. Childs opens up with a short, practical talk on some of the basic facts of democratic life in American cities. Despite the language difficulty the questions indicate the keenness and earnestness of the men who have been selected to lead Japan toward democracy.

Almost from the beginning of the American occupation the League staff has had a good deal of correspondence with American officials and Japanese interested in the democratization problem. One significant occurrence was the translation of the *Model City Charter* into Japanese in three installments in *Local Government*, published by the Local Autonomy Research Institute in Tokyo. The League has also granted permission for the translation of other publications, including the *Model State Constitution.*

Several German groups brought to this country under the auspices of the State Department have also included the League in their itinerary. Among the German visitors have been important legislators, municipal officials and newspaper editors.

Ignorance, Apathy, Timidity

"Your helpful ideas and suggestions prompt me to want to contribute within my limited means and belong to such a worthy organization that is advancing better municipal principles and practices," writes John J. Boehrer of Miami Beach. "I am convinced there is a crying need for a revival of civic interest and enlightenment. Most of our troubles, it seems to me, stem from public ignorance, apathy and timidity."

Teacher-Politician

A politician who is a professor, or vice versa, is a rare bird. But Dayton D. McKean has never seen why a man who was fit to teach government and politics shouldn't be just the man to go out and practice the art.

He was teaching at Princeton when he was elected and reelected to the New Jersey Assembly. He later served as a member o the New Jersey Social Security Commission, as deputy commissioner of finance of New Jersey and as assistan to Governo Charles Edison 1941-43.

When he went to Dartmouth College where he is chairman of the department of government, he went right on practicing what he preached. For the last two years he has been Democratic state chairman for New Hampshire.

Among his numerous penetrating writings on the political scene, his book, *The Boss: The Hague Machine in Action*, when it was published ten years ago, won Hague's mighty wrath and established Dr. McKean as an authority on the amazing Jersey City.

In this issue of the REVIEW, in an article "Hague's Domain Revisited," he digs deeply and interestingly into the reasons for the fall of Boss Hague and his current attempt at a comeback

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NEWS for League Members

Cincinnati Picked for Conference

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The 1951 National Conference on Government will be held November 26, 27 and 28 in Cincinnati, it was decided by the executive committee of the National Municipal League at a meeting held March 7 in New York.

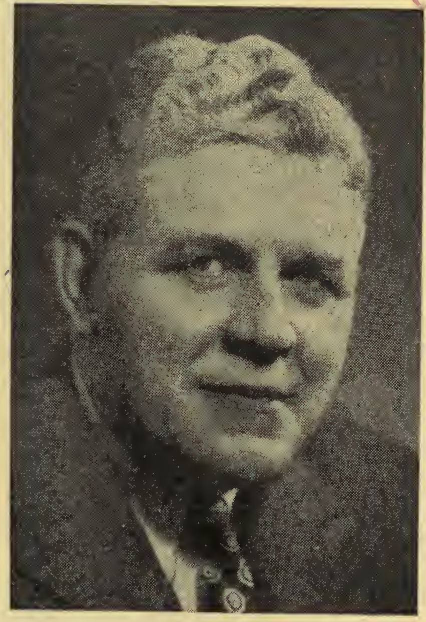
The conference, which has been held annually since the first meeting in Philadelphia in 1894, will be attended by several hundred civic, business, educational and political leaders from all parts of the country, in addition to Cincinnati citizens to whom sessions of the three-day "clinic" on civic affairs will be open.

The executive committee accepted the invitation of a group of Cincinnati civic organizations which was tendered last November at the Buffalo conference by Mayor Albert D. Cash of Cincinnati, who also is a member of the League's Council.

The invitation was seconded by representatives of civic groups from other major Ohio cities who felt that the conference would help focus attention on the 1952 vote in Ohio on the calling of a constitutional convention.

The League, which issues the *Model State Constitution* among its many model laws and administrative systems, will include speakers and panel discussions on modernizing state government in its conference program.

Among other subjects that will be dealt with will be the working of the council-manager plan in large and small cities, county government, nonpartisan citizen organizations in action, metropolitan area problems, civic education and such current problems as the fiscal and civil defense needs of cities and the corrupting influence of organized crime and rackets.



MAYOR ALBERT D. CASH
His invitation accepted

This will be the third time in the League's 57 years that the National Conference on Government will be called to Cincinnati, previous meetings having been held in that city in 1909 and 1928.

At the executive committee meeting Richard S. Childs, chairman, presided. Also present were Henry Bruère, president; Charles Edison, chairman of the Council; Frederick L. Bird, William Collins, John S. Linen, George S. Van Schaick and Alfred Willoughby.

Editor Crusades to Set Cities Free

A Busy Hobby

Editor of the Review's "City, State and Nation" department since 1933, Harold M. Olmsted is equally at home hiking over mountain trails (his favorite relaxation) or plowing through mountains of public affairs news to distill the six or eight pages of material that is especially significant.

Editing this department is a hobby, too, for Olmsted is one of the many experts who volunteer their services to the National Municipal League and the Review.

Educated in electrical engineering at the Case School of Applied Science (now Case Institute of Technology), Cleveland, he worked as an engineer and served in World War I before studying municipal administration under Charles A. Beard at the New York Bureau of Municipal Research.

He interrupted his career as a public utility consultant to serve from 1927 to 1933 as associate editor of *The American City*.

Since 1940 he has been valuation engineer and hearing examiner for the New York Public Service Commission.

In addition to his year-around work for the Review, Mr. Olmsted is contributing editor on public utilities for *The American Year Book*.

For a generation or more, efforts to get a bill through the Illinois legislature to permit cities to adopt the council-manager plan have been thwarted by the politicians.

Last summer, William B. Hamel, publisher of *The Daily Journal-Gazette* in Mattoon, a city of 18,000 in the west-central part of the state, got good and mad.

"Why can't Illinois cities over 5,000 have an efficient form of government?" he began asking editorially. "Why must we sit by while 1,000 communities in other states handle public business in a businesslike way?"

Publisher Hamel obtained a small library of literature and facts from the National Municipal League. He sent proofs of his editorials to fellow-editors in other parts of the state. They liked them and republished them.

Came the inevitable invitations to speak—to Rotary, Kiwanis, young men's clubs, chambers of commerce, even the mighty Union League Club of Chicago. He took them, and presently he was conducting a one-man crusade the like of which the state had not seen in many a day.

Six months and 30 or more speeches later people around Illinois are saying that, for the first time in 30 years or more, the usual bill setting cities free to choose their own form of government has some chance of passing. If it gets through, one newspaper man who got good and mad will deserve a great deal of the credit.

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Editorial Comment

Escape to the Suburbs

PEOPLE tend to think of criminals and racketeers as strictly big city guys. It comes as a shock, therefore, to read how gamblers and racketeers have been making themselves at home in the neat little boroughs from which Bergen County, New Jersey, sends thousands of sober commuters to Wall Street, Rockefeller Center and adjacent areas.

Prodded by investigations of the Kefauver committee and by complaints from New York prosecutors, New Jersey authorities have been discovering that you can't always tell the difference between the home of a respectable banker, the residence of a world famous racketeer and a conservative family residence doubling as a horse parlor.

The state's attorney general felt it necessary to supersede the Bergen County prosecutor with a special deputy attorney general whose activities have brought consternation to county and municipal political leaders and officials, including no one knows how many local police officers. It seems that not only have gentlemen with business on the shady side of the law in the big city favored Bergen County as a place of residence; they have also followed the example of other businessmen in decentralizing some of their operations. One interesting method has produced the "telephone sitter," a character at the end of a wire in an inconspicuous private home who serves as an agent of communication in the gambling racket. The sitter or his employer pays handsome rent for the privilege. The placing of the phones is said to have become a regular part of the patronage of certain local politicians and a source of substantial pin money for cooperative agents of the law.

Why has Bergen County been favored for this business? First, it is across the state line, yet it has easier access to the center of New York by bridge, tunnel and ferry than some of the more remote parts of the city itself. More significant, however, is the political map of the county. In an area less than two-thirds the size of the city of New York, there are 70 separate municipalities, averaging three and a third square miles and about 7,500 population. Half the municipalities have less than 5,000 population. Law enforcement is divided among 71 governments, counting the county with its prosecutor and a rudimentary county police department. Every other function of local government is similarly divided, as is the people's job of riding herd on the whole business.

It is no wonder that local government in most parts of the county is left pretty strictly to the politically industrious and interested few who willingly excuse the commuter-citizen from painful participation in local affairs just as long as he votes "the ticket," a habit that has become pretty well ingrained.

This is not to suggest that most Bergen County politicians are corrupt. They are not. But neither are they so different from other specialists in the art of winning votes and minding other people's business that they lightly commit the folly of biting any hand that offers the organization something more tangible than a friendly shake.

The moral is that the citizen cannot escape the results of non-participation whether he is in the big city or in an elm shaded byway in suburbia. Cutting government up into little bits in a compact area like Bergen County actually makes it tougher for the willing citizen to get at the vital problems of local government. For one thing, his natural civic partners, like the folks he draws in for an evening of bridge, are as likely as not to live in the next town, just over a line that hasn't made sense since the farmers who once owned the fields between two infant crossroad centers sold out to the developers a generation ago. Police, health, zoning and other municipal problems have no more respect for these old lines than the real estate promoters themselves. Moreover, no community of 7,500 people can afford what it takes to provide these and other modern local services adequate to the needs of a thickly settled area like Bergen County.

There is an obvious lesson in the indictment of a $3,000 chief of police, after 22 years in office in a town of 3,000 population, for conspiring to place two "telephone sitters."

No wonder the typical commuter at home concentrates on his garden and his family and tries not to notice some of the strange bedfellows who turn up in suburban politics.

How to Tell a Lobbyist

(Reprinted from Salem (Oregon) *Statesman.*)

A LOBBYIST told all about lobbyists during a Senate hearing . . . on a bill which would require lobbyists to register with the secretary of state and report how much they spend on legislators.

Roy Meyers, Portland General Electric company lobbyist for 38 years, told the Senate elections committee the law isn't necessary because everybody knows who the lobbyists are anyhow.

Just to help the committee to identify lobbyists Meyers, the dean of Oregon lobbyists, listed the following five types:

The regular lobbyist who works all the time for the company he lobbies for,

The "Available Jones" type—those who are for hire to lobby for any bill or cause for a price,

The "two-way stretch" lobbyists—those who get a bill passed in one house and killed in the other, getting pay for both,

The "buzzard" type — hangeroners who can always deliver a block of votes for a price.

City Rescues Blighted Areas

Homes rise on tax delinquent lots restored to rolls by simple method proposed by the National Municipal League.

By **JOHN N. DUMAS***

IN SCHENECTADY, New York, new homes, apartments and small commercial enterprises are sprouting on land that until a year or two ago was a smothering burden of tax delinquency. Using New York's *in rem* law, permitting speedy tax lien foreclosure action against properties more than four years delinquent, the city has begun to turn a debit into a credit, pointing the way for hundreds of other communities harried by the problem of blighted and undeveloped land.

The city resolved to use the *in rem* method early in 1949. Under the law it had to complete the proceeding within one year. Accordingly, by early in 1950 the city had taken title to some four thousand properties—mostly vacant and outmoded 25- or 40-foot lots. Scores of other properties had been redeemed by owners who paid back taxes, interest and penalties. But the real accomplishment was still to come.

Today, Schenectady is collecting taxes on 2,800 of those properties and every city council meeting brings new sales, for it is not enough to acquire the land; it must be put in the hands of new taxpayers as fast as possible. Approximately two hundred dwelling units are completed or under construction on the once blighted land, as well as several small commercial enterprises.

To comprehend the scope of the accomplishment, let's take a look at conditions back in 1947 through the eyes of Harland Bartholomew and Associates, which at that time was completing a two-year contract to draft the city plan. It is a story with a familiar ring to those interested in municipal problems.

More than 22 per cent of the city's total land area lay idle and vacant. Of the 1,471 acres going to waste, at least 35 per cent constituted land on which taxes had not been paid for as long as twenty years. County taxes on the delinquent parcels still had to be paid—a $10,000 burden shared by other city taxpayers.

About 90 per cent of the vacant land, Bartholomew found, was suitable for building purposes. But while homes were going up by leaps and bounds in the suburbs few were being built in the city. With all its idle building land there was little or none that could be developed.

Large areas were poorly drained, without sewer and water facilities; lots had been subdivided in the horse and buggy days and were too small to meet modern requirements; most were in the hands of individual owners or the estates of former owners and had long since been abandoned as worthless. Tracing the rightful owners or heirs, many of whom had moved away, would have been a tremendous task under ordinary foreclosure proceedings.

---

*Mr. Dumas is city hall reporter and political writer for the Schenectady *Gazette*.

PERIODICAL DEPT

The *in rem* law had been on the state statute books for some years, offering a quick and easy method of wholesale foreclosure through the medium of successive newspaper advertisements. But Schenectady, like many other municipalities, was afraid to use it. Officials were doubtful of the validity of titles obtained under the law. Test cases were still in the courts.

At the time that Bartholomew was unfolding to the city the crushing expense of tax delinquency and consequent blight, there seemed to be no ready answer to the problem. He found, for example, that the city was spending $43.16 per inhabitant each year to supply municipal services but, in the blighted, undeveloped areas, the return in taxes was as little as $19 per inhabitant. Taxes from healthy, well developed areas were subsidizing the balance.

In March 1947, Bartholomew summed up his findings with a challenge to the city fathers, but it was directed as well to three-fourths of the municipalities in the nation:

"Blight is a degenerative malady challenging the health and economic stability of most urban communities. Its malignant nature tends to affect an ever-expanding area and to accelerate the disintegration of entire neighborhoods.

"The cure for this situation lies in the establishment of adequate controls over growth in the outlying areas, together with the replanning and redevelopment of the obsolete areas in the central city.

"Unless American communities are able to mobilize their resources and skills to accomplish these results, they face a continuing spiral of increasing costs and decreasing revenues, which inevitably will lead to financial chaos."

In Rem Constitutional

Not long after this sharply worded advice was given Schenectady, one of the test cases that had been worrying municipal law officers reached the United States Supreme Court. Reversing a decision by the State Court of Appeals, the nation's highest tribunal declared New York's *in rem* law to be constitutional. It was a triumph for the National Municipal League, which proposed the *in rem* proceedings in 1935 through its Committee on a Model Fiscal Program, and for Arnold Frye, chairman of that committee, who was instrumental in helping to bring about adoption of the measure.

Early in 1948 the state legislature amended the *in rem* law to simplify some of the required procedures and Schenectady began making ready to use this formidable weapon to meet the Bartholomew challenge.

At least half the four thousand tax delinquent parcels were located in one outlying ward that constituted an impressive example of poor urban planning, reminiscent of the days when real estate speculators operated in a carnival-like atmosphere, offering two lots for the price of one to the innocent.

This ward, the city decided, would be Target No. 1. Once the parcels involved were listed by the law department in preparation for foreclosure, the city planning commission's staff went to work on a proposed resubdivision of those areas almost solidly tax-delinquent. The rest of the parcels, scattered throughout the other thirteen wards of the city, would be acquired in a separate foreclosure action within the same year. The first list of properties was filed in the county clerk's office in February 1949, the second was processed later in the year and by February 1950 the city was clear of tax delinquencies more than four years outstanding. It had been done without increasing the staff of the law department and despite a political upset which resulted in a change of administration on January 1, 1950.

Disposal of Lots

At once the city faced a new problem: How to get the four thousand parcels out of its hands as fast as possible by selling them to persons who would pay taxes and, more important, build homes or businesses.

It was decided that selling price was relatively unimportant compared to the tax benefits of new construction, that sales to real estate operators who planned to turn them over at a nice profit must be avoided and that certain large areas must be sold to one development corporation which would replan them to provide modern lots and attractive street layouts and which would reclaim swampy areas that otherwise would never be developed. Public auctions would have been the safest procedure, politically speaking, but that method would not permit accomplishment of the objectives.

The city's first move was a bold one. Thirty-one-year-old Christian X. Kouray, an attorney who was appointed city manager by the new administration, began quietly to interview developers. In March 1950 he recommended the sale of about a thousand lots within Target No. 1 for $5,000 to K&K Development Inc. The firm promised to build up to four hundred homes or as many as could be marketed; it would fill in the swampiest area of all and start building there as evidence of good faith. But K&K could be only morally bound; legal guarantees would cloud titles and hamper financing. To make matters worse in the eyes of the public, which could not see the reason for selling lots at five dollars apiece, K&K was a brand new corporation formed by a non-resident for the sole purpose of developing the land. No local developer would undertake the project.

Sensing that any delay would mean acting under a storm of protest, the city council accepted a planning commission recommendation and Kouray's pledge that he would "stake his job" on the project. The five Democrats and two Republicans voted unanimously in favor of it.

Then the storm broke. The local Real Estate Board and Builders' Association appointed committees to investigate; Kouray's resignation was demanded on grounds of fraud by a city councilman who chose to recant and ride the tide of protest. The city council's public property committee, headed by Samuel S. Stratton, a friend of Kouray's, was instructed to hold hearings. Ultimately it found no evidence of fraud or bad faith; builder after builder testified the K&K proposal was a "good deal" if carried out. The real

Public Library Kansas City, Mo.

trouble seemed to be that Kouray had not confided in enough people before springing the idea. Still, angry opponents cried "whitewash" when the hearings were over.

Many New Homes Constructed

K&K met the city planning commission's requirements, began building in late August, and by year's end had 85 homes completed or under construction. The new assessed value would amount to at least half a million dollars. Sewer and water mains were installed at K&K's expense, and soon paved streets, properly drained by storm sewers, will wend across what used to be one of the worst swamp areas in the city. What's more, construction is continuing and the land that is left is good natural building land.

Eight months later, in December, when a local realtor was permitted to buy more than nine hundred lots in an even more seriously blighted section of Target No. 1 for $1,000, there was no public outcry whatsoever. Most of the lots were in an area that Bartholomew had previously regarded as fit for nothing better than a municipal forest preserve. Construction of up to four hundred homes is scheduled to begin this spring.

In the eight-months interval, more than a hundred other individuals bought two or three lots apiece after signing contracts to erect at least the foundation of a building before receiving their deeds. They paid 40 per cent of assessed valuations. It was a procedure worked out by the council's public property committee to encourage new construction and safeguard against speculation.

In addition, some seven hundred parcels have been sold to adjoining property owners wanting to increase the size of their lawns, to former owners upon payment of back taxes, interest and penalties and to others not wanting to guarantee building.

Preference was given to adjoining owners, who were permitted to purchase non-buildable lots for 50 per cent of assessed valuation. Those not wanting to guarantee they would build had to pay 160 per cent of assessed valuations—almost as much as current market prices.

Cash income from sales of *in rem* property in 1950 amounted to $74,221, excluding money received for redemption of property before foreclosure or afterward in sales to former owners on payment of back taxes and interest.

Thus Schenectady has been able to restore to the tax rolls all but twelve hundred of the four thousand tax-delinquent properties acquired through *in rem*. In the short space of a year, new construction on the lands has equalled a million dollars in new assessed valuation. The new tax revenue from this source alone will run to more than $55,000.

But the greatest benefits are still to come. The ultimate goal is still unattained. Two new neighborhood communities are in prospect and debilitating residential blight is gradually disappearing. What it will mean in the future, both in terms of dollars and cents and esthetic value, can only be imagined.

A Blueprint for Minnesota

Little Hoover Commission, made up of private citizens, reports on how to achieve more efficiency and economy.

By LEROY F. HARLOW*

STATE government may be too big and too complex for private citizens to understand. Apparently the Minnesota legislature doesn't think so. Acknowledging greatly increased costs of government, insufficient time to study governmental operations thoroughly and citizen claims of waste and duplication, the 1949 legislature turned unanimously to private citizens and said, "Tell us, fully and impartially, what measures you think need to be taken to achieve efficiency and economy."

Two years later the Minnesota Efficiency in Government Commission came back with more than 250 specific recommendations. Of that number all but five were approved unanimously by the commission of citizens from every one of the state's congressional districts. Bankers, lawyers, farmers, businessmen, doctors, labor leaders, industrialists, educators, engineers, newspapermen—men and women—built a 175-page blueprint for more efficient and economical state service to the people of Minnesota. There were no legislators or state officials on the commission or its committees. The legislature excluded them, by law.

Private citizens, virtually alone, did the job. The nineteen-member commission—nine appointed by the Senate, nine by the House of Representatives and one by the governor—divided itself into twelve committees and invited other private citizens to serve on the committees with commission members. Of those invited—with a warning there would be work to do—80 per cent accepted. Ultimately, more than 130 persons manned the committees.

All state agencies dealing with a particular function were assigned to individual committees. For instance, to the agriculture committee were assigned ten state agencies which promote, regulate and inspect agricultural pursuits in Minnesota. The social security committee undertook the study of sixteen agencies concerned with welfare activities. Twenty state agencies which have top management responsibilities—e.g. the governor's office, state auditor, Department of Administration, State Board of Investment, etc.—were assigned to the general administration committee.

With one exception the chairman of each committee was a commission member. The vice chairmen of all committees were members of the commission. Thus, the commission never lacked intimate knowledge of committee procedures, progress and thinking. When committee reports came to the full commission they were presented, explained, and defended where necessary, by members of the commission itself.

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*Mr. Harlow is director of the Minnesota Efficiency in Government Commission. He was formerly city manager of Fargo, North Dakota, Albert Lea, Minnesota, and Sweet Home, Oregon, and has served as staff member of Public Administration Service and the U. S. Bureau of the Budget.

Staff available to the commission and its twelve committees consisted of the director and his secretary. Limited but valuable use was made of three nationally known professional management consultants[1] by four of the twelve committees.

Citizens Make Study

The bulk of the work was done by Minnesota's own talent. Liberal use was made of the generously given and outstanding services of the Minnesota Institute of Governmental Research, the state's Legislative Research Committee and the Minnesota Society of Certified Public Accountants. The last seven months of work on the final report saw an average of six citizens devoting a full day of free service on seventeen days out of each month. The total direct cost to the state for the entire study, including publication of the report, was $52,000. The commission turned back $5,000 of its appropriation into the state treasury.

The 130 citizens enunciated what they described as "guiding principles of democratic government and efficient administration." Then, carefully and painstakingly, they analyzed the structure and workings of the state's more than one hundred executive agencies. They concerned themselves with the legislative branch, too, and with the judicial branch and local governments incidentally. The guiding principles enunciated and adhered to were these:

1. The legislative and executive branches of government must be strong and they must remain equal.
2. The executive branch must attain efficiency and economy yet remain responsive to the people and their elected representatives.
3. The organization of the government should be kept as simple and understandable as possible, to provide a workable span of control and unity of command.
4. Departments should be organized according to major functions to eliminate overlapping and duplication.
5. Administrative authority, as well as responsibility, should be centered in the chief executive of the state.
6. Principal departments should be directed by a single administrative official directly responsible to the governor.
7. Terms of office for the governor and department heads should coincide and be for a four-year period.
8. Management services of government should be combined in a single administrative department, to aid the governor directly in managing the state's business.
9. With certain important and justifiable exceptions, boards and commissions should be used only to perform advisory, quasi-legislative and quasi-judicial functions.
10. The appointment, advancement and retention of state personnel should be based solely on fitness and merit under a statutory civil service system.
11. The legislature should exercise its important control function

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[1] Griffenhagen and Associates, J. L. Jacobs and Company and Public Administration Service, all of Chicago.

by providing for regular, independent audits of the governor's management of state affairs.

Three basic research tools were used by the commission:

1. Thousands of pages of detailed information supplied by state agencies in ready compliance with specifications prepared by the commission. With the predominant use of organization charts, each agency showed:
    - (a) How it is organized, who reports to whom, what are the legal authorizations for its existence;
    - (b) What it does—the number, scope and nature of functions and activities;
    - (c) Financial requirements and resources;
    - (d) Developments and changes in the administration of state business in the past ten years;
    - (e) Administrative methods used; and
    - (f) Suggestions for improvements in organization, procedures and policies.
2. The *Handbook for the Study of State Government Administration*, prepared and distributed to the nineteen commission members and the 112 committee members. It attempted to provide:
    - (a) Brief statements of generally accepted "principles" of public administration and of standard practices recognized by authorities in public administration;
    - (b) A check list of practical suggestions, in question form, aimed to promote increased efficiency and economy in state government operations; and
    - (c) A list of 60 definitions of terms commonly used in public administration with which private citizens might not be familiar.[2]
3. Hearings conducted by citizen committees at which state officials, individual citizens, organized groups and experts in particular fields testified, as well as on-the-site studies and investigations within the agencies and their institutions.

Out of the months of study came recommendations which, if adopted, will have far-reaching effects throughout the state for years to come. Less than a dozen will require changes in the state constitution. Most require legislative enactment. Many can be made effective immediately by executive action.

Key Recommendations

The commission expressed itself as "loath to suggest further improvements in the executive branch without pointing out the need for strengthening the legislative branch." It declared that "our form of government cannot live unless the three branches of government remain strong and substantially equal in power."

Although primarily concerned with improvements in the executive branch, the commission calls for establishment of a department of legislative services on a permanent year-round basis to do research, draft bills, staff committees and handle the thousands of details which now prevent the people's representatives from devoting adequate time to the major problems of the state.

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[2] The National Municipal League, International City Managers' Association and several publishers generously granted permission to use material from their publications for compilation of the *Handbook*.

Private citizens were quick to note that in Minnesota the governor figuratively audits his own books, contrary to sound business principles. The governor appoints the heads of executive departments. He appoints also the public examiner, one of whose duties is to audit the accounts of the executive departments. The elective state auditor is primarily the chief accountant and "pre-auditor." The legislature, which appropriates the money for operation of the executive departments, has no means of checking on the executive expenditures independently. The commission recommends a department of post-auditor "to place control of expenditures of state funds with the legislature, where it fundamentally belongs."

Governor's Office

It was the view of the commission that "reorganization and consolidation do not center responsibility and commensurate authority in the governor. They merely arrange the government so it can be effectively managed." The governor's office needs improvement based on recognition of the three facets of the governor's job—serving as ceremonial head of a sovereign state, acting as head of a political party and being general manager of the largest business in the state.

The commission would staff the governor's office with four key people—an executive secretary to handle administrative details of the office and advise the governor on appointments to public office, a secretary trained in general research, a public relations secretary to handle press and radio relationships and a legal counsel to specialize in proposed and pending legislation, handle clemency, extradition and other legal matters, and serve as secretary to the Board of Pardons. A principal job of the counsel would be to serve as liaison between the governor and the legislature on legislative matters.

A decade ago Minnesota received national recognition as the first state to appoint a "state business manager," heading the Department of Administration. This office has proved effective in its management of the allotment control system, preparation of the biennial budget, control of purchasing and building construction, renting and leasing of land and property, providing a central storeroom and service unit and performance of other central management services common to most successful private businesses.

The 1939 business manager law had two major weaknesses and some minor ones, in the judgment of the commission. One major weakness was the failure to place the accounting system in the Department of Administration. This major tool of fiscal management was left with the elective state auditor. The other was the use, contrary to modern business practice, of a separate elective state treasurer to handle payments and serve as the custodian of funds. The commission recommends the transfer of most of the functions of these two constitutional offices to the Department of Administration and the abolition of the offices.

The ballot would be shortened to two elective offices, the governor and lieutenant governor. In addition to the assignment of the duties of the auditor and treasurer to the Department of Administration, the functions of the secretary of state would be transferred, principally to the Department of Highways and Department of Revenue. The attorney general would be appointed by the governor and would head the Department of Law, including several law enforcement units. The elective three-member Railroad and Warehouse Commission would be abolished and its duties distributed among a number of departments.

The tools of executive management alone are not enough. The sprawling collection of more than a hundred executive agencies needs reduction to a manageable number. The 35 major departments and 70 minor agencies would be consolidated into sixteen major executive departments and a few minor offices.

Other Recommendations

Civil service, which has been a notable success in Minnesota, would be extended to all positions below the department head level except in the governor's office. This move, in the commission's judgment, should be accompanied by a considerable opening of the civil service back door and the ending of absolute preference for veterans.

Decisions by department heads would be tempered by the compulsory use of advisory boards, and quasi-judicial determinations would be made by independent boards.

Duplication of inspectional services and the weaknesses of administrative boards were given close attention by the commission. Consolidation of such services and the placing of departments under single administrative heads were generally recommended.

Perhaps the two most nearly unique recommendations have to do with the examining and licensing of professions and trades and the position of the education function within the governmental structure. It is recommended that a "state licensing authority" of laymen be created, to have powers of review over the actions of the licensing boards. This administrative device is intended to "utilize the capacities of the professions and trades in order to assure the quality, identity and integrity of those professions and trades and preserve the right of the public to judge the acts which affect its members individually and as a whole."

The education function, if the commission's recommendations are adopted, would be divided, in effect, between two boards of regents. One would be in charge of the university as at present provided by the constitution; the other would control primary and secondary schools and the teachers colleges. Both boards would be appointed by the legislature in joint session. A legislative advisory commission for higher education, composed of the president of the university, commissioner of education, two laymen and a professional educator of high standing serving as a full-time executive officer, would assist the legislature in

(Continued on page 200)

Boston's Mid-century Revolt

Administrative study, ousting of Boss Curley, adoption of new charter combine to give promise of better things.

By LASHLEY G. HARVEY*

BOSTON is looking up, with its new mayor, a new charter and a blueprint for administrative management. Prospects for better government in Boston have never been more promising.

When the National Municipal League held its meeting in Boston in November 1948, feeling for improvement of the city's government was at a low ebb. A year earlier James Michael Curley had returned from federal prison to resume the office of mayor and had turned back the clock on every improvement made by the interim government in his absence.

The forces that might have prevented a restoration of Curleyism were divided and confused, disputing among themselves over proposals for a new charter. One group stood uncompromisingly for the council-manager plan with proportional representation for election of the council and school committee (Plan E), another for a revised strong mayor type (Plan A) and a third but inarticulate group wanted a manager without proportional representation (Plan D). The Republican governor and legislature could have prevented Mayor Curley's return but felt it might serve as a blessing in disguise. A citizenry sickened by the mayor's mismanagement might turn to the Republicans for help in the November elections.

It was into this atmosphere of defeat that the National Municipal League moved up with reenforcements. The Boston Municipal Research Bureau and the Chamber of Commerce had fought a rearguard action for months against disunity and despair. With the national spotlight of publicity focused upon Boston and its problems, Dr. Thomas H. Reed blasted away at the city's political irresponsibility and chided the proud descendants of Boston's Revolutionary leaders for allowing democracy to go by default, pointing an accusing finger at smug complacency and indecision.[1]

With renewed spirit the people of Boston swung into action. In the spring of 1948 the legislature, upon insistence of the governor, had made it possible for Boston voters to change their form of government. Although the Plan E group lost its battle for a manager with proportional representation because of a legal technicality,[2] when the people were given an opportunity to vote on a new and revised strong mayor plan, they brushed aside the old charter and with the same broom swept out the Curley administration, electing as mayor the former city clerk, John B. Hynes, who had demonstrated his ability as acting mayor when Mr. Curley was in prison.

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[1] See "A Famous Patriot Returns," by Thomas H. Reed, the REVIEW, January 1949, page 11.

[2] See "Boston Officials Block Manager-P. R. Plan," The REVIEW, March 1949, page 133.

Adoption of Plan A will not usher in the millennium, but it will be an improvement over the old charter of 1909. It provides for a council of nine elected at large instead of 22 elected by wards. This new council may override the mayor's veto except on loans and expenditures. While the plan is called a strong mayor system, the council actually occupies a slightly stronger position than it did under the old setup. Its members will receive salaries of $5,000 instead of $3,000 per year for a term of two years. The mayor remains head of administration and retains his four-year term.

A significant break with the old charter is the requirement for a primary election a month prior to the regular election in order to narrow the field of candidates for the council, school committee and mayor to two for each position. It will be necessary for a mayor to receive a majority vote to win an election. Many times in the past a Boston mayor has been elected by a minority vote because of the large number of candidates.

It is hoped that minority rule will be ended by institution of the direct primary. Plan A provides for a five-man school committee as previously, with no change in its position or power except reduction of the term of its members from four to two years. The schools remain outside the city government.

The voters go to the polls in October of this year to choose their new officers under Plan A which goes into operation in January 1952.

While the citizen groups were debating charter changes, Robert E. Cunniff, the indefatigable executive secretary of the Boston Finance Commission—a state research and advisory agency—sharpened his pencil for new attacks upon the Curley administration. This was no new fight for him. Again and again he had called the public's attention to existing irregularities. Under the 1909 charter new departments and agencies sprang into being, many as the result of legislative act. Over-expanded, top-heavy government became unworkable under the personalized administration of Mayor Curley. Political favoritism, irregularity in appointments and contracts, and undercover deals twisted a once heralded charter beyond recognition.

The Blueprint

Cunniff, a thorough student of municipal administration, saw not so much the weakness of the present charter but the way in which administration had been allowed to grow uncontrolled. Realizing that developments were getting out of hand, he had gone to Mayor Frederick W. Mansfield back in the early 30s to ask that two surveys be conducted, one of the city's administration and the other of the schools. Ten years passed before any action was forthcoming. In 1943, during Governor Leverett Saltonstall's administration, the school survey (Strayer survey) was conducted, although most of its recommendations remain to be placed in operation.

In December 1947 the legislature was petitioned to authorize a comprehensive survey of the city's administration. The Boston Chamber of Commerce and the Municipal Research Bureau went into action. Governor Robert F. Bradford was easily convinced of the need but to persuade the legislature was a much more difficult task. Much credit is due E. J. Brehaut, manager of the Civic Department of the chamber, and Richard A. Atkins, then secretary of the research bureau, for winning the necessary support. By special act April 8, 1948, (Chapter 261) the legislature authorized the survey and requested the city to provide $150,000 to cover costs. It went even further by placing responsibility for conducting the survey upon the Finance Commission.

Approach to Survey

The commission stated its approach to this assignment in a report to the governor on May 4, 1949:[3]

"After due consideration, the commission elected to aim at the production of a 'blueprint' of good administration." As a matter of policy, the commission decided not to be restricted in making the survey by present statutes, ordinances or directives and urged the elected administrators to adopt the recommendations by administrative action wherever possible and then to turn to the legislature for assistance on those recommendations requiring statutory changes.

The survey was not to be conducted solely as a retrenchment device at the expense of municipal services. It was rather "an attempt to secure now and for the future an organization of municipal functions which will provide a high quality of community service at minimum cost." It was recognized at the outset that savings might be accomplished in some departments but that in others it might be necessary to increase expenditures temporarily in order to initiate changes which would result in future savings.

Care was taken throughout to assure municipal officials that the survey was not an attempt to discredit them or to serve as a personal attack. There was no intention to conceal from the officials of the departments surveyed the direction each survey was taking or the facts considered. Frank discussion between surveyor and the surveyed was encouraged. As the work progressed and reports were forthcoming, each department head was supplied with a copy of the report and comments were solicited.

The Hoover Commission's pattern of task forces was not followed. Areas were established and certain consultants were employed to make reports to the Finance Commission. These were carefully analyzed. The areas were largely functional and the consultants were either well known authorities in the field or experienced research technicians. Of the 21 special studies thirteen were done by Griffenhagen and Associates, but the list includes such familiar names as Russell Forbes for purchasing, Bruce Smith for police, R. Clyde White for public welfare, Cuthbert Reeves for assessing and Carl Buck for public health.

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[3] Massachusetts House Document Number 2600 pages 3-4.

The findings of the specialists were summarized and the commission made its recommendations in a *Final Report of the Administrative Survey,* released by the commission February 1, 1950.

Report and Plan A

Boston's administrative structure was only partially corrected by adoption of the Plan A charter, since the governmental organization is to be found largely in statutes and not in the charter. Of the 34 separate departments or agencies in the executive branch, twenty were established by statute and the remaining fourteen by ordinance. Under the charter of 1909 the mayor heads the administration for which he is responsible. However, many executive functions are in fact performed by independent or semi-independent officials. The public schools are under the control of a school committee of five members; the police department is under a commissioner appointed by the governor. Similarly, the members of the licensing board and finance commission are appointed by the governor. The housing authority has a semi-independent status—the appointing power resides in the mayor, the city council and the Massachusetts State Board of Housing. There are several other agencies, headed by boards and commissioners, over which the mayor does not exercise complete control. These include the planning board and the board of zoning adjustment. Besides these there are twelve other agencies headed by a board or commission and therefore partially removed from the control of the mayor.

This confused administrative pattern is due largely to many years of special legislation for Boston. The Finance Commission recommends repeal of all existing laws dealing with the organization of the executive branch of the city's government to permit administrative reorganization without legal obstacles.

Realizing the practical difficulties which stand in the way of eliminating so many legislative restrictions at once, the commission proposes a simple interim plan which may be placed into operation quickly by either executive order or by ordinance. Although not complete, this plan does provide for a great deal of consolidation and for elimination of some duplication. With the assistance of the legislature, however, a second or final plan may be placed in operation.

Interim Plan: Certain departments would not be changed in the interim plan, viz., art, elections, housing, library, planning, police, zoning adjustment and the school committee, although hospital and public welfare departments, not completely controlled by the mayor, would be expanded. Four regular operating departments—health, public safety, public works, recreation and parks—would remain as at present directly under the mayor, and six staff departments—planning, assessing, engineering, finance, law and supply—would be directly responsible to the mayor.

Final Plan: These departments

are reduced in the final plan to six operating agencies—library, election, health and welfare, public safety, public works, recreation and parks—and four staff agencies—assessing, engineering, finance and law.

All departments would be headed by directors and divisions within departments would be headed by commissioners. Heads of departments would be appointed by the mayor but the commissioners would be career men. To prevent political interference at the lower level, the commissioners would be the appointing authority for divisions.

As a marked departure from the present pattern the final plan contains a number of other progressive features. The mayor would have an assistant or deputy who would serve as chief of staff and administrative assistant. He would be in direct contact with heads of departments on matters of general operation. A number of secretarial and public relations services, including certain duties of the registry department, the city messenger, clerk of committees, and responsibility for editing the *City Record* and the *Municipal Register* would be shifted to the city clerk's office.

A number of changes in public policy are proposed in the final plan: (1) removal of state control and restoration to the mayor of the police function; (2) transference of the cities of Chelsea and Revere and the town of Winthrop from Suffolk to Middlesex and/or Essex County; and (3) assumption by the state of responsibility for the operation and maintenance of all penal institutions.

The Finance Commission's survey was timed perfectly. At his inaugural in January of this year Mayor John B. Hynes promised to take full advantage of the findings and adopt as many recommendations as possible. He has created a committee of three city administrators to report to him on the possible adoption of recommendations. This so-called mayor's committee consists of Charles J. Fox, city auditor, John A. Sullivan, budget commissioner, and John De Meulenaer, division engineer, bridge and ferry division of the public works department. It has held conferences with all heads of departments.

Adoption of Recommendations

Practically 40 per cent of the recommendations have been put into effect and the interim plan is well on its way to operation. The mayor has referred to the council many of the recommendations which can be accepted only upon a change of ordinance. These are rapidly being adopted. As the council works away at reorganization the mayor is developing bills for the legislature which would accomplish ultimate reorganization of Boston's city government.

Since his election John B. Hynes has set about methodically to put his house in order. Departmental appointees of former Mayor Curley are being replaced by competent administrators; a thorough-going personnel classification and wage survey has been launched; steps are being taken to assure better budget and personnel supervision and over one hundred thousand dollars have been recovered for the city from contractors as the result of irregularities in street construction and school building waterproofing contracts.

Mayor Hynes is well aware that much is still to be done to make Boston's city government effective if Boston is to become a truly desirable city for home owners and business. In his inaugural address he recognized that this could not be achieved by Boston alone, but would require concerted efforts of all cities and towns within the metropolitan area. He went so far as to advocate a metropolitan government which would make "possible the amalgamation of services which are metropolitan in nature."

The mid-century revolt in Boston, slow to get under way, promises hope for the future.

A BLUEPRINT FOR MINNESOTA

(Continued from page 194)

reviewing appropriation requests and work toward prevention of duplication of curricula, facilities and personnel.

Two members of the Efficiency in Government Commission served as public members of the Constitutional Commission of Minnesota which filed its report on constitutional revision in 1948. No studied effort was made to fit the Efficiency in Government Commission's recommendations to those of the Constitutional Commission or the *Model State Constitution* prepared by the National Municipal League. The recommendations are strikingly similar, however, in many important respects, e.g., an independent post-auditor appointed by the legislature, limiting the number of executive departments, voting for governor in odd-numbered years and for a four-year term, continuing the state business (administrative) manager position and many others.

The commission placed no price tag on its recommendations, but it feels "certain that the recommendations can result in an outright and immediate saving to the taxpayers of not less than $4,300,000 per year," excluding indeterminate items which could save many more millions of dollars.

Private citizens of Minnesota, assisted by the important state officials, made a determined and objective search for ways and means to serve the people of Minnesota more efficiently and economically. They did not alter their course because of constitutional or statutory barriers that stand in the way of needed improvements. They have provided the state and its people a blueprint for today—and tomorrow.

Revision by Commission

Device not as successful as constitutional convention but educates citizens to need of remodeling basic law.

By BENNETT M. RICH*

THE last decade has seen new life breathed into the constitutional commission. This device, which has been used off and on for a century, often represents an honest and sincere attempt to achieve constitutional reform. Occasionally, a commission has been created as a last gasp effort, all other measures having failed. Sometimes, however, the commission has served merely as a shield to protect elusive legislators from the pursuit of ardent constitutional reformers.

Regardless of the motivating factor, the number of constitutional commissions in recent years merits an examination of the commission's record as an instrument of reform. Does it, as a technique, merit the confidence to which it has recently fallen heir? Before attempting to answer this question, let us consider the kinds of constitutional commissions and some of the practical organizational and procedural problems incident to their operation.

Commissions may be classified under four headings. The first—the true commission—is a joint product of the legislative and executive branches. It is created through the operation of the normal law-making processes. At least 24 commissions of this type have been established.[1]

A second type is that authorized by the executive alone. In 1934 Governor C. D. Martin of Washington created an Advisory Constitutional Revision Commission of nine members. Governor Murray D. Wagoner of Michigan, in 1942, appointed a 32-member Constitutional Revision Study Commission. The most recent illustration of the executive type was the Constitution Review Commission established in 1949 by Governor Earle C. Clements of Kentucky.

Legislative action alone constitutes a third basis for the creation of a commission. The Legislative Constitutional Revision Committee of California, authorized by concurrent resolution in 1947, was of this species.

The fourth category is a miscellany, defying accurate classification. Connecticut, Louisiana and Oklahoma deserve mention although the technique each state employed is unique. The Connecticut Commission on State Government Organization included the draft of a revised constitution in its report. In Louisiana a law passed in 1946 directed the Louisiana State Law Institute to prepare the draft of a constitution. The Oklahoma Senate in 1947 requested the Legislative Council to prepare a series of constitutional studies with recommendations for change. In addition, a number of the recent "Little Hoover Commissions" have made recommendations concerning some phase of constitutional revision. Investigating bodies in Arizona, Idaho and Minnesota, for example, have considered constitutional questions.

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[1] Statutes: California 1929, Chapter 420, p. 741; Georgia 1943, p. 1680; Maine 1875, Chapter 1, p. 3; Michigan 1873, p. 563; Minnesota 1947, Chapter 614, p. 1111; New Jersey 1852, p. 546; 1854, p. 544; 1873, p. 844; 1881, p. 187; 1894, p. 556; 1905, p. 185; 1941, p. 1084; New York 1872, Chapter 884, p. 2178; 1890, Chapter 189, p. 402; North Carolina 1913, p. 449; 1931, p. 796; Pennsylvania 1919, p. 388; Rhode Island 1897, p. 121; 1912, p. 475; Tennessee 1945, p. 703; South Carolina 1948, p. 2226; Vermont 1908, p. 571; Virginia 1926, p. 797; West Virginia 1929, p. 503.

In this fourth category the work of the Hawaii Statehood Commission deserves mention. Prior to the recent constitutional convention, the commission arranged for the preparation of a series of reports by the Territorial Legislative Reference Bureau. The commission's efforts were designed to promote the convention, however, rather than to obtain a constitution by more direct methods.

Commission's Purpose

The principal purpose of these varying forms of commissions has been to prepare amendments rather than to plan for total revision. The first commission to prepare a complete draft constitution was that of Michigan in 1873. The commission interpreted the words "to revise" in their broadest sense.

Just as there are limited constitutional conventions, there are limited commissions. Four of New Jersey's seven commissions were limited to preparing amendments designed to improve the judicial system. The New York commission of 1890 was also limited to a consideration of the judicial article while the commission of 1872 was authorized to amend any article except the one pertaining to the judiciary.

Inexact wording has sometimes created uncertainty as to the major purpose of a commission. The New Jersey commission of 1941-42 gave a broad interpretation to a loosely worded law and prepared a complete draft constitution. The Georgia commission of 1943, seemingly limited to proposing amendments, presented the legislature with one amendment which embraced the entire constitution.

A few legislatures have conceded to the governor the privilege of unrestricted choice in the selection of commissioners. This practice is the exception and not the rule.

Perhaps the least burdensome legal restriction governing appointments was the admonition of the New Jersey legislature in 1852 to select three "discreet commissioners." The Michigan legislature of 1873 required the governor's appointees to be both "able and discreet." Senatorial confirmation is not uncommon. Other restrictions require appointment by congressional district, judicial district, geographical region and representation by interest group. Legislatures often force the governor to share the appointive power with the chief presiding officer in each house. Lawyers and judges are occasionally specified.

Administrative officials have been noticeably missing among commission rosters. The North Carolina commission of 1913 included the lieutenant governor as an ex officio member. The state revenue commissioner was a member in 1931. Georgia, in 1943, included the attorney general. The commissioner of administration was a member of the recent Minnesota commission.

Public members are nearly always appointed by the governor. However, in New Jersey, in 1941, six members of a commission appointed by the governor and the legislature were authorized to elect a seventh. As a general rule party membership is not mentioned.

Commissions have ranged in size from three to 38 with seven and nine the most popular numbers. The median of the 24 true commissions studied was thirteen.

Size of Commissions

New Jersey leads in the number of commissions. The first of seven was created in 1852. New York, North Carolina and Rhode Island have had two each. California and Michigan have also had two although California's second was a legislative creation and Michigan's second was authorized by executive order.

Constitutional commissions have had tough sledding financially. Legislative reluctance to provide adequate funds has been almost universal. Definite sums have been specified in about one-third of the enabling acts, ranging from $3,000 for the Rhode Island commission of 1912 to $60,000 for the Pennsylvania commission of 1919.

Ordinarily, commission members receive a per diem and travel expenses. Occasionally commissions are restricted in the amounts they may receive by limitations on the time they are in session.

The need for technical assistance is now widely accepted. The Michigan commission of 1875 was the first authorized to employ aid, a clerk at three dollars per day, and a messenger and assistants at two dollars per day. The Minnesota commission of 1947 had a director of research, a secretary and four temporary employees. In addition, the university contributed the services of graduate research assistants who prepared over 30 special reports.

Few legal restrictions have been placed upon the organization and procedures of commissions. Usually the members have been free to select one of their number as chairman. The law creating the Tennessee Commission of 1945, however, instructed the governor to appoint a chairman representing the state at large since two members were to be appointed from each of three sections of the state.

Size has been a factor in the development of procedures. A large body is almost forced to form subcommittees. The twenty-member North Carolina commission of 1913 was broken down into fifteen subcommittees of three members each with a different person serving as chairman of each subcommittee and the president acting as an ex officio member of all. The 23-member Georgia commission of 1943 had seven subcommittees. Minnesota with 21 members had a steering committee of seven and eight study committees.

Time has been another factor affecting procedures. The Maine commission of 1875 was approved January 12 and was required by law to submit its report on February 15. By way of contrast, the Tennessee commission of 1945 deliberated every three months until its report was ready. Customarily, commissions created at one session of the legislature are required to report at the next session.

Generally there is no restriction on the means by which a commission comes to a decision. An unusual feature of the act setting up the Michigan commission of 1873 was the requirement that any proposal must have the consent of two-thirds of the membership.

Citizen Activity

Public hearings have come to be an accepted practice in recent years. In 1943 the Georgia commission held extensive open hearings and brought in outside consultants as a means of stimulating public interest. The Minnesota commission of 1947 was authorized not only to hold public hearings but to issue subpoenas. The California legislative revision committee of 1947 was granted all the rights and powers conferred upon investigating committees.

A second development, designed to obtain public support, is the use of citizen committees working directly with the members of the commission. The Minnesota enabling act authorized the appointment of committees of citizens of the state so long as there was "at least one member of the commission on each committee." In actual practice, at least three members of the commission served on the five- to eight-member committees. In Oklahoma a Constitutional Survey Committee organized by the Legislative Council consisted of 117 citizens and 27 legislators. The Constitution Review Commission of Kentucky established subcommittees whose members were outside the commission. Several hundred prominent citizens were asked to serve in an advisory capacity to the Legislative Constitutional Revision Committee of California.

The Minnesota commission, perhaps more than any other, recognized the value of keeping the public informed. An extensive public relations program was developed. A committee on public information was organized, a speakers' forum was created, special articles on particular problems were prepared for the newspapers and transcriptions of panel discussions were broadcast.

Few commissions have enjoyed immediate success. One or more amendments were added to the constitutions of Maine, New Jersey, New York, Virginia, Vermont and West Virginia subsequent to the report of a commission. Perhaps the greatest single success was adoption of an entire constitution by Georgia in 1945.

Although the number of immediately successful commissions is amazingly small, their over-all record is somewhat more satisfactory. The influence of the work of a commission may be of a long term nature. The proposals of the New York commission of 1890, for example, were ignored by the legislature but were used by the constitutional convention of 1894. New Jersey's commission of 1941-42 was of great assistance to the revision movement culminating in adoption of a new constitution in 1947.

By counting those commissions which have enjoyed some degree of success, whether of a direct or of an indirect character, the number falls short of half of the two dozen true constitutional commissions. If the other categories of commissions are included, the success ratio is even lower. In view of this record, why does the commission continue to be so much used?

Why a Commission?

There are practical reasons which may dictate the creation of a commission. The desired changes may be technical in nature. For example, certain of the New Jersey commissions and the New York Commission of 1890 were concerned exclusively with judicial reform. Or it may be that constitutional restrictions surrounding the calling of a convention may make the commission appear to be the only feasible solution. In Minnesota constitutional revision by the convention method would take about six years. The commission approach seemed to offer a more immediate reward. The Kentucky experience illustrates a third practical reason for the use of a commission. Efforts to call a convention failed. The Constitution Review Commission served to keep alive the revision issue.

Notwithstanding individual cases where there exist special grounds for a commission, there are three basic reasons for the commission's continued use. The commission appeals to revisionists because of the apparent ease with which constitutional change may be effected. Secondly, the commission is inexpensive. Lastly, legislators are more receptive to a commission than to a convention since every proposal of the commission is subject to legislative veto.

Revision by commission seems so easy. In the past a few prominent individuals met a few times, conducted a few hearings and proposed a few changes to the constitution. The fact that few amendments were ultimately adopted seems largely to have been overlooked.

The element of economy as a factor in the use of the commission is self-evident. Governor Byrd claimed that the Virginia revision resulting from the commission of 1926 cost $25,000 whereas a convention would have cost $500,000. Governor Arnall emphasized the low cost, under $11,000, as an advantage of the Georgia commission of 1943. These sums are attractive when compared with New Jersey's $265,000 for a convention and New York's $1,100,000. The fact that most commissions fail whereas most conventions succeed has not been taken sufficiently into account.

The third basic element in the continued use of the commission is the factor of control. No proposal of a commission can get to the people without the approval of the legislature. Legislators normally are fearful of conventions since, in most states, the convention's work is submitted directly to a referendum. Not so the work of a commission; its proposals are always subject to legislative modification. Thus the creation of a commission has a dual result. The cry for action by the revisionist is met, at least temporarily. At the same time, any proposal endangering the legislative *status quo* may be sent to a committee for appropriate burial.

Legislature Controls

The fact that no proposal can possibly get to the people unless it is acceptable to the legislature may have an important bearing upon the work of the commission. The attitude of the commission may become not "what is in the best interests of the state" but "what proposals will the legislature accept." The record of the New Jersey commission of 1941-42 illustrates this approach. Certain subjects were considered with great thoroughness. Other basic issues were not touched. The commission recognized the futility of suggesting reforms which the legislature would refuse to consider.[2]

In the past, the commission's greatest virtue has been as an educational device. Through preparatory studies, hearings and reports, the commission has served to inform the people of the need for amendment or revision, to develop a greater public understanding of constitutional issues and to furnish suggestions which were of use later as a basis for revision.[3] Were it not for these valuable educational services, the record of the commission in recent years would merit a harsh judgment. Persons seriously interested in thorough-going revision will do well to avoid the commission unless they have no alternative or unless they use it simply to prepare the ground for a constitutional convention.

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[2] See "Convention or Commission," the Review, March 1948, page 133.

[3] Earlier reports of state constitutional commissions were often buried in legislative documents or state manuals. Recent separately published reports include: *Report of the (Kentucky) Constitution Review Commission,* 1950; *Report of the Michigan Constitutional Review Study Commission,* 1942; *Report of the Constitutional Commission of Minnesota,* 1948; *Commission on Revision of the New Jersey Constitution,* 1942; *Report of the Advisory Constitutional Revision Commission of the State of Washington,* 1935.

News in Review

City, State and Nation . . . . *Edited by H. M. Olmsted*

State Reorganization Plans Show Progress

Commission Reports Point to Governmental Action

STUDIES of state governmental reorganization have been under way in more than half the states for the last year or more. Some have been completed and have run the gamut of legislative consideration, including the reasonably successful New Hampshire plan for revamping the executive branch[1] and the notable but bitterly contested proposals of the Connecticut Commission on State Government Organization.[2] Many others are in various stages of completion.

At page 190 of this issue of the REVIEW appears a rather extensive account of the Minnesota recommendations. Brief comments on the work of several commissions or other agencies follow:

Arizona

The Special Legislative Committee on State Operations rendered a report on general state organization to a special session of the nineteenth Arizona legislature late in 1950. The report of the committee and that of its consultants, Griffenhagen and Associates, are contained in a 260-page printed volume. The special session approved various recommendations including creation of the office of post-auditor, annual legislative sessions and four-year terms for state and county officials. The proposals for annual sessions and four-year terms were embodied in proposed constitutional amendments and submitted to popular referendum on September 12, 1950. Annual sessions were approved by the voters, but not four-year terms.

The committee proposed a reduction of the number of elective state officers, eliminating from popular election the secretary of state, auditor, treasurer, superintendent of public instruction and mine inspector; but the legislature did not concur. Other chief recommendations of the committee were the creation of a legislative bureau, a department of finance and a department of health, welfare and correction. Many other recommendations were proposed by the committee for further legislative action. It urged the making of a comprehensive survey of the tax structure and stated that it was investigating old age assistance and contemplating studies of county government and future state highway construction programs.

Delaware

The executive committee of the Commission on Reorganization of the State Government rendered a 70-page multigraphed report, including charts and appendices, to the full commission in December 1950. It was assisted by Griffenhagen and Associates. It points out the usual dispersion of administrative responsibility; even in as small a state as Delaware there are 97 separate, permanent and in many instances quite independent agencies in the executive branch, including five elected officials, numerous boards, etc. The committee proposes 24 basic agencies, within which would be incorporated 23 semi-independent boards appointed by the governor. While some constitutional changes, including reduction of the number of elective officers, are desirable, the committee confines its present proposals to those that can be adopted without constitutional amendment.

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[1] See "New Hampshire Secures Partial Reorganization," the REVIEW, July 1950, page 344.

[2] See the REVIEW, March 1950, page 140; April, pages 170 and 191; June, page 298; and July, page 346.

As the secretary of state is appointed by the governor, instead of being elected as in most states, it is proposed that he be given wide responsibilities under the governor and that he be a person of gubernatorial stature. He would be a deputy of the governor and at the latter's behest would supervise and coordinate all the staff and central service activities of the state government, including revenue and taxation functions, budgeting, budgetary control, purchasing, accounting, fiscal reporting, personnel administration, the corporation department, etc. Heads of departments would be appointed by the governor, with senate confirmation, except in two departments—education, where a board would appoint the superintendent, and health and welfare, where a board would likewise choose the director.

Illinois

The Illinois Commission to Study State Government, in a multigraphed report in five sections totaling 89 pages, points out that despite a notable reorganization in 1917 of the state government, there are now 79 agencies, including seven elective officials. It proposes considerable reduction of existing agencies. A new Department of Public Welfare would merge four agencies dealing with vocational rehabilitation, crippled children, handicapped children and education of the blind and deaf. The Public Aid Commission would continue as a policy-making and advisory agency. The Bureau of Industrial Hygiene in the Department of Public Health would be abolished, leaving a similar unit in the Department of Labor.

A Department of Natural Resources and Conservation would supersede the existing Department of Conservation and three independent agencies. The duties of the Division of Motor Carriers would be divided between the highway police and the secretary of state. A new Department of Highways would be established. A Department of Administration would assume the duties of the present Department of Finance and, in part, those of the State Housing Board and the Division of Architecture and Engineering. The Department of Aeronautics would be discontinued.

A Department of Military and Veterans Affairs would consolidate certain dispersed functions. The Civil Service Commission would take over the work of the Merit System Council. The Department of Revenue would assume collection duties of the racing and athletic bodies. Six election boards would be reduced to one.

Numerous other recommendations for simplified organization, economies and improved services are made, especially in the fields of welfare, revenue collection, budget, expenditure controls, personnel practices and purchasing.

The report notes as unfinished business the problems of reorganization of the judiciary, reapportionment, legislative facilities, reduction of elective officers, home rule, the fee system, etc.

Kansas

The Commission on State Administrative Organization, appointed by Governor Frank Carlson in March 1950, rendered a 58-page multigraphed report on November 14, 1950. Its chief recommendation is that a Department of Administration be established to consolidate existing offices in the field of financial administration. It would be headed by a director appointed by the governor with Senate confirmation and would include three divisions—budget, accounting and pre-audit, and purchasing. Pre-audit duties would be transferred from the elected state auditor, who would be charged with post-audit of state agencies and supervision of municipal audits.

The commission also urges single administrators instead of administrative boards; merging the Joint Merit System Council with the Department of Civil Service and consolidation of two veterans' agencies; and the creation by the 1951 legislature of a commission, with adequate appropriation, to study all state agencies.

Massachusetts

The Special Commission on the Structure of State Government has issued three brief reports. The first outlined the basic goal of establishing clear lines of authority and eliminating the overlapping of functions. The second stresses the multiplication of state agencies despite a constitutional amendment in 1918 specifying twenty operating or regulatory departments, plus a fiscal and administrative control agency directly under the governor and council. The report states that there are now 76 agencies in the executive branch, making true executive responsibility impossible. Over 40 of these are nominally in the departments but are excluded by statute from departmental control. The commission aims to reorganize functions under not more than twenty departments. It assails the existing budgetary processes and the various special funds, and points out duplications by two personnel agencies.

The third report, dated February 1951, deals with administrative savings, as to purchasing methods, and the disposition of certain inactive funds. It also sets forth the procedure followed by the commission's seventeen study units in preparation of forthcoming reports.

North Carolina

No official investigation of state organization appears to have been authorized, but a study has been made in considerable detail by Dr. Roma Sawyer Cheek of the Department of Political Science, Duke University, and has been made available in printed form to the legislature and others, as a 127-page book entitled *A Preliminary Study of Government Management in North Carolina.*

In the field of legislative organization the North Carolina Senate has recently reduced its committees from 52 to 36, in line with proposals by the lieutenant governor, aided by the Institute of Government of the University of North Carolina.

Oregon

The Legislative Interim Committee on State Government Administration makes many recommendations for administrative reorganization and internal improvements in a 215-page multigraphed report dated December 15, 1950. To quote *State Government* for February:

> One major recommendation would place all fiscal control activities directly under the supervision of the governor, the custody of state funds under the state treasurer and the post-audit functions under the secretary of state. Other major recommendations include the combining of all present activities relating to motor vehicle registration and fee collections in a proposed Department

of Revenue, which would be headed by a director appointed by the governor. In addition to reorganization proposals, the committee report contains some fifty-five specific recommendations dealing with internal procedures and organization intended to bring about improved and more efficient expenditure control.

Proposals to Revise Nebraska Legislature Fail

A constitutional amendment to restore partisan nomination and election for Nebraska's unicameral legislature has been proposed in the current session but the committee on government voted five to two for indefinite postponement, after a hearing on February 27 at which most of the testimony in favor of the change was presented by party officials and party workers. The legislature, by a 25 to 15 vote, has since refused to revive the proposal. Professor Lane W. Lancaster, of the Department of Political Science, University of Nebraska, reports: "The legislature here is normally heavily Republican but it has not managed its affairs in a partisan manner. The speaker in the last session was a Democratic leader in the state and was his party's nominee for the governorship last November. Committee chairmen are chosen without reference to party affiliation and very few votes follow party lines. Personal worth and experience have counted for more than party affiliation."

A petition was circulated in the state last year in an effort to increase the membership of the legislature from 43 to 75, but failed to obtain enough signers to be placed on the ballot.

In November 1950 the voters defeated, 129,677 to 71,173, a proposed constitutional amendment that would have permitted annual sessions of the legislature (only appropriations and confirmation of appointments to be considered in the even-numbered years unless the governor were specially to designate other topics); would have lengthened the term of a legislator from two to four years; and would have allowed the legislature to fix its own salaries.

Connecticut Women Voters Seek New Constitution

The Connecticut League of Women Voters is spearheading another drive for a new state constitution to replace the present one, drafted in 1818. Bills have been introduced in the legislature calling for a constitutional convention to draft a new document for submission to the people in November 1952.

Puerto Rico to Vote on Framing Constitution

Under Public Law 60 of the 81st Congress, the Puerto Rico Constitutional Government Act signed by President Truman July 3, 1950, a referendum will be held in Puerto Rico on approval of the act. If a majority approve it the Puerto Rico legislature is authorized to call a constitutional convention to draft a constitution providing a republican form of government, subject to approval by popular vote and by Congress. The legislature has established June 4, 1951, as the date of the referendum.

58 Per Cent of State Employees under Civil Service Laws

A survey of state civil service in 1950 by the National Civil Service League reveals that the number of people working for state governments totals 645,000 and that 374,000, or 58 per cent, of these employees are covered by civil service or merit system legislation. The league's study made no attempt to judge the quality of civil service systems in the various states.

A survey made by the Social Science Research Council in 1935, on the basis of 1932 figures, showed 252,000 employees on state payrolls, with only 38 per cent or 97,000 covered by civil service laws.

There are eighteen states, the league noted, where civil service laws cover all state departments. Of all the large population states only Pennsylvania lags behind in developing civil service coverage. It ranks third in number of state employees, with 39,000, but only about 14,000, or 36 per cent, are in the merit system. New York, with over 57,000, has the most employees, with 87 per cent under the merit system; California, with nearly 45,000 employees, has merit system coverage of 97 per cent.

Nine states now include merit system provisions in their constitutions. Colorado, New York and Ohio had such provisions prior to 1933 and California, Georgia, Kansas, Michigan, New Jersey and Missouri have since been added.

Not all developments have been in the direction of steady progress. In Arkansas, Louisiana and New Mexico civil service systems were adopted and later dropped.

The league, in the January-February issue of its publication *Good Government,* tabulates by states a breakdown of the 374,000 state employees who are under civil service: 295,000 of them are employed by those states where civil service laws cover all departments; 57,000 by states where there is partial merit system coverage; and 22,000 by the seventeen states where the only coverage is that provided by the federal government's social security regulations.

Medical Examiner Law Urged for Wisconsin

A committee of the Wisconsin Bar Association has been giving attention to extending to the rest of the state the advantages which Milwaukee has enjoyed under a revision of the laws relating to coroners.

Milwaukee in 1943 created a medical examiner appointed by the county board, with good results. The committee, headed by Arnold C. Otto, chairman, recommended in 1949 that investigations of deaths be turned over to the district attorneys with the aid of a medical examiner chosen for merit, inquest with a coroner jury being dispensed with unless the district attorney wants it. The bill was defeated in the assembly, being opposed by the coroners of the state. But a new attack with the aid of the State Medical Society and the Association of District Attorneys has been organized and the National Municipal League's model law for a state medico-legal investigative system is being utilized in the planning.

R. S. C.

Council-Manager Plan Developments

At a special election on February 14 the voters of **Modesto, California,** (1950 population 17,347) adopted a council-manager charter. It provides for a mayor and six councilmen to be elected at large for four-year terms. The council appoints the manager. No resident of Stanislaus County (containing Modesto) is to be appointed manager within twelve months after the charter becomes effective. The votes of five members of the council are necessary for removal of the manager. The charter must be approved by the state legislature. If this occurs in time an election under the new charter will be held on April 10. A manager charter approved by the voters in 1949 was declared invalid by the courts.

By the slight margin of two, the voters of **Stoneham, Massachusetts** (13,208) adopted a council-manager charter on March 5. The town voted to adopt the plan a year ago but the courts declared the referendum void because two words, "as amended," were added to the end of the proposal as first approved by the state legislature in 1950, though such amendments were not approved by the state until a week after the election.

Perryton, Texas, (4,399) adopted the council-manager plan on February 28 by a vote of 306 to 186.

The International City Managers' Association reports manager adoptions in 1951 by **Fremont, Michigan,** (3,026); **Santa Anna, Texas,** (1,590); the town of **Poultney, Vermont,** (2,936) and the village (1,685) of the same name, within the town. The association has also added to its official list, as 1950 adoptions, **LaGrange, Georgia,** (24,954); **Great Bend, Kansas,** (12,620); **Dixon, California,** (1,710); **Monticello, Utah,** (1,170); **St. Albans, Maine,** (1,034); and **Berry Hill, Tennessee,** (1,238); and as pre-1950 adoptions, **Belle Meade** (2,837) and **Collinwood** (591), both in Tennessee.

Voters of **Laurinburg, North Carolina,** approved a modified council-manager plan, 373 to 301, at a special election on February 27. The total vote was about one-third of the registration. Already approved by the 1951 legislature, the plan takes effect May 9, 1951.

Recent action concerning the manager plan in **Maine** includes: the town manager plan was retained at special town meetings in **Farmington** on December 26 and in **Wilton** on January 4; the village of **Ogunquit** is considering adoption of the manager plan; a manager proposal was defeated in **Millinocket** at a special town meeting on January 22; the plan was voted out at a special town meeting in **Brooks** on January 9; the town of **Orient** discarded the plan last year.

A campaign for adoption of a Plan E council-manager charter in **Lynn, Massachusetts,** in November is under way, against political and press opposition.

By a vote of 781 to 431, **Southbridge, Massachusetts,** has approved selectmen-town manager government. Legislation to provide the plan will be introduced in the legislature and the question will be on the ballot at the next town meeting.

A special five-man committee to study the manager plan, appointed last year by the town moderator of **North Andover, Massachusetts,** decided against the plan but recommended a survey of the town's present government in the interests of economy and efficiency.

The town meeting of **Townsend, Massachusetts,** will consider appointment of a committee to investigate the feasibility of the manager plan for that town.

Rhode Island's Governor Roberts has sent to the legislature an optional charter bill which gives cities and towns a basic choice between council-manager and mayor-council government with variations of each. It also gives cities and towns authority to create commissions to draft home rule charters. The governor has also proposed a home rule constitutional amendment.

The **Warwick, Rhode Island,** Charter Revision Study Commission, deadlocked over the type of charter it will recommend, has asked the state legislature for permission to submit both the council-manager and the mayor council forms of government to the voters.

PERIODICAL DEPT

The newly formed Citizens League of **Pawtucket, Rhode Island,** has as its first project a campaign for adoption of the council-manager plan in place of that city's 65-year-old charter.

The **Jamestown, Rhode Island,** town council on February 15 approved for submission to the legislature a revised charter under which, subject to approval of the voters, Jamestown could adopt the town manager plan.

A special election will be held in **Maywood, New Jersey,** on May 8 on the question of adopting the council-manager plan.

A bill to permit council-manager government in all **Illinois** municipalities except Chicago has been introduced in the House of Representatives, with fourteen sponsors. It specifies councils of five for all cities except for Peoria, which would have nine. Villages would continue to operate with seven trustees except where a special charter prescribes a lesser number.

A bill to require a city manager to consult the council before appointing or removing a department head has been passed by the **North Dakota** legislature.

The city council of **Dallas, Oregon,** has adopted an ordinance giving the city auditor supervision over the operation of all departments and employees except the street and water departments and the city marshal.

Walter E. Greenwood, president of the **Pennsylvania** League of Third Class Cities, long an active opponent of the council-manager plan and of efforts to make it available to the state's 47 third-class cities, stated on March 2 that he did not expect the league either to approve or oppose the issue this year in the legislature.

The **San Antonio, Texas,** city council has voted to place the question of charter revision on the ballot at the regular May 8 election. At the same time the voters will choose a charter commission. First group to file for the fifteen positions was that sponsored by the Council-manager Association, pledged to draft a charter to provide the council-manager plan. (See also page 224.)

The International City Managers' Association states that all except twenty out of 152 cities that issued annual municipal reports in 1950 are council-manager cities.

Manager meetings in recent months include one of 48 at Pinehurst, North Carolina, in January, attended mostly by managers from North Carolina but a few from South Carolina and Virginia; city and county managers in the area around Washington, D. C., also met in January; Michigan managers had their annual mid-winter meeting and management clinic in Ann Arbor, February 14-16; 65 California managers met in San Jose February 21-23; 22 out of 25 Oregon and Washington managers met in Portland, Oregon, February 24-25.

Los Angeles Commission Urges Better Methods

The Los Angeles Commission for Reorganization of the City Government made two progress reports to Mayor Fletcher Bowron and the city council in December 1950. The commission, created in 1949 to report by June 30, 1950, found that an adequate job could barely be started by then, and its work has continued under six "task forces" dealing respectively with fiscal operations, personnel management, distribution of authority and responsibility, intergovernmental relations, physical properties and interdepartmental services.

The first report was prepared by the task force on interdepartmental services and deals with procedure analysis, form design and control, printing and duplicating, and records management. It finds many defects in these fields and proposes various remedies.

The city government was reported to be deficient in well worked out, written procedures governing the work of its employees and departments. The commission recommends that a procedures analysis section be established in the Bureau of Budget and Efficiency, to make a systematic review and revision of procedures with the help of all departments. Savings up to $3,000,000 per annum were judged to be feasible through such action.

The new section would also be given responsibility for design and control of forms used by city departments, to reduce the multiplicity and waste in existing forms.

Another recommendation is that the printing bureau, now under the police department but working chiefly for other departments, be transferred to the purchasing department and coordinated with outside printing work.

A temporary ex officio records management committee was proposed, to develop a plan for a permanent organization for management of records.

The second report, by the task force on fiscal operations, deals with budget planning and review, budgetary control and accounting. It found that the preparation of the budget fails to meet accepted planning standards and that revenues have been underestimated and expenses overestimated. A performance type of budget is recommended, in which the Bureau of Budget and Efficiency should play a larger part, with citizen participation and assistance to the mayor and council in budget planning and review.

Greater budgetary control as to all departments is recommended. Pending development of more effective budget planning and control the commission urges a full review and adjustment of the budget for the second half of the fiscal year.

Although the charter calls for centralization of responsibility for all city accounting in the office of the controller, such centralization was reported lacking. It is recommended that the controller prescribe a uniform system of accounts for the city and its departments and improve his supervision over departmental accounting.

More Limitations on Presidential Term

A week after the 22nd amendment to the United States constitution became effective, making it impossible for the people to reelect a president twice, a proposal for a further amendment to provide for removal of a president by action of Congress was introduced in the House of Representatives by Frederic R. Coudert, New York City Republican.

The 22nd amendment took effect on February 26 when the Nevada legislature ratified it, thus becoming the 36th state legislature to do so since its introduction in 1947. Under it no one after President Truman can serve more than two terms, except a president who serves two years or less of the unexpired term of another president.

Under the Coudert proposal Congress could adopt a no-confidence resolution by two-thirds majorities of Senate and House, to be followed within ten days by resignation of the president or his calling a general national election. If he resigns, his successor for the unexpired term would be chosen by majority vote of at least three-fourths of the membership of Congress meeting in joint session.

Atlanta, Fulton County Get Some Consolidation

Philadelphia Proposal Passes State Senate

THE 1951 Georgia legislature has passed several laws which together will give partial consolidation to Atlanta and Fulton County. Under the new legislation:

(1) Atlanta's city limits will be extended to take in some 82 square miles of county territory, including about 100,000 people and five densely populated areas.

(2) Overlapping of city and county functions will be eliminated with the city taking over all city-type services—fire, police, parks and sanitation, and the county being responsible for health services in the area.

(3) City and county government employees may be transferred from one government to the other without loss of seniority, job rights or pension rights. A joint performance committee will be set up to supervise the transfer of departments between the two governments and civil service systems of both are being studied in an effort to establish an integrated city-county civil service and pension system.

(4) County taxes are to be reduced on urban residents to compensate for increased city taxes necessary to supply services to the annexed area. Homestead exemptions of $2,000 are extended to city home owners.

(5) Although school departments will not be merged, the city school system will take over 38 county schools in September.

Some provisions go into effect immediately but the bulk of the program takes effect January 1, 1952.

The constitutional amendment providing consolidation for the city and county of Philadelphia, which passed the legislature in 1949, has now been passed by the Senate for the second time. If it is adopted in the House, it will come before the electorate at a statewide election. Both political parties expressed their support of the amendment in platforms adopted last fall.

Lucas County and Toledo, Ohio, have pending an agreement, duly approved by the county commissioners, under which welfare activities will be consolidated. The city council has not yet approved the proposal. The effort in Lucas County is spurred by reports of economies effected by similar consolidations entered into in recent years by Mahoning County and Youngstown, Ohio, and by Franklin County and Columbus.

The Commissioners Court of Denton County, Texas, has agreed to pay the city of Denton $10 per truck for each fire call answered outside the city limits.

County Consolidation Proposed in Oregon

The consolidation of five counties has been proposed in the Oregon State Senate by introduction of a bill that would combine Sherman, Wheeler, Gilliam, Morrow and Umatilla Counties. Senator Richard L. Neuberger, who introduced the bill, pointed out that the consolidated county still would have a smaller area than several existing counties. He declared, "There is no sense in requiring a whole staff of county officials for counties with such small populations," and stated further, "this would eliminate four courthouses with their armies of commissioners, assessors, treasurers, auditors, sheriffs, jailers, custodians, clerks and many others on the public pay roll."

King County Charter Drafters Approve Manager Plan

The King County, Washington, Freeholders Commission has voted to adopt the manager plan as the basis for the new charter it is drafting. Twelve commissioners voted for the plan with one member abstaining. The commission also voted to provide an enlarged board of county commissioners, to place the county's 3,000 employees under the merit system and to provide for nonpartisan elections. The sheriff and county clerk, now elected, will be made appointive. Further study of other elective offices will be made.

Canadian Province Forms Two Counties

The province of Alberta is the first western Canadian provincial government to try the new form of county government under which the jurisdiction of municipal, school and hospital boards are amalgamated under a county council. Under Alberta's new county act, passed by its legislature in 1950,[1] two counties are in process of formulation. When formed, the county councils will exercise budgetary control over municipal services within their jurisdiction. After four years there will be a referendum on whether the plan should be continued.

Two Counties Adopt Pay-As-You-Go Plans

Despite the nation-wide pressures for expansion of capital improvement programs, two large counties stand out as having been able to convert to a pay-as-you-go plan and to retain that status. Lucas County, Ohio, embracing Toledo, and Hennepin County, Minnesota, which includes Minneapolis, are in this enviable position today.

Lucas County had $5,000,000 of bonded indebtedness in 1940 and when repeated defeats were encountered in referenda on proposed county bond issues, the authorities determined to change to a pay-as-you-go plan. The last bonds were retired in 1947 and since that date the voters have approved several tax programs for the financing of capital improvements. The city of Toledo also is on a pay-as-you-go plan.

In Hennepin County, a small annual levy is made for capital construction which is supplemented from current funds whenever capital construction programs are undertaken.

County Road Unit Systems Win Over Townships

The county unit of road administration, which was adopted by the voters of Nacogdoches County, Texas, in 1948, recently survived a referendum attempt for its repeal. Almost 1,000 voters signed the petition for the referendum, but the subsequent election produced only 681 votes for return to the old system while 1,275 votes were cast to retain the unit system.

All 83 counties in Michigan have now adopted the county road commission system, thus eliminating township jurisdiction over roads in the county system. In seventeen counties the commissioners are popularly elected; in the remainder they are appointed by the boards of supervisors. It has been recommended that the latter method be made statewide. The commissioners' duties are administrative, chief among them being appointment of the superintendent or engineer.

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[1] See the REVIEW, January 1951, page 45.

County Provisions of New York Constitution Revamped

One of the 1,268 bills passed by the 1951 New York legislature was a little noticed complete revision of the language of the county government provisions of the state constitution. Before it can become effective the amendment must pass the legislature again in 1953 and be approved at the polls that November.

The amendment was drafted by George Hallett of the New York Citizens Union at the suggestion of Lieutenant Governor Frank C. Moore and introduced by Senator Samuel Greenburg, Brooklyn Democrat, and Assemblyman Allan P. Sill, Massena Republican, of the State Commission on County Government. It passed both houses unanimously. Its purpose is to clarify a good deal of ambiguous language left in part of Article 9 of the constitution by the constitutional convention of 1938 and to arrange the provisions in a more logical order. Among other things it will:

1. Give definite meaning to the vague provision that the legislature may not pass any county law "which shall be special or local in its terms or in its effect" without a special county request or a message from the governor and a two-thirds vote of each house. Under the amendment a county law will not be considered special or local if it applies alike to all counties outside New York City, whether it applies to the very special five-county setup within the city or not, or if it applies to all counties outside New York City which have not adopted any of the available alternative forms of county government. If it also applies to some of the counties having alternative forms of county government and is requested by each of them, it will still be considered a general law. Any other county law will have to be requested by each county to which it is meant to apply or else be submitted to the legislature with a special message from the governor.

2. Give definite meaning to the provision that when an alternative form of county government transfers functions "to or from the cities, the towns or the villages of the county or any class thereof," the transfer or the form of government containing it must be approved by "a majority of all the votes cast thereon in such cities, towns, villages or class thereof as the case may be." Does this mean each municipality separately, or each class separately, or all those affected considered as one unit, or what? The amendment will provide that such a transfer, to be effective, must be approved by a majority of the votes cast on it (1) in all the cities affected, if any, considered as one unit; (2) in all the towns affected, if any, considered as one unit, (3) in all the villages affected, if any, considered as one unit.

3. Remove an outright contradiction which crept into the constitution when the county and city home rule articles were thrown together at the windup of the constitutional convention.

Budget Woes Grip New York City Fathers

Get Legislature's O. K. to Hike Sales Tax to 3%

EFFORTS of New York City's Mayor Vincent R. Impellitteri to provide a $250 per year cost-of-living pay increase for city employees, via an increase in the municipal sales and use tax rate from 2 per cent to 3 per cent, have precipitated one of the toughest political battles to revolve around the big city's budget problems in several years. Permissive legislation was passed by the state legislature at its closing session on March 16, but the bill is yet to be signed by the governor and actual revision of the city sales tax ordinance by the New York City Council remains to be accomplished.

Spearheading the opposition to a sales tax increase is an anti-sales tax committee representing some eighteen trade and business organizations and having as its chairman Walter Hoving, president of the Bonwit Teller department store. Warning New York City members of the legislature that the committee would see to it voters were reminded at the next election whom they had to thank if the sales tax were raised, the committee struck out on two flanks. It asserted that the expected $60,000,000 of new revenue from the proposed sales tax rate increase would be about twice what would be needed to meet the additional payroll costs of a $250 pay hike, and it declared that a 50 per cent rise in the rate would seriously curtail retail trade in the city.

The scope of the debate extended from New York City to Albany inasmuch as the city's charter and statutory powers of raising revenues by special taxes are limited, and the sales tax must be authorized by the state, the present law providing only for a 2 per cent rate. The anti-sales tax committee's appeal to Governor Thomas E. Dewey to repeal any enactment by the legislature brought from the governor the observation that the necessity for additional revenues would be more palatable if accompanied by demonstrations that economies had already been made in other directions. To this the city, through Assistant Budget Director A. B. Beame, replied with specifications listing upwards of $15,000,000 of savings effected during the last three years through the work of the city budget bureau, and prospective large but as yet indeterminable savings to result from proposals made or anticipated from the comprehensive management survey which is being directed by Dr. Luther Gulick of the Institute of Public Administration.

When opposition to the proposal had first begun to stiffen, the newspapers had reported there was a deal in the making whereby New York City Democrats in the legislature would trade support of a Republican-sponsored proposal for more stringent truck licensing legislation for Republican support for the city sales tax rise. This apparently resulted in a minor revolt on the part of the city legislative members, and was followed in the second week of March by announcement by the city that it would seek, as an alternative to the sales tax increase, legislation authorizing a 1 per cent payroll tax, to be collected from employers.

Proposal of a payroll tax paid by

employers only was regarded in city circles as taking the pressure off the Democrats on the sales tax issue, particularly in the light of labor objections to the sales and use levy increase. Just why a payroll tax might be easier to press through the legislature as an alternative measure was not immediately evident, however. It was regarded as certain to raise opposition from far wider business and industrial interests than had the sales tax proposal, and be, if anything, less palatable to the state administration. At 1 per cent, a payroll tax was estimated to produce about $90,000,000, or half again as much as the sales tax increase.

Local Borrowing Costs Rise Slightly

Interest costs on state and local bonds, after following a more or less steady downward trend from the last quarter of 1949, rose slightly in February and March 1951. The rise reflected in part increasing difficulty on the part of investment bankers in disposing of bonds at the low yields reached by late 1950 and in part further changes in federal monetary policy. States, cities, counties, school districts and other local units may still borrow at extraordinarily low cost, however, for the interest increases effected and in prospect are really quite moderate.

The convenient measure of local borrowing costs is an index of average yields compiled for years by *The Daily Bond Buyer,* a municipal investment journal, based on bonds mainly of twenty-year maturity of twenty representative cities and states. This index declined from its all-time high of 5.69 per cent in May 1933 to a low of 1.29 per cent in February 1946. The low reflected the acute scarcity of municipal bonds in the market as a result of the virtual cessation of borrowing during the war, and as supply rose in the postwar period the index gradually advanced, breaking above 2 per cent in November 1947 and reaching a postwar peak of 2.45 per cent in November 1948. During 1949 it fluctuated between 2.21 per cent and 2.10 per cent, following a downward trend in the year's final quarter to 2.11 per cent in December 1949. The index rose again above 2 per cent during the forepart of 1950, dropped to 1.99 per cent on June 1 and then moved gradually to a 1.75 per cent basis in November and December. By the forepart of February 1951, the index was down to a 1.58 per cent level, from which it rose to 1.63 per cent on March 1, 1951, and 1.73 per cent on March 8, the last reported as this column goes to press.

The ten-point rise in the yield index during the first week in March 1951 resulted in part from announcement by the U. S. treasury that some $20,000,000 of 2½ per cent bonds due in 1972 would be accepted for exchange into a non-marketable issue of 2¾ per cent refunding bonds which in turn might be converted into 1½ per cent five-year notes. At the same time, the Federal Reserve Board's open-market committee removed the "pegs" which it had been setting to stabilize government bond prices (through the purchase of bonds for Federal Reserve account), and the government bond market for several days was considerably dislocated, the rise in the long-term rate being accompanied by an adjustment of a pattern from approximately 1½ per cent to 1⅝ per cent for one-year maturities and for five-year maturities from about 1¾ per cent to 1⅞ per cent. The muncipal bond index of March 8, at 1.73 per cent, was not regarded as yet fully reflecting the adjustment in the federal money market, but most observers felt it came close to doing so. Thus, local borrowers appear to face only a minor interest cost rise as a result of the upward adjustment of federal rates.

Officials Oppose End of Local Bond Tax Exemption

Proposals of the U. S. Treasury Department to secure legislation making taxable the income from state and municipal bonds, last revived in 1942, have been advanced again and are being strenuously opposed by the numerous organizations of state and local officials and the investment banking business. Where earlier proposals were advanced mainly on the ground that the inequities of exemption of a preferred group of investors required the elimination of the exemption, the present proposal seems to be based primarily on the federal government's urgent need for additional revenues.

At House Ways and Means Committee hearings late in February, representatives of the United States Conference of Mayors and similar organizations offered lengthy testimony in opposition, based on the familiar objections that such taxation would be unconstitutional, would interfere with state and local operations, and would unjustifiably increase the cost of state and local borrowing. With the opposition stemming from the same sources as heretofore, many observers believed it unlikely that the Congress would be persuaded to reverse its earlier refusals to alter the *status quo.*

Georgia Adopts the Sales Tax

A 3 per cent sales and use tax was adopted by the Georgia legislature just prior to adjournment of its 1951 session, bringing to 29 the number of states now having such levies. The tax became effective April 1.

One of the broadest ever adopted, the Georgia sales tax will apply to virtually all types of sales, according to an analysis by the Federation of Tax Administrators. In addition to regular retail transactions, the act includes, as taxable sales, utility charges, rentals from hotel rooms except when rented by the same occupant for 90 or more continuous days; admissions and all other amusement charges. Among taxable utility charges are those for natural or artificial gas, electricity, solid fuels, transportation and local telephone service. The act also holds as taxable transactions the sale of gasoline, cigarettes and beverages—items already subject to other state excises.

Principal transactions exempted from the tax are the sale of industrial materials used in manufacturing or preparing goods for resale which become part of the finished product and sales of seed, feed and fertilizer to farmers.

The tax is part of a tax revision program intended to provide revenue for an expansion of some $75,000,000 annually in state spending for schools, highways, health and welfare. Other portions of the state's tax revision program given legislative approval included reduction in the emergency taxes on beer and wine which were first imposed in 1949 and the repeal of more than 100 so-called "nuisance taxes" and license fees on business and individuals. Included were the chain store tax, which was imposed on a graduated scale on the basis of the number of stores any one firm has in the state, and the tax imposed on fire insurance companies to meet the cost of fire inspection.

Proportional Representation

Edited by George H. Hallett, Jr. and Wm. Redin Woodward

(This department is successor to the Proportional Representation Review)

Massachusetts Continues Ban on P. R.

Courts to Pass on Its Removal from Plan E

AN ATTEMPT to restore P. R. to one of the optional council-manager plans available to Massachusetts municipalities failed by a vote of 117 to 105 in the House of Representatives on February 28. The legislature had removed P. R. from Plan E which provided it for the election of the city council and school committee, in 1949.[1]

The vote came about on the motion of Representative Richard J. White, Jr., of Lynn, to upset the adverse report on the measure made by the committee on cities. The Massachusetts legislature is distinguished by the fact that adverse committee action cannot prevent a measure from being brought to a vote on the floor.

The House, however, has refused to extend the ban on the use of P. R. to the six cities which adopted Plan E previous to the 1949 action.

Gloucester and Somerville, which voted for Plan E since the ban, are still uncertain as to whether they may use P. R.—a flaw in the 1949 law could lead to its being declared invalid and other legal points have been raised. Litigation has been started in the superior civil court by Gloucester. Counsel for the Gloucester Home Owners' League, the group which campaigned for Plan E, has been permitted to participate in the proceedings.

Other Massachusetts cities continue their interest in Plan E. In Lynn the Civic Cleanup Organization is planning to circulate petitions to place its adoption on the November ballot.

Walter Millard—A Great American

Proportionalists everywhere have suffered a special loss in the death of Walter J. Millard, recorded in "News for League Members," page 126 of the Review for March. Though he was an apostle of good government generally, his first allegiance was to proportional representation, which he expounded with a matchless simplicity and eloquence. No gathering of the P. R. clans was complete without him and for 35 years he battled valiantly in practically every P. R. adoption or defense campaign in the United States.

Discovered by C. G. Hoag in his search for an effective evangelist of genuine representative government, Millard became field secretary of the American Proportional Representation League in 1917 and continued in that position until his death, although he had been on the payroll only part of the time since the amalgamation of the P. R. League and National Municipal League in 1932. For years he travelled almost constantly and was practically as well known in Philadelphia, Cleveland, New York and Chicago, and in fact to the civic fraternity throughout the country, as he was in his home town of Cincinnati. As the P. R. and manager plan ideas spread he helped to chalk up victories in Cleveland, Cincinnati, Hamilton, Toledo and New York. Undoubtedly he

(Continued on page 226)

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[1] See the Review, September 1949, page 409; October 1949, page 461.

Interstate Area Council Proposed by Philadelphia

Planning Groups Analyze Metropolitan Problems

THE CITIZENS Council on City Planning of Philadelphia has just completed a study of *Organizations for Metropolitan Planning* (55 pages). Issued in cooperation with the Philadelphia Housing Association, the report covers "a study of selected groups in the United States and a proposal for discussion in the Philadelphia area." Organizations surveyed—both official and unofficial—include the Allegheny (Pittsburgh) Conference on Community Development, the Kansas City Citizens' Regional Planning Council, the Regional Association of Cleveland, Port of New York Authority and the Metropolitan District Commission of Boston, the last two official groups. The report was prepared by Sanford S. Farness, of the Harvard Graduate School of Design.

Proposed for Philadelphia is a program for the organization of an unofficial agency "representing the states in the metropolitan district, the central city of Philadelphia, the suburban counties and the major outlying municipal units. A basic organization plan is set forth. Study of such problems as transportation, land use, parks and recreation, water supply and sanitation, airports and port development would be its task. Coupled with such an organization, says the report, there should be an official agency representative of the states, counties, cities and other governmental units of the area. Problems facing the organization of such an agency are discussed in some detail.

The council in late 1950 began publication of its *Zoning News Letter* as part of its Zoning Alerting and Advisory Service. One issue presents an explanation of residential zoning, another shows several cases illustrating how community groups are attempting to preserve the residential character of their neighborhoods.

Poughkeepsie Activity

Parking, city finances and a new high school are matters which have lately occupied the Poughkeepsie Area Development Association.

Parking for Poughkeepsie—A Plan for Action (29 pages) discusses "those phases of the over-all traffic problem in the Poughkeepsie area which are concerned primarily with parking." It provides data on existing curb and off-street parking facilities within the central business district, evaluates these facilities and suggests a program to help insure adequate facilities in the future. Copies of the report are available at 25 cents.

The first two sections of a three-part report on Poughkeepsie's finances have now been released by the association. Part one contains a brief summary of the substance of the other two sections and the association's conclusions. Part II deals in detail with revenue and assessments; Part III will cover expenditures and debt.

The association has been making a study of a report recently released by the Board of Education on "A New High School for Poughkeepsie." One of its recent issues of *Plans and Action* considers the report, offering certain criticisms of its proposals.

Purpose of the Greater Dallas Planning Council is "the enlistment of all the citizens of Greater Dallas in an activity to promote the master plan which is so vital to the future welfare of our city." Its report, *1950 in Review* (18 pages), presented to the annual membership in January, covers a wide range of activity including analyses of city and county finance and taxation, central business district report, aid in passage of the county highway bond program and a city bond authorization, Dallas County government employee study and many others.

Grand Rapids Plans

"Continuing attention to the various phases of its long urged planning program rather than the injection of new ideas occupied Metropolitan Grand Rapids Development Association officials the last year, according to George S. Clarke, president," reports the Grand Rapids *Press*. Subdivision regulations, a coordinated expressway and railroad relocation program, and a modern zoning ordinance are among the matters receiving attention. County planning, which the association has been advocating for some time, is being considered by various rural women's groups in cooperation with the association.

The organization is considerably interested in the attempts of city and county officials to plan a city-county building program and suggests that a survey of needed city, county, state and federal facilities precede any single unit planning and that a unified plan be developed with adequate parking facilities.

The association has organized the Allied Neighborhoods Council, representing 31 neighborhood business, improvement and community groups. Delegates from the local groups meet to exchange information on activities and to consider such problems as police protection, taxation, traffic control and community development.

The Grand Rapids *Press*, from which this information has been taken, devoted a six-page section of its issue of January 1 to "Planning a Better City."

Cincinnati voters having approved a bond issue for expressways, the Cincinnati Citizens Development Committee asks, "Where do we stand on the expressways project?" The question is discussed in the committee's *Bulletin* for February.

The Citizens Advisory Council of Santa Clara County, California, has been organized in response to the demand of citizens for an impartial forum in which problems affecting the welfare of the county may be discussed and studied, reports *Planning and Civic Comment*, published by the American Planning and Civic Association. The council will function by means of sections, each studying its own problem and reporting to the full membership.

Civic Potpourri

With the first home rule charter in its history on the ballot for April 17, the Citizen's Charter Committee of Philadelphia is making an all-out campaign for the charter's adoption. An attractive yellow circular, printed in blue ink, sets forth major provisions of the new document with short descriptions and many attractive cartoons. Another, decorated with figures of a man and woman of the "gay 90s," comments, "You wouldn't want to look like this today!" It compares the present charter with the new one.

The charter proposal has been endorsed by Mayor Samuel and practically all the city's civic organizations and is strongly supported in the daily press. The *Evening Bulletin* has been publishing a series of comic strips which describe charter provisions. "Philadelphia voters," warns the *In-*

quirer, "should be on guard against efforts by organization workers of both the Republican and Democratic parties to defeat the proposed new city charter."

The Bexar County (San Antonio) Citizens Council has reorganized and become an active political party. It plans to back a slate of candidates for the city council at the May election. Decision for the reorganization came after the group heard Allen H. Seed, Jr., director of field services for the National Municipal League, outline the need for such an active organization to campaign for the council-manager plan and fight subsequent attacks by old line politicians on any successful installation of council-manager government. Leader of the ticket is Mayor Jack White, long a leader in the fight to secure council-manager government for the city. (See also page 213.)

The Citizens Union of New York City has protested bills in the state legislature to raise the total number of Supreme Court judges in Manhattan and the Bronx from 36 to 40, stating it "would only make a bad situation worse." The union points to New Jersey's recent rehabilitation of its courts under the new state constitution and suggests that the legislature "might take a trip across the river and find out how easily the right kind of leadership can give the public better service at less cost."

Its first birthday was celebrated by the East Detroit Civic League early this year. In its *Civic News* for February, the league issued its report on candidates for the 1951 primary election, making recommendations for mayor, councilmen, justice of the peace and constable, and explaining the basis on which the recommendations were based.

The Detroit Citizens League, an organization in action for many years, has also issued its annual report on candidates for the February primary. It too makes recommendations, marking the candidates preferred or qualified, as the case may be.

The *Toledo Municipal News,* publication of the Toledo Municipal League, announces a new feature—"The Question Column." Says the *News,* "There are many facets of local government that are not covered in the monthly issues of the *News,* and in order to better assure a complete coverage of questions and issues bothering our members we seek your inquiries. . . . The staff will do its best to find the correct answer."

* * *

Activity Reports

One Year of Plan E in Worcester is a report to the membership by the Board of Directors of the Worcester Citizens' Plan E Association. Prepared by a committee, the "report fairly represents the general picture." It is not intended "to be a complete and exhaustive study of all phases of the operation of our city government." The report emphasizes the change in atmosphere around city hall. "Hangers-on" have virtually disappeared, "things are done and decisions are made at city hall—in both legislative and executive branches—with an eye to the general good of the city rather than to any individual's political advantage." Referring to the tax rate, the report comments, "We believe that Plan E is leading toward a better performance for each tax dollar."

Program of Work 1950-51, Mobilization for Tax Action is a four-page leaflet which sets forth proposed activities for the Property Owners Association of California.

The *Annual Report* of the Hamilton County Good Government League, covering 1950 activities, was submitted to the membership by George H. Palmer, executive secretary, at its annual meeting in February. One of the league's concerns has been the study of specific provisions of the constitution which are in need of revision. The organization has gone on record as favoring a "yes" vote on a constitutional convention when the question goes on the ballot in 1952.

The *Annual Report of the Citizens Union of the City of New York,* listing 1950 accomplishments, is a six-page "quickie." It won't take long for the reader to get an excellent picture of what the union has been doing on city planning, official corruption and crime, special privileges in public office, state and city legislation, etc.

* * *

Short Ballot

A shorter ballot is strongly recommended by the Election Committee of the City Club of Chicago. The committee has prepared a resolution for submission to the club, placing it on record "in favor of such immediate statutory and constitutional changes as will reduce the number of elected officials and confine the election to those officials who are responsible for public policy making."

* * *

New Organizations

Some 40 residents of Harvard, Illinois, have organized the Harvard League for Good Government. At the organization meeting in February the group adopted a platform stating the principles and policies it favored in the operation of local government and set up an executive organization consisting of a president, vice president, secretary and treasurer. While the league's first concern is good government for the city it may also look into township, county and state affairs. It plans to support a slate of officers at the next city election who will be committed to its ideals.

February also saw the organization of the new Citizens League of Pawtucket, Rhode Island—a nonpartisan, community-wide group which will launch an all-out campaign for council-manager government. Purposes and program of the league were announced at a dinner meeting addressed by Richard S. Childs, chairman of the executive committee of the National Municipal League. "The most urgent need facing Pawtucket today," said Amos L. Lachapelle, temporary president, "is the immediate adoption of a modern charter to replace the 65-year-old ramshackle charter under which the city is now operating." The proposed charter must be submitted to the legislature for its approval.

A good government group, to be known as the Association for Better Government for the Virgin Islands, has recently been formed in St. Thomas.

* * *

Citizen Conferences

The sixth National Conference on Citizenship, under the auspices of the National Education Association and the United States Department of Justice, will be held May 16-20, at the Hotel Statler, Washington, D. C. It is expected that some 1,200 delegates will attend.

The *Proceedings of the Fifth National Conference on Citizenship* (112 pages), held in Washington May 20-24, 1950, may now be secured from the National Education Association, 1201 Sixteenth Street, N. W., Washington, D. C., at 50 cents.

Highlights of the Southeast Conference on the Community (12 pages), held at Fontana Village, North Carolina, October 27-28, 1950, has been published by the American Council for the Community, 119 East 19th Street, New York 3.

* * *

Recent Publications

The League of Minnesota Municipalities and State Department of Business Research and Development have together issued *Your Community, Organizing for Action* (35 pages). Well illustrated with cartoons, the manual is an excellent guide for groups who want to do something constructive about local problems. Copies may be obtained through the league, 15 University of Minnesota Library, Minneapolis 14.

You Can Be the Life of the Party (16 pages, 10 cents) urges citizens to become active party members. It has been published by the National League of Women Voters, 1026 Seventeenth Street, N. W., Washington, D. C.

A Plan to Promote Citizen Action in the City's Interest, by Pan Dodd Wheeler, appears in the Technical Section of *Tennessee Town and City* (Tennessee Municipal League, Nashville) for November 1950. It discusses public relations problems and their solution. One of its suggestions is the use of citizen committees for molding public opinion.

Professor Melvin J. Williams of the Sociology Department of Florida State University, Tallahassee, is author of *Current Projects in Community Organization and Leadership*—a preliminary report of a survey of 125 American communities (20 pages).

Citizenship—to Strengthen the Arm of Liberty (82 pages) was prepared for use in the Scout's fortieth anniversary crusade. It may be obtained from the Boy Scouts, 2 Park Avenue, New York 16.

* * *

Strictly Personal

The executive committee of the Civic Research Committee of Memphis, Tennessee, which voted in December to employ a full-time executive secretary, has appointed Charles Pool to the position. Mr. Pool was a teacher of history at the University of Mississippi, where he recently received his master's degree.

William Hobbs is president and David S. Edgar, Jr., an attorney, is general secretary of the Citizens League of Westbury, Long Island, a nonpartisan organization serving Westbury and its surrounding area.

PROPORTIONAL REPRESENTATION

(Continued from page 221)

took an active part in more campaigns for civic betterment than any other man in history. Undoubtedly also he left a lasting impression on the development of his adopted country (he was born "within sound of Bow Bells" in London).

Millard had a contageous optimism and an abiding faith in the destiny of mankind. One of his favorite sayings was that a civic reformer should have the time sense of a geologist. He never doubted that the recent setbacks for proportional representation —like the denial of voting rights to Negroes in the south—were just temporary growing pains of democracy and that its general adoption, not merely for city councils but for state and national legislatures throughout the world and for the elections of the United Nations, was just a matter of time.

His many personal friends will remember him for other qualities also, for special thoughtfulness and generosity, for an avid thirst for all kinds of knowledge, for a robust joy of living. His faults and shortcomings, of which he also had his share, merely serve to add humanness and seasoning to a rich memory. We are all of us the better for having known him.

G. H.

Researcher's Digest . . . . . *Edited by John E. Bebout*

Strait-jackets for States and Cities

Oregon Senator Puts Finger on Cluttered Constitutions

MORE of the results of research on needed improvements in local and state government ought to get into the national magazines. The trouble is that most researchers are fully occupied meeting deadlines set by pressing local events. They don't have the time, even if they have the training, to deal with a subject like constitutional revision or the municipal money problem with the broad brush required for a national reading public. Hence, the need for more pipe lines between researchers and professional writers willing and able to deal with public questions which involve facts and problems difficult for a writer to handle competently without some technical help.

One such writer, Oregon State Senator Richard L. Neuberger, has a lively article entitled "States in Strait-jackets" in the current number of *The American Magazine*. Facts about the frustrations written into many state constitutions are highlighted by the insights of an experienced legislator. The following authorized quotations will give an impression of the tone and viewpoint of the article:

"State government in America today is trussed and bound by a strait-jacket which perils all local sovereignty. This strait-jacket consists of state constitutions so absurdly cluttered with provisions promoted by pressure groups that the men and women under our capitol domes can barely carry out their responsibilities of office.

"In the vacuum thus created, the federal government has spread its heavy domination across the land, reaching into the lives of every individual family. . . .

"Pressure groups have discovered that it is no harder in some states to pass a constitutional amendment than a mere law. This may be why the South Carolina constitution is poulticed with 192 amendments and that of Oregon with 113. . . .

"Other state functions have been starved while old-age groups, protected by the constitution, take the first big bite out of the Colorado treasury.

"'We know it's wrong,' explained a senator at Denver, 'but we in the legislature are helpless. This kind of special interest subsidy has no place in the constitution.' . . .

"Seattle, one of the fastest growing cities in America, recently petitioned the Washington legislature for permission to establish its own city hall working hours, to furnish off-street parking, and to engage in slum clearance. This permission was necessary under a timeworn state constitution. The legislature arbitrarily turned down the request.

"'The trouble,' claimed Seattle's militant, 53-year-old Republican mayor, William F. Devin, 'lies in state constitutions and judicial interpretations of them, many of which were made before the United States became an urban nation. While business and industry are winging their way through the air, state government is plodding along in a horse and buggy.' . . .

"I remember sitting at my desk in Oregon's Senate, listening to legislators representing less than one-third of the people as they voted down machinery for providing needed school levies in our state's only large city. Under a constitution written before Oregon had one paved sidewalk or electric light bulb, the city had no authority to govern itself. . . .

" 'Too many frustrations around here,' commented a vigorous governor of Idaho as he filed for a congressional post in distant Washington, D. C. 'Whenever some responsibility faces the state, an outdated constitution prevents us from handling it in the right way.' "

Bureau Reports and Notes

The January 1951 *Newsletter* of the Pennsylvania Economy League, Western Division (Pittsburgh), is a sprightly, informal but fact-filled annual report for 1950 entitled "More Work Than Ever. The League Reports on a Dynamic Year and Its Problems."

The Civic Advisory Council of Toronto has issued a 12-page seventh *Annual Report 1950,* which includes a forecast of future plans as well as a summary of the past year's work.

In its January 31 issue of *Your Tax Facts,* the Brockton (Massachusetts) Taxpayers Association presents "Highlights of 1950," giving the high points of its activities and accomplishments.

In an address before the 52nd annual convention of the League of Iowa Municipalities, Dr. Robert F. Ray discussed the work of the Institute of Public Affairs of the State University of Iowa, of which he is director. Published in the *League of Iowa Municipalities Monthly Magazine,* the address indicates that the institute, created a year ago for the purpose of making "possible the use of the vast facilities of the university by public officials," has worked in close cooperation with the league.

The former residence of the late Samuel S. Fels, a gift to the University of Pennsylvania, will serve as new quarters for the university's Institute of Local and State Government. The new Fels Center will be available to public officials in Pennsylvania and New Jersey for meetings, will house its program of in-service and graduate training, and the institute's research activities.

* * *

Strictly Personal

Since February 1 of this year, John R. Kerstetter, formerly with the Newark Bureau of Municipal Research, has been serving as director of research with the American Municipal Association (Chicago).

Sherman P. Voorhees, who has been on loan to the Springfield (Massachusetts) Chamber of Commerce for the past two and a half years, has been recalled to full time service as executive director of Future Springfield, Inc. Mr. Voorhees will remain as general manager of the Chamber of Commerce until his successor is named.

Research Pamphlets and Articles

Appointive Powers

Should Judges Be Relieved of Appointive Powers? More Proposals to Transfer Appointments to Governor. Philadelphia, Bureau of Municipal Research, *Citizens' Business,* February 19 and 26, 1951. 3 pp. each.

Assessments

Erie County Assessed Valuations. Buffalo 2, Municipal Research Bureau, *Just a Moment,* February 8, 1951. 4 pp.

Budgets

An Analysis of the Governor's Budget Message 1951-52. Trenton 8, New Jersey Taxpayers Association, *It's Your Business,* February 5, 1951. 8 pp.

Billion-Plus State Budget. Governor Indicates "No New or Added

Taxes." By Frank H. Thill. Los Angeles 14, California Taxpayers' Association, *The Tax Digest,* February 1951. 5 pp. 25 cents.

Control Over Civic Spending. Toronto 5, Bureau of Municipal Research, *Civic Affairs,* February 2, 1951. 5 pp.

The County Turns the Corner. The League Reviews the County Budget for 1951. Pittsburgh 22, Pennsylvania Economy League, Western Division, *P. E. L. Newsletter,* February 1951. 8 pp.

Erie County Budget for 1951. Buffalo 2, Municipal Research Bureau, *Just a Moment,* February 15, 1951. 4 pp.

Harris County and Harris County Flood Control District, 1951 Budget. Houston, Tax Research Association of Houston and Harris County, January 30, 1951. 4 pp.

Building Codes

Building Regulations in Indiana. A Study of Public Rule Making by Private Specialists. (The background, operation and significance of Indiana's Administrative Building Council.) By John E. Stoner. Bloomington, Indiana University, Department of Government, Bureau of Government Research, 1951. 112 pp. $1.25.

City-County Consolidation

The Metropolitan Problem III.[1] Buffalo 2, Municipal Research Bureau, *Just a Moment,* February 22, 1951. 4 pp.

Codification of Ordinances

How to Codify City Ordinances. By Porter C. Greenwood. Knoxville, University of Tennessee, Municipal Technical Advisory Service, *Tennessee Town and City,* February 1951. 5 pp.

Education

Proposed Reorganization of the Dade County Public School System. What's Wrong with School Budgeting in Dade County? (Complete reorganization, with elimination of elected superintendent proposed.) Miami 32, Florida, Dade County Research Foundation, *Research Memo,* January 31 and February 21, 1951. 9 and 7 pp. respectively.

State Aid to School Districts in Utah. Salt Lake City, Utah Foundation, *Research Brief,* February 10, 1951. 2 pp.

A Study of the Present Salary Schedule of the Professional Employees of the Board of Education and Recommended Changes. (Includes recommended pay scales to be applied partly on basis of improved methods of teacher appraisal.) Cincinnati 2, Bureau of Governmental Research, 1950. Variously paged. $2 plus postage.

Survey of Costs Incident to a Proposed $30,000,000 Bond Issue by the Houston Independent School District. Houston, Tax Research Association of Houston and Harris County, 1950. 75 pp.

Teachers' Salaries. Philadelphia. Bureau of Municipal Research, *Citizens' Business,* February 12, 1951. 2 pp.

This is How Public Schools are Financed in New Mexico. Santa Fe, Taxpayers' Association of New Mexico, 1950. Variously paged.

Elections and Voting

Election Procedure for Municipal Officials in Texas. By Charles M. Babb. Austin, University of Texas, Institute of Public Affairs, 1951. 85 pp. $1.

Housing

Housing Authority Considers Bureau Recommendations. Philadelphia, Bureau of Municipal Research, *Citizens' Business,* February 5, 1951. 3 pp.

In-service Training

A Report of the First Annual City Clerks School November 16-17, 1950. (A complete manual of the materials and discussions presented at the school.) Lawrence, University of Kansas, Bureau of Government Research, 1951. 38 pp.

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[1] For a listing of Parts I and II of "The Metropolitan Problem," see the REVIEW, March 1951, page 172.

Legislation

Legislative Drafting in New Mexico. By Arie Poldervaart. **How a Bill Becomes a Law in the Legislature of New Mexico.** By Jack M. Campbell. Santa Fe, Taxpayers' Association of New Mexico, 1950. 19 pp.

Legislative Manuals

Oklahoma Legislative Manual. A Handbook for Oklahoma Legislators. (Includes procedures and bill drafting manuals and description of organization and functions of administrative and executive agencies.) Compiled and Issued for the Committee on Legislative Methods and Procedures of the State Legislative Council, by the Bureau of Government Research of the University of Oklahoma, the State Legislative Council, and the Legislative Reference Division of the Oklahoma State Library. Oklahoma City 5, Oklahoma State Library, Legislative Reference Division, 1950. 162 pp.

Municipal Government

Buffalo in 1951. (Suggestions for streamlining Buffalo's city government operation.) Buffalo 2, Municipal Research Bureau, *Just a Moment,* January 4, 1951. 3 pp.

The Government of Rockville. By Christian L. Larsen and Richard D. Andrews. College Park, University of Maryland, Bureau of Public Administration, 1950. iv, 76 pp.

Municipal Economy and Efficiency. Buffalo 2, Municipal Research Bureau, *Just a Moment,* March 1, 1951. 4 pp.

Parking

Parking Meters Produce Revenue, Ease Congestion. San Francisco, Bureau of Governmental Research, February 23, 1951. 1 p.

The Schenectady Parking Plan and Subsidies. Schenectady 5, New York, Bureau of Municipal Research, *Research Brevities,* February 8, 1951. 4 pp.

Public Welfare

Important Facts About the Lien Law and Public Welfare. Salt Lake City, Utah Foundation, *Research Briefs,* January 29, 1951. 2 pp.

Welfare Tax Costs Soar! Huge Added Costs Threaten! Los Angeles 15, Property Owners Association of California, *Tax Facts,* January 1951. 4 pp.

Purchasing

State Purchasing in New Mexico. Santa Fe, Taxpayers' Association of New Mexico, 1950. 15 pp.

Special Assessments

Residential Development. Lackawanna, New York, Tax Research Bureau, *Comments,* February 1951. 6 pp.

State Government

Bibliography on Texas Government. Austin, University of Texas, Institute of Public Affairs, 1951. 120 pp. $1.50.

State Reorganization

Michigan's Health Agencies. Personnel Administration in Michigan Government. Fiscal Policy Administration. The Legislature. Michigan Liquor Control Commission. Michigan State Department of Agriculture. (Staff Reports Nos. 8-13.) Lansing, Michigan Joint Legislative Committee on Reorganization of State Government, 1951. 50, 78, 28 66, 45 and 30 pp. respectively.

Taxation and Finance

City Costs Are Still Rising. (Tables showing costs in administrative salaries, police and fire departments in Iowa cities over 5,000.) Des Moines, Iowa Taxpayers Association, *The Iowa Taxpayer,* January 1951. 2 pp.

City Financial Facts. Buffalo 2, Municipal Research Bureau, *Just a Moment,* January 11, 1951. 3 pp.

City of Houston Tax Office. 1949 Assessed Value—1948 Selling Price (July Through December) Ratio. Houston, Tax Research Association of Houston and Harris County, January 25, 1951. 8 pp.

Do We need the State "Finance Advisory Committee"? Hartford 3, Connecticut Public Expenditure Council, *News and Views,* January 22, 1951. 2 pp.

Expenditures of Oklahoma State Government, 1940-1950. Oklahoma City 2, Oklahoma Public Expenditures Council, *Your Report on Government,* January 1951. 4 pp.

Financial Data City of Providence, Rhode Island, 1941-1950. Providence 3, Governmental Research Bureau, January 1951. 6 pp. Tables.

Financing State Government. By Lawrence Lee Pelletier. Brunswick, Maine, Bowdoin College, Bureau for Research in Municipal Government, 1950. 46 pp.

General Fund Operations 1949-51. Reno, Nevada Taxpayers Association, *Nevada Tax Review,* January 1951. 8 pp. Tables.

Lincoln's Taxation Muddle. "The Dollar Ceiling." Lincoln 8, Nebraska, Governmental Research Institute, *Bulletin,* January 1951. 4 pp.

1950 Taxes. Valuation—Rate—Extension. Chicago 2, The Civic Federation, *Bulletin,* February 1951. 2 pp. Tables.

1951 Property Tax Trends in Milwaukee County. Milwaukee 2, Citizens' Governmental Research Bureau, *Bulletin,* February 17, 1951. 3 pp. Tables.

Recommended Government Fiscal Policies. Waterbury 2, Connecticut, Taxpayers' Association, *Governmental Briefs,* February 19, 1951. 3 pp.

State-Collected Locally-Shared Revenues in Kansas, 1937-1950. Distribution of Shared Revenues to Counties by Funds for Fourteen Fiscal Years. Topeka, Kansas Legislative Council, Research Department, 1950. 57 pp. Tables.

Taxation of Public Utility Gross Receipts in Kentucky. Prepared for the Committee on Functions and Resources of State Government by University of Kentucky, Bureau of Business Research. Frankfort, Kentucky Legislative Research Commission, 1951. 18 pp.

Tax Committee Report. Brief Outline of Research Report Issued by the Legislative Council Committee on Taxation. Madison 3, Wisconsin Taxpayers Alliance, *The Wisconsin Taxpayer,* February 1951. 7 pp. Tables.

Ten Years of Total Property Tax Levies in California Counties. Los Angeles 14, California Taxpayers' Association, *The Tax Digest,* February 1951. 9 pp. Tables.

The Utah State General Fund. Salt Lake City 1, Utah Foundation, *Research Report,* February 1951. 4 pp.

Tolls

Golden Gate Bridge Suffers Revenue Losses. San Francisco, Bureau of Governmental Research, January 31, 1951. 2 pp.

Books in Review

Municipal Auditoriums. By Farrell G. H. Symons. Chicago, Public Administration Service, 1950. v, 78 pp. $2.50.

Municipal Auditoriums is an informative and useful study of one of the less known municipal services. It warrants thoughtful reading in the communities which have auditoriums and, particularly, in the cities which are planning construction of such facilities when conditions permit.

The pamphlet presents factual data and discussion on the construction, management and operation of civic auditoriums, large and small, throughout the country. The data, given in tabular form, are based principally on the replies to questionnaires. That there were 174 answers to such questionnaires attests the interest in Mr. Symons' project.

Supplementing the statistical material is pertinent discussion. Major phases of the subject are considered, for example: physical aspects of auditoriums, as size, types of facilities available and location; management and control; and finances, including original cost, current revenue sources, rental schedules and determination of fiscal policy. The author stresses the need of understanding the financial problems of municipal auditoriums and of having a clear-cut financial policy and operational program based on a given community's particular characteristics, opportunities and potentialities.

Edna T. Bird

Municipal Service Division
Dun and Bradstreet

Survey of Metropolitan Courts Detroit Area. By Maxine Boord Virtue. Ann Arbor, University of Michigan Press, 1950. xxx, 315 pp. $5.

An intensive catalogue of the legal structure and mechanisms of the antiquated complex of court systems and elective judgeships in Detroit and environs. It makes no attempt to appraise the condition of the service or proposals for correction. It is practically silent on the processes of nomination and election of the great array of elective judges.

Purchasing for Small Cities. By Russell Forbes. Chicago, Public Administration Service, 1951. iv, 23 pp. $1.

Prepared by one of the foremost authorities in the field of purchasing, who was assisted by staff members of Public Administration Service, this manual is both practical and reliable. Its recommendations have already met the test of experience. The pamphlet discusses (1) how to establish a purchasing system and (2) how to operate the purchasing department once it is established. Accounting forms and purchasing procedures are illustrated and discussed. Included also are "Suggested Provisions for a Charter or State Statute on Purchasing for a Small Municipality" as well as a "Suggested Ordinance Establishing a Purchasing System for a Small Municipality."

Municipal Police Administration (Third Edition). Chicago, International City Managers' Association, 1950. xii, 468 pp. $7.50.

Municipal Fire Administration (Fifth Edition). Chicago, International City Managers' Association, 1950. xiii, 498 pp. $7.50.

These books are part of a series of eight volumes prepared by the International City Managers' Association for its Institute for Training in Municipal Administration.

The volume on police administration is mainly the work of O. W. Wilson, professor of police administration and dean of the School of Criminology at the University of California. It attempts to record for the use of police officials and municipal administrators the best practices in the field of police administration.

This third edition reflects the changes which have been taking place in recent years. A new chapter on vice control has been added to give suitable attention to the significant relationship between commercialized vice and the political corruption and terrorism of organized crime. All other chapters have been completely revised. Those on personnel management, traffic administration and other police problems have been completely rewritten.

The fifth edition of *Municipal Fire Administration* also represents a complete revision, prepared chiefly by Horatio Bond, chief engineer of the National Fire Protection Association and other members of the NFPA staff, assisted by John H. Alderson, chief of the Los Angeles City Fire Department. It includes chapters on fire defense and insurance rates, department organization, personnel management, distribution of equipment and personnel, fire alarm signaling systems, technique of fire fighting, fire prevention work, fire investigation and incendiarism, and records and measurement of results. The book has been widely used in fire departments, especially for training men at the supervisory level and by fire chiefs and others as a reference manual.

The Politics of California. A Book of Readings. Edited by David Farrelly and Ivan Hinderaker. New York, Ronald Press Company, 1951. viii, 320 pp. $3.25.

A collection of 35 contemporary articles and documents dealing with state politics and hot problems designed to provide live case studies for college students in California. It includes, for example, the *Collier's* article of August 13, 1949, on Artie Samish, the "Secret Boss of California," plus an account of what happened to him thereafter.

Additional Books and Pamphlets

(See also Researcher's Digest and other departments)

Accounting

Governmental Accounting. By Lloyd Morey, Irving Tenner, etc. Chicago, Municipal Finance Officers Association of the United States and Canada, *Municipal Finance,* February 1951. 36 pp. 50 cents.

Council-Manager Plan

Operation of Council-Manager Government, Durham, North Carolina. Durham, Office of City Manager, 1950. 19 pp.

Directories

Delaware State Manual. Official List of Officers, Boards, Commissions and County Officers. Wilmington, Secretary of State, 1951. 80 pp.

Education

Moral and Spiritual Values in the Public Schools. By Educational Policies Commission. Washington, D. C., National Education Association of the United States, 1951. x, 100 pp. $1.

Housing

The Housing Situation—1950. An Analysis of Preliminary Results of the 1950 Housing Census. Washington, D. C., Housing and Home Finance Agency, Division of Housing Research, 1951. 30 pp.

Legislation

Suggested State Legislation. Program for 1951 as Developed by the

Drafting Committee of State Officials. Chicago, Council of State Governments, 1950. iv, 141 pp. $1.

Municipalities

Constitution of the International Union of Local Authorities. Minutes of the Meeting of the Permanent Bureau and the General Council Held in Geneva, September 16, 1949. The Hague, International Union of Local Authorities, 1950. 13 and 19 pp. respectively.

Planning

Public Improvements 1951-1955. Philadelphia, City Planning Commission, 1950. 100 pp. Maps, charts.

Ports

A Survey of United States Ports. How Ports Operate—What Trade Flows—Why Ports Falter. Facts—Trends—Values. By George Fox Mott. New York 17, Arco Publishing Company, 1951. xiii, 233 pp. $7.50.

Press

Newspaper Public Service. By V. M. Newton, Jr. (Address before American Press Institute, New York City, October 17, 1950.) Chattanooga, Tennessee, Southern Newspaper Publishers Association, 1950. 16 pp.

Public Health

Medical Care for Americans. Edited by Franz Goldmann and Hugh R. Leavell. Philadelphia, American Academy of Political and Social Science, *The Annals,* January 1951. viii, 315 pp. $2.

Public Works

Contract Forms for Construction of Municipal Public Works. By Porter C. Greenwood and M. U. Snoderly. Knoxville, University of Tennessee, Municipal Technical Advisory Service, 1951. 47 pp.

Recreation

Recreation in California—Laws and Regulations Relating to Organized Camping. (Research Conducted by Bureau of Public Administration, University of California, for State of California Recreation Commission.) Sacramento 14, Documents Division, State Printing Office, 1951. 187 pp. $1.

Refuse Disposal

Garbage Grinders. Municipal Incineration. (Selected References.) Detroit 26, Public Library, Municipal Reference Library, 1951. 4 and 6 pp. respectively.

Rent Control

Rent Control Plan and Proposed Rent and Eviction Regulations. By Joseph D. McGoldrick. Submitted to the Legislature of the State of New York Pursuant to the Emergency Housing Rent Control Law, Chapter 250, Laws of 1950. New York 7, Temporary State Housing Rent Commission, 1951. 203 pp.

Streets and Highways

Pennsylvania Highways Today and Tomorrow. Report to the Governor and General Assembly of the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania. Harrisburg, State Highway Planning Commission, 1950. 252 pp. Maps, charts.

Taxation and Finance

Revenue and Expenditures of Selected States in 1950. Washington 25, D. C., Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, 1951. 12 pp.

Should Taxes on Tangible Personalty Be Abolished? New York 7, Tax Institute, 1950. 24 pp. 50 cents.

Total Government Expenditures in 1949. New York 7, Tax Institute, *Tax Policy,* December 1950. 8 pp. 25 cents.

Traffic Safety

Operation Safety. Program Kit on Traffic Safety Promotion. Theme: **Child Pedestrian and Bicycle Safety.** Chicago 11, National Safety Council, 1951. Variously paged.

Training for Public Service

Supervisory Training Program. Columbia, Missouri, Office of City Manager, 1951. 25 pp.

New Model Eliminates Coroners

The National Municipal League, in cooperation with five other national organizations, has published *A Model State Medico-legal Investigative System* designed to help substitute scientific methods for the bungling of the typical elected coroner.

The model provides a state central medico-legal laboratory, staffed with trained investigators and specialists in legal medicine.

In most of our states it is still possible for a sign painter, plumber, storekeeper or just any popular fellow to serve as coroner, the official whose job it is to find the evidence in connection with violent or unexplained deaths.

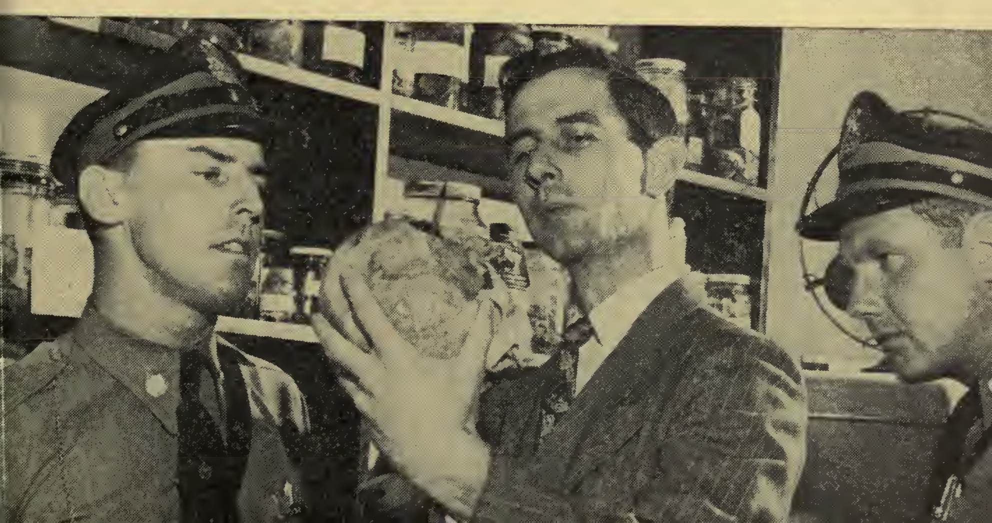
In 1948 Richard S. Childs, chairman of the National Municipal League's executive committee, moved for a concerted effort to substitute responsible methods in the detection and punishment of homicides. Mr. Childs found able allies and much good prior work among other organizations. A group of authorities met at the National Conference on Government in St. Paul in 1949.

This was followed by voluminous correspondence and the drafting, by Dr. Richard Ford, acting head of the Department of Legal Medicine, Harvard Medical school, of the model. The first draft, in mimeographed form, was submitted for criticism to qualified individuals and to the committees of the six cooperating organizations which, in addition to the National Municipal League, are:

The American Academy of Forensic Sciences, The American Bar Association (Criminal Law Section), The American Judicature Society, The American Medical Association and The National Civil Service League.

Subsequent correspondence and discussion led to numerous improvements in the final draft.

The model is available from the various sponsoring groups and at the office of the National Municipal League at 50 cents a copy.



Dr. Richard Ford, acting head of Harvard's Department of Legal Medicine, training state troopers in the art of crime detection

—Photograph by Harry Saltzman.

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Writing of History Spanned 20 Years

Twenty years ago, Frank Mann Stewart held his first conversations with Russell Forbes to find out why the experts considered the National Municipal League "the heart of the municipal reform movement in the United States."

Scholar and historian who had long since learned his way around in government as head of the Division of Government Research at the University of Texas and in civic affairs as the author of a history of the National Civil Service Reform League, Dr. Stewart naturally assumed that the task of writing the League's history would be considerably less than a life work.

But he reckoned without wars and conflicting opinions on what the NML was about—whether it was primarily concerned with research and public administration or arming local civic leadership to fight the good fight.

Harold W. Dodds, second secretary of the League and then editor of the REVIEW, had led (with President Charles Evans Hughes) in the development of a program of model laws.

Secretary Forbes was the country's leading authority on public purchasing.

Howard P. Jones had only recently become public relations secretary.

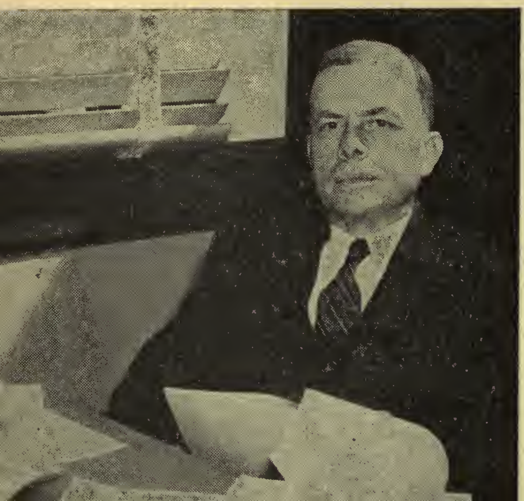
And Clinton Rogers Woodruff, who had served as secretary from 1894 to 1920, was still very full of his own ideas as to why the League was formed by local civic associations, what it had accomplished during his own crusading days and whether it was doing as well in the hands of "the experts".

A less persistent man than Dr. Stewart probably would have retreated in confusion. But year after year he traveled interviewing scores of men and women, gathering stacks of notes and documents, digging through musty old records in the basements of Woodruff and others, poring over materials which he could find only in libraries.

Dr. Stewart had substantially completed the work, except for the bibliography, just before Pearl Harbor. During the war, his accelerated teaching program halted his writing until he took his sabbatical in 1947 and devoted himself to completing the voluminous bibliography and bringing the history up to date.

As finally published several months ago by the University of California Press, *A Half Century of Municipal Reform: The History of the National Municipal League* is as thorough and complete a job of historical writing as can readily be found. Certainly no other account of an organization's contribution to civic progress has ever been as heavily documented and has made it as easy to trace the fight of more than half a century to make a reality of the self-governing process.

A pause in a monumental task
FRANK MANN STEWART



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UNITED CIVIC ASSOCIATION OF THE BRONX

New York 59, New York

April 3, 1951

National Municipal League,
299 Broadway,
New York City

Gentlemen:

At our monthly meeting 118 members devoted most of the time discussing the Kefauver investigation hearings.

The discussions started with: What CAN we do about it? Then, it developed to: What SHOULD we do? Finally the question became: What MUST we do about it, as a civic group which our neighbors respect and which often enjoyed the leadership in the cultural, religious, political, anti-Communist and civilian defense progress of our community?

Here are some of the questions which we asked ourselves:

Shall we organize a community prize contest and urge our fellow citizens, especially our youth, to submit suggestions as to what we should now do to develop the political honor and morality of Jefferson, Franklin and Lincoln in both parties?

Shall we organize a JOIN-A-POLITICAL-PARTY MONTH and urge alert voters to join their party; join in such numbers as to outvote the present, indifferent 5 per cent who are the controlling clubroom members—outvote them on issues and policies, on candidates and appointees?

Shall we urge our borough political and community leaders to be televised and meet the public face to face—to tell each other what we think should be done to respect politics—to show the challenging Communists that the healthy democratic process is superior to cold, totalitarian ways? We believe that Tammanyism, favoritism and McCarthyism make more Communist followers than Marx, Lenin and Stalin do. If we smash the cause we should eliminate the effect.

Finally, it was agreed that I was to write to obtain your valued opinion. We then shall develop an effective plan to convey these collective opinions to our fellow citizens in the community.

May we therefore expect to hear from you. Many thanks.

You are assured of our earnest appreciation.

Respectfully yours,

CHARLES RUBINSTEIN, *President*

For the reply to this letter see next page

Editorial Comment

What Can an Angry People Do?

MILLIONS of people whose attitude toward skullduggery in public affairs had been tolerant and indifferent were shocked as never before by the Kefauver Committee's disclosures of politico-criminal alliances.

Televising of the hearings at which gamblers and politicians faced the music brought home to countless voters at least a glimmering of the vast conspiracy against the public. No matter what the ultimate decision is as to the propriety of subjecting witnesses to the bright lights and the all-seeing eye of television, the impact of the hearings was so tremendous as to defy measurement.

Now what?

Will the people forget, as the embarrassed politicians hope? Or will attention be distracted by other events between now and next election day? Will we have the type of candidates for office who will make it possible for the voters to choose between good and evil? Will political leadership offer clear, understandable issues or in many places will both sides, aware of their equal guilt, throw up the usual fog of confusion?

Before the echoes of the hearings had faded from the ears of the astounded public, top leadership was asserting that this is, after all, a local problem and that, now that the people have been informed, it is up to them.

Exactly what should and can the people do about it? Will it suffice to shower the newspapers with indignant letters? To establish a "crime commission" or other new citizen organization in each city, most of them inadequately financed and staffed? To pledge politicians to stay away from gamblers and racketeers if elected?

There is no absolution in sterling platitudes and bursts of righteous indignation unless supported by good works. Let us diagnose the *basic* causes of these politico-criminal alliances. Then there will be some chance of finding a cure or cures. Only then will the people be prepared, as a practical matter, to pick up where the senators leave off.

Cause

Boss-ridden, patronage-minded party organizations. Political parties tend to be subject to dictatorial minority control. Consequently it pays the racketeer and gambler to corrupt the bosses.

PERIODICAL D.

Cure

Give the parties back to the people. This calls for whatever action may be required in a given state, county or city to:

1. Democratize party organization to give members an effective voice and break up arrangements by which an inner circle perpetuates itself.

2. Subject the financial support and inner operations of parties to public scrutiny.

3. Strengthen the merit system (which politicians are constantly trying to undermine) to stop the use of public funds to hire armies of political mercenaries.

4. Give the unbossed voter and

candidate for office a better opportunity to register effective protest by reducing obstacles to independent political action imposed by most direct primary and election laws; by providing convenient, properly safeguarded permanent registration of voters; and by using enlightened election systems, such as proportional representation, which assure fair representation according to how voters think rather than where they sleep and make it impossible for a selfish minority to manipulate an election so as to defeat candidates preferred by the majority.

Cause

Venal motives and tainted money in politics. Modern government inevitably offers many temptations to unscrupulous seekers of special favors. Where favor-seekers are tolerated, both the government and the politicians who act as brokers are corrupted and the infection spreads throughout the body politic. More and more "respectable" citizens compromise themselves by seeking or receiving favors. Prominent officials and party leaders who would not accept a penny of dubious origin for themselves do not scruple to accept contributions for the party from persons whose only interest in government is to pervert it. In this atmosphere citizens who are too high-minded to practice a political double standard are crowded out of party affairs and public life.

Cure

Take the private profit out of politics and enforce a practical code of political ethics by:

1. Establishing tested procedures to minimize the "influence" racket in public purchasing, letting of contracts, levying of assessments, making of inspections, handling of traffic violations and other "minor" infractions, issuance of administrative rules and decisions, granting of licenses, permits and franchises.

2. Regulating lobbying and requiring it to operate in the open.

3. Curbing the "inside" lobbyist and influence-monger by enforcing strict rules concerning incompatible interests of legislators and other public officials and limiting their right to accept certain types of outside employment for a period after leaving office.

4. Requiring any public or party official to waive immunity in investigations of the conduct of public affairs or forfeit his present and future right to hold office.

Cause

Incompetent, ineffective and sometimes corrupt law enforcement and administration of "justice."

Cure

Eliminate partisanship in the selection of judges, juries, prosecutors and all law enforcement and police officers and adopt standards and methods of appointment and administration that recognize the peculiarly sensitive character of these positions from the standpoint of the public safety and morals. The nonpartisan judicial selection plan of Missouri and New Jersey's integrated court system, headed by a responsible chief justice, point the way to justice that is truly blind and deaf to improper influences and diligent and efficient in impartial application of the law. There are numerous examples of properly organized, professionally competent, politically untouchable police departments and enforcement agencies.

Cause

Confusion as to where the duty and power to deal with politico-criminal alliances lie. This confusion is due to our layer-cake government, the interstate character of the rackets and the influence of national parties on local affairs. Most of all it is due specifically (1) to state constitutions and laws that hamstring local initiative and stymie local action and (2) to the subordination of state and local interests to the ambitions or fortunes of actual or would-be national political figures in both parties.

Cure

Begin by recognizing that in the nature of our constitutional system and of a free society law enforcement and public morality are primarily the responsibility of citizens and their public servants in the relatively restricted local areas in which even today they do most of their living, working and sinning. Local responsibility without commensurate legal power and political freedom to act is meaningless. In most communities the hand of the local citizenry could be appreciably strengthened by one or more of the following:

1. Effective home rule. Such preposterous invasions of home rule as placing the local police department under a state-appointed board as in Kansas City, St. Louis and a number of other cities should be stopped. So should the whole system of special legislation—a system that corrupts the legislature while destroying self-government by subjecting local interests to political horse-trading at the state capitol.

2. Nonpartisan local elections. Local elections in a majority of the municipalities and a handful of counties are nonpartisan in form and most of these are substantially divorced from the national party battle. But elections in a majority of our largest cities and in most counties outside of California, Minnesota and North Dakota are still tied in fact to the fortunes and rivalries of the national parties.

Good citizens who agree on vital local issues, including their desire for decent government and their natural abhorrence of politico-criminal alliances, are, except in one-party areas, divided between the national parties. The boss system, as Woodrow Wilson pointed out, is bipartisan, with both majority and minority machines fed out of the same "golden spoon," by a nurse "absolutely impartial as between" the two. This is why both political machines make common cause against citizens seeking to win such reforms. Wherever the boss system exists the injection of national parties into local elections divides the good citizens and leaves them impotent.

Even where the boss system is non-existent, partisanship at the local level confuses and divides the voters on meaningless lines and tends to elevate mediocrities who have no difficulty in embracing a single party label attached to any candidate from dog-catcher to president. This makes it easy for good men, even great men, when seeking or holding high national office, to lend their prestige and support to sleazy local organizations and predatory state and local bosses. The rationalization that they are thus sacrificing the lesser to the higher good reverses the order of nature which teaches that when the roots are rotten the higher branches cannot remain strong and healthy. No single reform would do more for the purity and honesty of national as well as local politics than the complete elimination of parties from the local—municipal and county—scene.

3. An end to the spoils system in filling key positions in local post offices, Internal Revenue Bureau, Department of Justice, United States courts, various "emergency" and "defense" agencies and other federal offices. Many a boss or machine under severe attack at home has been kept in power by appointments and favors from a friendly national or state administration. This is the grossest violation of home rule and has choked off many promising grass roots revolts. There is not the slightest reason why the president or any member of Congress should have any political jobs to give out that would be of the slightest interest to a local political organization. The survival of the spoils system in this area is a reproach to every member of Congress who has not raised his voice and his vote against it. Putting an end to it should be one of the first objectives of federal legislation to assist local citizens in cleaning up the conditions revealed by the Kefauver Committee.

4. Recognition by state governments of a greater direct and indirect responsibility for law enforcement. As already indicated this would require in most states substantial judicial reform and elimination of politics in the offices of county prosecutors. It would also require strengthening of the state police force to give maximum cooperation to urban police departments and to cover areas unable to provide full local police protection.

5. Further development of cooperation and exchange of information and services among federal, state and local law enforcement agencies freed, as already suggested, of the political fetters that protect the crook against the public.

Cause

General weakness and incompetence of many state, county and local governments. Among the common weaknesses that interfere with their ability to discharge their full responsibilities are: (1) diffusion of responsibility among too many separate officers and agencies; (2) unrepresentative legislative bodies; (3) municipalities and counties that are too small in population, area or resources to provide effective, responsible government —too small, in short, for home rule; (4) multiplicity of local governments sharing responsibility for a single metropolitan area. (Other basic weaknesses have already been discussed.)

Cure

There is no mystery about what ought to be done to correct these weaknesses. Here is the prescription:

1. Extension of the council-manager plan which has demonstrated in a thousand places that it corrects the basic defects in old-style commission, aldermanic and mayor-council governments, while providing the best broom yet devised for political housecleaning. No one claims

that good government is impossible under another system; but, as Charles Edison has said, the manager plan "tends to make good government easy and natural."

2. Modernization of ramshackle county governments, which are frequently the favorite hideouts of predatory politicians, along the lines of the manager plan as in a few counties ranging in population from 1,083 (Petroleum County, Montana) to 4,125,000 (Los Angeles).

3. Revision of state constitutions to free state, county and municipal governments from legal handcuffs and strait-jackets that frustrate able officials. Missouri and New Jersey recently revised their constitutions to strike off shackles that stood in the way of responsible government.

4. State administrative reorganization, so as to place responsibility for performance or non-performance and enable the governor to be an effective chief executive. In most states a complete job requires constitutional changes to cut out independently elected department heads and untangle lines of responsibility.

5. Reform of cumbersome unrepresentative state legislatures, as in Nebraska. That state's efficient, representative one-house legislature —elected on a nonpartisan ballot, incidentally—has shown the way in its sixteen years. The gross underrepresentation of urban areas and the logrolling and buck-passing in most of the 47 old-style two-house legislatures are primary causes of other weaknesses in the state and local governments for which they make the laws and for the cynical belief of many good citizens that there is no use looking to their own state for redress of grievances so they might as well concentrate on Washington.

6. Elimination by consolidation or annexation of local governments that embrace too little area, talent or resources to meet their responsibilities. This can not be safely left to the people who happen to be living in an area of inadequate government. It is of concern to the neighbors and a legal responsibility of the state. There can be no right to home rule without the capacity and willingness to live up to it at least well enough to avoid injury to the neighbors. There are important cities that get a bad name not because of derelictions of their own but because of conditions in virtually nameless fringe areas over which they have no control. There are even more cases where suburban areas have so drained off or circumscribed the human and material resources of a central city that the latter lacks the means and the natural leadership to do a good job.

A heavily built-up area is not a true city just because it happens to have a boundary line around it and a city hall in the middle. A whole city, one capable of real self-government, must have many forms of wealth and, above all, a diversified population and room for natural growth. The city has traditionally been both a magnet and a source of culture, talent and leadership and a dominant force in the civilization of its day. When people of more than average means and capacity for enlightened leadership move out to the suburbs, they are not leaving the cultural city but all too often they are, with purpose and malice aforethought, escaping from the political city. They can never, however, escape the moral or the material consequences of evading responsibility for the good government and general well being of the whole city of which they are just as much a part as if they lived as well as worked a stone's throw from the old city hall.

7. This condition, which has been tremendously accentuated in the last decade, cries for a determined attack on the so-called metropolitan area problem. Painful as it may be to the sensibilities of many people sleeping and educating their children in tidy little suburbs, no honest and effective solution can possibly avoid rubbing out a good many boundary lines—lines that have no more justification than a spite fence.

It may not be necessary to consolidate all governments in a metropolitan area, but it is necessary that essential services, including crime control, and the over-all responsibilities of every citizen and taxpayer, are not undermined or evaded because of crisscrossing municipal and county lines. The solution must be patterned to each area. It may mean turning police and other functions over to a streamlined county government. It may, as in Baton Rouge, mean city-county consolidation. It may mean setting up a metropolitan authority, although this device has been abused. It will certainly mean the tedious, painstaking development of a pattern of intergovernmental cooperation.

Cause

The lack of information, know-how and organization among good citizens with no axes to grind to match the understanding and organization of the racketeers, the professional politicos and the various categories of special favor-seekers living just along the margin of legality.

Cure

The way to begin is to begin, as has been demonstrated in communities like Cincinnati and hundreds of others where citizens, thoroughly disenchanted with old-style, inefficient boss and racket-ridden governments, have organized, adopted modern charters and thrown and kept the rascals and the incompetents out of city hall. There are various types of fact-finding and citizen action organizations that have proved effective in helping a community discharge its responsibilities.

It is possible to organize special crime commissions as in Chicago, Dade County (Miami) and other places. These, if well led and adequately financed, serve a useful purpose in calling attention to evils and prodding lethargic public agencies. But in most communities the findings of a crime commission are only the beginning, not the ending, of the citizen action required. Citizens need to organize to get good government.

Many say the basic weakness to be overcome is citizen apathy and indifference. True, but the record of civic accomplishment shows that civic inertia frequently evaporates when people learn there is something they can do and how to do it. All the will in the world will not solve a problem until a way is discovered or made known.

The fact that there are ways, and what they are, has not been made sufficiently clear, either through our educational system or through the newspapers, magazines, radio and other mass means of communication. These, including television, have been stronger in pointing to evils and viewing with alarm than in reporting and explaining the practical and successful ways evils can be dealt with. Consequently, there is a great obligation on educators, publicists and others to follow up the statesmanlike work of the Kefauver Committee with equally factual and dramatic expositions of the remedies.

Organized citizen action needs leadership as well as a goal and the necessary road maps and determination. The enemy is led by full-time professionals operating strictly for their personal profit. Civic leadership must be provided by citizens who make their living in other ways. There is therefore a special obligation resting on citizens of all walks of life who possess a talent for leadership to contribute a share of it in the common cause. They must learn that good government and honest politics have a price both in money and in effort.

* * *

The prescription here set forth is no less than a prescription for general good government, clean politics and enlightened, constructive citizenship. This is because the politico-criminal alliance exposed by the Kefauver Committee is not in fact a disease. It is, rather, a symptom—one of many symptoms—of much more fundamental ills in the body politic. It is possible to repress or alleviate the symptoms here and there and from time to time, but in the long run there will be no victory unless, as in treating any disease, we get at the real causes and attack them with basic remedies.

All the causes listed here are not present in every community or state, partly because every one of the cures has been proved in practice. Many of them have been developed under the leadership of the National Municipal League during the last 57 years. This is so because the League was organized in 1894 by militant citizen organizations established because of public indignation at the rottenness in city government.

The League has ever since been drawing on the knowledge and experience of practical-minded political scientists and thoughtful and effective civic leaders to develop, test and refine tools and methods to cure civic ills. They are blueprinted and explained in such League documents as the *Model City Charter, Guide for Charter Commissions, Model State Constitution, Model County Manager Charter, Model Election Administration System, Model Registration System, Model Direct Primary Election System, Citizen Organization for Political Activity, Government of Metropolitan Areas,* its model fiscal laws, etc.

These, plus the NATIONAL MUNICIPAL REVIEW, which arms local civic leadership for sound service, are the kind of munitions men of good will must use if they are to escape the frustration of dissipating their righteous indignation in mere cries of anguished pain.

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Educating the Local Citizen

Using charter campaigns, St. Louis Adult Education Council teaches fundamentals, helps turn out vote.

By **PAUL G. STEINBICKER***

IN THE spring of 1949 an almost unique situation developed in Greater St. Louis in connection with local government. By decision of the voters, two boards of freeholders were set up—one to draft a new charter for the city of St. Louis (population 852,000), the other to prepare the first home rule charter for St. Louis County (population 404,000)[1] as authorized in the Missouri constitution of 1945.

Since both documents would have to be submitted to the voters for approval, the situation offered an unparalleled opportunity for inaugurating a community-wide program in political education. The Adult Education Council of Greater St. Louis grasped this opportunity. The resulting Political Education Program (P.E.P.) proved so effective that it is now continuing on a permanent basis in Greater St. Louis. It might well merit consideration in other communities.

The first step was the appointment, in June 1949, of the P.E.P. Committee of sixteen.[2] Great care was exercised by the president of the Adult Education Council to assure a committee fully representative of all major segments of the community. The two major political parties were represented by the former Republican mayor of St. Louis and his Democratic opponent. Both major universities of the area as well as the public school system were represented. Organized labor, both CIO and AFL, and the business community had their spokesmen included. Rounding out the committee were representatives of the Leagues of Women Voters, Urban League, Public Library, Governmental Research Institute and the newspapers.

This committee was immediately put to work on two major assignments: (1) to determine WHAT every citizen of Greater St. Louis should know about local government; (2) to discover HOW this knowledge could best be transmitted to the citizen body. To fulfill these responsibilities effectively, the committee was divided into two subcommittees. One, composed of the representatives of the two universities, Governmental Research Institute, public schools and the press, concentrated on the "WHAT." The other, consisting of the remaining members, turned its attention to the "HOW." Through the summer and into the fall of 1949, both subcommittees worked enthusiastically and effectively.

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[1] The city of St. Louis is geographically separated from St. Louis County.

[2] For the full makeup of the committee, see *Political Education Primer*, published by the Adult Education Council, St. Louis, 1950.

The subcommittee on "WHAT" soon decided that if every citizen were to be reached, and reached effectively, the material it prepared must be simple, brief and basic. But it also recognized the need for developing a fuller and more analytical treatment of the forms and functions of government in Greater St. Louis, for use by speakers, discussion leaders and the like. The result was that two documents were prepared.

Syllabus and Primer

First was a *Syllabus* on local government in Greater St. Louis, 40 mimeographed pages. The *Syllabus* presented a fairly complete and factual account of the legal status, functions, structure and inner workings of local government in the area. It was designed as a sort of textbook to enable the leaders of community groups to be well enough informed to guide their members in political education. About 700 copies were distributed.

The other document was the *Political Education Primer,* a boiled down, jazzed up, simplified version of the *Syllabus.* It was prepared deliberately at a sixth grade reading level, so as to be really useful and comprehensible to practically the entire adult population. It was built around five key ideas:

1. *Good men and good laws make a government good. Bad men and bad laws make a government bad.* Under this heading were analyzed the three processes for selecting government personnel—the elective system, the spoils system and the merit system, and the processes for securing fundamental laws (constitutions and charters) as well as ordinances and statutes.

2. *Local government does a lot for us.* This section gave a realistic and interesting account of the functions of local government.

3. *Local government costs money, and we pay the cost.* Here, obviously, the figures as to costs and the taxation system were put, in terms of Greater St. Louis.

4. *If we know how our local government works, we can get more help from it.* Under this heading, the structure of government in Greater St. Louis was analyzed.

5. *We will have to do something ourselves if we want better government.* This section presented an objective, practical consideration of the operations of pressure groups and political parties, their methods and their effectiveness.

The problem remained as to HOW to make this minimum amount of information available to as great a number of St. Louisans as possible. As is usual under such circumstances, the first aspect of the problem was financial. The Adult Education Council of Greater St. Louis operates under a limited budget. It could not finance the printing of the *Primer* at all. The P.E.P. Committee therefore became a fund-raising organization and soon proved to be quite adept. In short order, it raised enough funds, mainly from labor unions and business firms, to proceed with the printing of 50,000 copies. All in all, a total of $1,387.36 was raised for the P.E.P. fund; as a result, enough surplus was created, beyond the cost of the original printing, to proceed with a revision of the *Primer*. It is expected that, by selling the *Primer* at cost, a continuing usefulness may be found for it.

In any event, the committee proceeded with its plans for the political education of Greater St. Louis. The opening gun in its campaign was a series of two institutes on political education in November and December, 1949.[3] The first was designed to train "task forces" of lecturers, discussion leaders and panelists who would become sufficiently informed and inspired to carry the material throughout the community. The second institute presented analyses of techniques for programming political education and included seminars on various aspects of local government. The institutes were quite successful. Ninety-nine organizations were represented in the attendance, comprising some 800 delegates, who took back to their organizations a new insight into and appreciation of local government. Of course, they also took back a goodly number of *Primers*.

Over 45,000 copies of the *Primer* were distributed among individuals and groups, including labor unions, business firms, churches, clubs, libraries, schools and others. For example, 13,000 *Primers* were purchased by fourteen large labor unions; eight business firms took nearly 5,000 more and one of the large department stores circulated 2,500 among its store employees, accompanied by an explanatory article in the store's paper.

The *Primer* was also used in programs sponsored by all sorts of organizations. In many cases a group discussion was held, followed by the sending of the *Primer* to all members. At the annual meeting of the St. Louis County Teachers Association the entire theme was local political education. Three major sessions were held on local government and over 2,000 *Primers* were distributed. Church groups used the *Primer* extensively. More than 200 church meetings were devoted to local government in a period of six months at which copies of the *Primer* were used. In some instances the *Primer* was circulated among students in high schools, studied and then taken home to the family.

After an appropriate lapse of time, these groups were asked by the Adult Education Council to report the use to which the *Primer* had been put. That practically every one of these reports was returned to the council is significant. But even more significant was the fact that the *Primers* were actually used, and that many St. Louisans developed a new interest in, and understanding of, their local government and its operations.

Sunday Telecasts

The other major activity of the P.E.P. Committee was the development of a series of six Sunday afternoon telecasts on local government, beginning January 29, 1950. The facilities of Station KSD-TV were made available to the committee free of charge. Three of the programs, a half hour each, were devoted to the city government and three to the county. Outstanding experts in the field, including the chairmen and members of the two boards of freeholders then functioning, participated. Probably the most interesting features were the "telephone sessions." The last of the three programs on the city and of those on the county were telephone sessions. Designed to induce participation, those watching were invited—and had been invited at the end of the program the week before—to telephone, during the telecast, any question relating to local government which they wished. The experts in attendance, in full view of the questioner back home watching his TV set, would try to answer the questions immediately. These sessions were so well received that the phones rang constantly during the telecast. Many questions had to be answered by mail. It was estimated by the TV experts at Station KSD-TV that over two-thirds of all the sets in Greater St. Louis were in use during the local government series, an estimated audience of about 200,000 persons.

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[3] *Annual Report of Adult Education Council,* St. Louis, Missouri. 1950.

Public Library Kansas City, Mo.

Program's Effectiveness

This, in brief, represents the major features of the Political Education Program of the St. Louis Adult Education Council. There were, of course, other activities in connection with the proposed new charters—radio broadcasts, newspaper editorials, press releases, speakers bureau and the like. It is not yet possible to measure the effectiveness of the program, but evidence is encouraging.

The voters of St. Louis County turned out in the special election on the county home rule charter, in February 1950, in much larger numbers than the prophets expected, and adopted the charter by a two-to-one majority. In the city of St. Louis, the charter vote was not held until the regular primary election of August 1950, when the charter was decisively defeated. But, it must be emphasized, the defeat of the city charter does not indicate any failure in the P.E.P. The program was not designed to insure adoption of the charter. The *Primer,* the TV series and all the other activities of the committee were impartial; they neither supported nor opposed the city or the county charter.

Hence, the significant fact is that, in the city election as in the county election, the turnout of voters was much higher than usual in such cases. Even in the general election of November 1950, and despite extremely bad weather all day, the turnout of voters was extremely high. Of course, this does not prove that the increased voter interest and participation are due either wholly or in large part to the activities of the P.E.P. Committee. But competent and disinterested observers have expressed their conviction that P.E.P. deserves a large share of the credit.

In any case, the board of directors of the Adult Education Council is so convinced of the value of the P.E.P. Committee that it has made it a standing rather than a special committee, and has directed the committee to continue its work on a permanent basis. The conclusion seems wholly justified also that political education, especially in local government, is vital, and can be made both interesting and desirable to a large part of the community.

Partisan Elections in Cities

Professor-councilman finds they frustrate united civic action and bar independents from seeking public office.

By **ARTHUR W. BROMAGE***

MODERN charters give little quarter to the idea of partisan nominations and elections in cities. The trend is toward nonpartisan primaries and elections. Statistics reflect the leadership of the National Municipal League which has stood for nonpartisan municipal elections for more than 50 years.

Considering the cities of more than 5,000 population in the United States, 81.1 per cent of those with council-manager government provided in 1950 for nonpartisan ballots. Some 75.1 per cent of the commission-governed cities did likewise. Even in the older, mayor-council governments, 41.9 per cent were using nonpartisan nominations and elections. For all forms of government the figures stood at 57.4 per cent nonpartisan.

Under the circumstances, the question might well be raised: why discuss the problem of partisan elections? Several reasons seem appropriate. This is a continuing issue. It has been debated, and will be argued, for decades. The late Charles A. Beard, on various occasions and in print, challenged the validity of the trend to nonpartisan ballots for cities. He is not without present-day disciples who contend that "national" party lines can have a real and valid significance in municipal affairs. Again, a majority of our mayor-council cities are still in the partisan tradition.

I happen to be a councilman in a mayor-council city which still uses partisan nomination and election—Ann Arbor, Michigan. My position on the city council stems from two fundamental factors—ward and partisan elections. Looking at this situation as a political scientist, what are the problems of partisan municipal election for the councilman?

Ann Arbor has party organizations which are active and alert. However, the city by no means has "machine" politics in the derogatory sense of that term. The party organizations are comparatively loose-jointed ones; power is broadly open to those who will give their time and energy; and party caucuses are not held to bind councilmen to specific action programs during a term. Within the Republican party there is a wide range from the liberal center to the conservative right. Nevertheless, the presence of party organizations definitely splits the community into two major partisan factions which have difficulty in coalescing for joint community projects.

First comes the problem of the primary. The prospective candidate must choose between the Republican,

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the Democratic and a third party primary. Some people dislike to make such a commitment because they cherish the role of an independent. National politics are "hot" these days and to be tagged as a Democrat or as a Republican means, in the eyes of the public, acceptance of a whole series of "positions and attitudes" in politics. By holding partisan municipal elections you automatically preclude independents—who refuse to be drawn into a party organization—from any real opportunity for active participation in municipal politics.

Running in a partisan municipal primary is not easy unless you have worked for the organization in the past, contributing to its coffers either in time and energy or in money. Anyone without such a record of party work is likely to be a marked man in a partisan municipal primary. He will have to exert tremendous efforts to defeat the party organization in the ward or in the city. Probably he will be defeated, unless he has unusual stamina, color and voting appeal.

To the contrary, any candidate backed by the "organization" should be able to win a primary, provided the party can deliver somewhere in the neighborhood of 10 per cent of the registered voters. Participation in primaries is usually lower than in general elections and the participating voters are divided between the partisan primaries. That is why I use the 10 per cent figure as a "rule of thumb" for the Republican party in our community. Conversely, the individual who isn't solid with the organization will have a difficult task mustering enough votes to beat the 10 per cent rule.

Of course, an old party organization can always be challenged by new faces and new forces. Politics are fluid like a battlefield. Organizations wax and wane. Old-timers wear out, lose their appeal, even shuffle off this mortal coil. New forces and faces always have a chance to move in, provided they work within the organization. My point can be reduced simply to this: a partisan municipal primary necessitates that candidates go through that organizational doorway into the general election. The independent doesn't have a chance in a well organized partisan community. He might as well stay at home and save his energy to make money or enjoy life.

The General Election

Now that the primary is over, and A and B are squared off as the respective Democratic and Republican candidates, what happens? This is an old, old story with an old, old answer. In a Democratic ward or city the Democrat wins, in a Republican ward or city the Republican wins. There are exceptions, of course. Where the balance between the parties is close, strong candidates may upset the probable result by attracting "split" votes. Generally, this isn't going to happen. The individual will win his seat in council as a Republican or as a Democrat through the votes which the organization can muster. Democrats have accepted nomination in some Ann Arbor wards just for the run. They weren't really interested in serving on the council and they knew they wouldn't have to do so.

Candidates with the wrong party label just don't have a chance to win. Exceptions usually arise from instances of interparty agreement. In other words, the Republicans just fail to run someone against an outstanding Democratic candidate. But, by and large, the individual must have the party label, and it must be the right party label. Last year a Republican won in the Democratic fourth ward, but his campaign was long and arduous and his techniques were terrific! Almost single-handed, he delivered the ward to the Republican organization in what was inevitably described newspaper-wise as an upset.

Smart party organizations, desirous of staying in power, absorb new and dynamic forces. They must take some responsibility for party candidates, after all. The loss, in this process, lies in the defeat of individuals just because they have the wrong party label. Another loss which cannot be measured lies in the defeatism which besets independents who refuse to go through a partisan gateway into the city council.

Other effects also flow from partisan municipal elections. Not only candidates but also citizens are separated by an artificial boundary—the party line. Citizens, Democrats and Republicans, who might readily coalesce behind a candidate, or for an issue, are constrained not to cross party lines. It takes a special effort for voters to split their tickets, to have friendly contacts with the enemy. A party regular who openly supports an opposition candidate—because he is a good man or for any other reason—is tagged as unreliable. Voters, like candidates, must pay the penalty for party irregularity. That penalty is loss of influence in the party.

Citizen Groups Affected

The constant operation of party organization to control municipal administration has an effect on the status of citizens' councils and similar organizations. Those associations which are outside the framework of the "national" party organizations have a difficult time in selling charter changes, modifications in policy, new municipal programs. Unless an idea or a principle is sold to the dominant party organization, it usually remains on the periphery of action programs. Councilmen, who may agree with civic league programs, will be disinclined to be counted thereon in public, if party loyalty and party success become entangled with the issues.

The councilman himself is drawn into party organizational meetings and work not only for municipal but also for state and national elections. To the sum total of evenings spent at city hall he must add other nights spent on meetings called by city and county committees. As a past and/or future candidate in a municipal election, he cannot afford to neglect party organizational matters even in state or national campaigns.

Again, the party organizations come to regard municipal elections as an essential cog in their operations. They incline to the belief that party activity at the local level tends to accelerate party energies in state and national affairs. The municipal campaign gives the party faithful another objective which must be taken. Frequent partisan elections, it is thought, help to keep the organization alert and active. The appeal goes out to the faithful to win this one—in addition to all the others.

Shadow of Partisanship

Finally, some citizens become more concerned with party fortunes and less interested in what actually goes on at city hall. The individual records of councilmen tend to be less pronounced. It is important to belong to the dominant political party and to remain a "regular," not a maverick. While party caucuses are not called on municipal issues in Ann Arbor, one would be dense in failing to recognize party alignments which arise on certain controversial subjects, such as rent control, public housing and similar issues.

Partisan politics cast their shadows over any local scene. When partisan elections are used, these shadows deepen and lengthen. It takes feuding and factionalism within the dominant party to break up a long run of smooth control.

What results can be laid at the door of partisan municipal elections? From one case example they appear to one observer as follows:

1. Independents are virtually debarred from participation as councilmen.
2. Self-starters in party primaries will be looked over with a view to determining if, in the past, they have contributed in time or money to the party.
3. Old-timers in party organization work can be "put over" more readily in the primaries and hold the edge over self-starters.
4. In a general election the candidate of the minority party doesn't have much chance of success unless he can profit from "split" voting engendered by unusual drawing power or extraordinary campaign tactics.
5. Able individuals with the "wrong" party label become, as a consequence, defeatist.
6. Civic or citizens' organizations have more difficulty in making a dent on community trends because citizens habitually look to the parties for leadership.
7. Councilmen are drawn into party work for state and national as well as local elections.
8. The parties come to regard local elections as necessary cogwheels in keeping the machine in fairly constant operation.
9. Citizens are separated by an artificial barrier and must pay a penalty for party irregularity in municipal affairs.

Beyond any question the partisan way of municipal life is a very distinct one, marked by specific characteristics. It can produce good government. It is a middle way of life between bossism at one extreme and nonpartisanship at the other end of the municipal spectrum. It is well for communities to appraise what the effects of partisan nomination and election are. In any given city, many civic energies, compartmentalized by the partisan tradition, might well be released by a trial of the modern concept of nonpartisanship.

Care of State Trust Funds

Safeguards and sound management provided by New Jersey law calling for single responsible head, full publicity.

By **WILLIAM MILLER***

THE custody, investment and management of state trust funds are big business. Every state has at least one retirement fund and Michigan has had as many as six. The earnings on the investments of state trust funds—and this is true for municipal funds as well—are a mainstay of public employee pension systems and a variety of other funds in which the public has a vital interest.

State administered public employee retirement funds held assets valued at $2,400,000,000 as of the fiscal year ending in 1949 and realized total contributions and earnings amounting to $501,000,000, including $62,000,000 earned on investments. In addition most of the states still have substantial sinking funds which had assets valued at $869,000,000, and which earned $17,000,000, in the same fiscal year.[1] To this state investment problem may be added that of local governments involving billions of dollars in sinking fund assets and numerous other classes of investments.

The growth of disability benefits legislation—California, New Jersey, New York and Rhode Island now have so-called "cash sickness benefits" laws—has been followed by the accumulation of substantial reserves in the funds created in three of these states to finance the payment of benefits. The addition of these to the traditional pension and annuity funds, sinking funds and other public trusts has focused new attention on the investment function as a problem in state organization and administration—a function which has been neglected even by the state "little Hoover commissions."

A quarter of a century ago Martin L. Faust, in a little book on the custody of state funds, considered the handling of so-called permanent school funds in the United States as typical of the investment and management of public moneys. He concluded:

> State management has been defective mainly because the majority of the states have failed to provide a single officer whose sole duty should be to care for and invest the state permanent school fund. The result has been that the majority of states have intrusted the care of millions of acres of school lands and the investment of the proceeds of the sales of the same to officers or to a board composed of several officers, all overburdened with other duties. As a consequence they are unable to give the attention which is both desirable and necessary to the investment and care of the permanent school fund.

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[1] U. S. Bureau of the Census, *Compendium of State Government Finances in 1949*. Washington, D. C. July 1950, Tables 35 and 36.

> But if management of the fund is placed in the hands of a single officer, that officer should be the treasurer or his deputy, and his responsibility should not be discharged without the review and approval of a superior authority.

Beyond this study, little attention has been given to the growing problem of investment of public trust funds. The practice ranges from a well developed system in New York, which is the exclusive responsibility of the state comptroller, to no system at all—in the great majority of states. Administrative control over state investments has developed haphazardly as each new fund was created. As a result, the boards of trustees of the respective funds have been given responsibility for investment management without regard to the capacity of the boards or the investment skills available to them.

New Jersey Reorganizes

The purposes of public trust funds may be different, but the investment and management of their assets is a common function suitable for administrative integration. Because of its highly specialized nature, investment, as well as reinvestment, of the various funds has in it the ingredients of a staff service, as much as accounting, law, engineering and personnel, all of which have been integrated according to the nature of the skill involved.

The state of New Jersey, which had completed one of the more successful administrative reorganizations in connection with its constitution of 1947, recently undertook to review, revise and consolidate its investment functions. The background of this effort, the nature of the legislation which was developed and the legislative experience which it encountered are worthy of attention.

The state had acquired eight different boards of trustees charged with the investment of as many different funds. In addition the state treasurer was solely responsible for the investment and management of ten separate funds. It was the invariable practice of the legislation setting up new funds to designate the state treasurer as an ex officio member of the board of trustees. In this way a certain amount of coordination and integration of investment policy was intended to be achieved. In practice, it was still possible for one of the funds to be competing with another and occasionally for bonds sold by one fund to pass through the hands of a broker and be purchased by another fund. This was possible because the boards themselves reserved the right to pass upon all offers of sale and to approve such offers at a regular meeting by majority vote prior to any purchase or sale.

Practically no publicity was given to fund transactions and this proved to be a great weakness in procedure entirely apart from the matter of organization. It is generally agreed that publicizing the state's interest in any offering of securities is likely to increase the price rather than promote competition for the sale. Investment officers had therefore been guided by Dun and Bradstreet's *Municipals Service* and by the *Blue List Service*, a daily publication in which dealers list securities with their prices. Not only was publicity avoided in advance of purchase, however, but no publicity was given to the state's investment transactions even after they had been made.

A reexamination of the entire system was touched off by the disclosure, as a result of an investigation by the then state treasurer, John J. Dickerson, that one of the brokers dealing with the state had made "an unconscionable profit" on a sale of bonds to the disability benefits fund. The report pointed out that there was no question as to the quality of the bonds and the state had suffered no financial loss. A further special investigation of the fund's transaction was ordered by the General Assembly to be conducted by an independent nonpartisan commission of three.[2]

Basic Concepts

Governor Alfred E. Driscoll, already engaged in state administrative reorganization, gave the investigation his full support. The governor also made positive recommendations for reform in his budget message of February 1950. The citizens committee made similar recommendations for a complete revamping of the system which had existed in New Jersey for many years and which was not unlike that which still exists in most states. These recommendations were accordingly enacted in Chapter 270 of the Laws of 1950.

The new law is built upon a few basic concepts of administrative organization and of sound practice:

1. The management and investment of the funds is vested in a Division of Investment and placed within the integrated Department of the Treasury, in conformity with the state's general plan of administrative reorganization.

2. Within the Department of the Treasury a State Investment Council is also established to consult and advise with the treasurer, to participate with him in the appointment and removal of the director of the division and to review and establish standards of investment to guide the director. It may be well to note that, in view of the large investment problem, the new law increases the scope of authorized investments from the usual public securities to any investments legal for savings banks. The Investment Council is composed of four representatives from each of four existing boards of trustees of the principal employee retirement systems and five members to be appointed by the governor, at least three of whom "shall be qualified by training and experience in the field of investment and finance."

3. The Division of Investment is under the immediate supervision and direction of a full-time director, who is required to be "qualified by training and experience to direct the work of such division." The director is appointed by the state treasurer from a list of persons certified to him by the State Investment Council as being qualified. The director serves for an indefinite term but may be removed by the state

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[2] James Kerney, Jr., editor of the Trenton *Times*; Carrol M. Shanks, president of the Prudential Insurance Co.; and Augustus C. Studer, a former president of the State Bar Association.

treasurer, for cause, upon notice and an opportunity to be heard at a public hearing, or by the State Investment Council if seven or more of its members concur. A director was appointed on October 31, 1950, and the division is functioning in accordance with the act.

Full Publicity

4. One of the most important provisions of the new law from the viewpoint of effective investment policy is a section requiring full publicity with respect to investment transactions. Section 14 provides:

> Not later than fifteen days after the close of each month, the director of the Division of Investment shall cause to be prepared and make available to the state treasurer, the State Investment Council, the press and the public, a report of the operations of the Division of Investment during said month. Each report shall include a detailed summary of investment, reinvestment, purchase, sale or exchange transactions, setting forth, among other things, the investments bought, sold and exchanged, the dates thereof, the prices paid and obtained, the names of the dealers involved, and a statement of the funds or accounts referred to herein.

In brief, the new law centralizes the investment function under qualified direction and opens it to the searching light of full publicity. The present state treasurer, Walter T. Margetts, has stated that "the key to the success of the entire system of investment control and management is this provision for full and adequate publicity on the work of the division. This policy had been initiated by the treasurer's office as a corrective measure prior to the legislation and was incorporated in the act on the basis of our experience."

The monthly statements issued thus far clearly describe the investments purchased, price paid, broker involved and other pertinent data. The annual report will undoubtedly cover such items as net profits on sales and average earnings on the state's investments. But it will be necessary to use these reports with special care to avoid placing pressure upon the director to make a favorable "record." The last thing a state should want to do is to make a regular trading operation out of its investment accounts. It may be anticipated that the judgment and prestige of the State Investment Council will be especially useful in maintaining a sound policy and safeguarding the director against any unwise pressures.[3]

This new legislation, like any other major enactment, contains several elements of reasonable compromise. One example is a provision requiring the director of investments to submit to the boards of trustees of his principal retirement funds a list of proposed investments. The boards are allowed 48 hours in which to approve or disapprove any particular investment. This introduces an element of inflexibility and delay which does not appear well suited to the practical conditions of the investment market. In the legislative stage it was argued, however, that once it is understood that the investment director's acceptances are tentative and become final after the 48-hour period, the system should not give any real trouble.

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[3] The public members of the State Investment Council appointed by Governor Driscoll include: I. C. Raymond Atkin, vice president and a director of J. P. Morgan and Company; Dwight Beebe, investment advisor and retired vice president of the Mutual Life Insurance Company; Mrs. Mary G. Roebling, civic leader and chairman of the board of the Trenton Trust Company; Winston Paul, civic leader and former chairman of the board of Huyler's; and John J. Vohden, Jr., labor leader and member of the executive committee of the Union National Bank.

The first six months of operating experience under the law tends to confirm the view that this veto power is not troublesome. In practice the state treasurer and the investment director have reviewed in advance all major investment policies with the boards of trustees of the investment funds. Differences of judgment have in this way been ironed out prior to the consideration of specific transactions. Approval of the director's purchases and sales is then a matter of only a few hours required to submit proposals to a designated officer of each of the funds who may indicate approval promptly.

Thus far there has not been one instance in which the veto power has been used or in which the possible delay of 48 hours has been experienced. The veto power was necessary at the outset to reassure the large public groups concerned that their ultimate authority was not being impaired, and intelligent administration appears to have allayed the misgivings of those who opposed its inclusion in the law.

The composition of the State Investment Council, similarly, may be something less than ideal from the investment viewpoint in order to achieve other public values. In all probability the legislation could not have been passed if the trustees of the principal state employee retirement funds had been excluded from some voice in determining investment policies.

On the other hand, the past practice of depending extensively upon ex officio members, generally recognized as undesirable in any administrative organization, has been effectively eliminated. While a nine-member investment council is somewhat larger than an optimum size of three or five, the recognition of the interest of large public groups in major pension and retirement funds is a valid reason for maintaining a larger council under the circumstances.

Political Influence Out

An effort to insulate the system against any political influence has also led to some departures from conventional principles of administrative organization. The state treasurer is the head of the department and might in the public eye be held responsible for its successful operation. Under the legislation, however, the director is somewhat removed from direct supervision and direction of his department head. The treasurer must depend upon his power of appointment and removal, except that in the case of investments for the account of any funds other than the four principal retirement funds, he is given the same veto power over proposed investments by the director

(Continued on page 288)

News in Review

City, State and Nation . . . . *Edited by H. M. Olmsted*

Florida Citizens Propose Constitution Commission

Prepare Revised Judiciary and Legislative Articles

COMPLETE revisions of the legislative and judicial articles (III and V) of the Florida constitution have been prepared for submission to the legislature by the Citizens Constitution Committee, which also recommends that the legislature establish a constitutional commission to study the other articles of the constitution and to submit to the legislature its findings on need for changes.

The committee, which is headed by J. E. Dovell of Gainesville, proposes that if the two articles now ready receive the necessary approval of three-fifths of all members of each legislative house, they then be submitted to the voters at the next general election. If an article is approved by a majority of the people voting thereon it would become part of the constitution.

The committee prefers revision article by article to complete over-all revision at one time, saying that the latter would need to be done by constitutional convention with much attendant expense and difficulty.

New provisions of the proposed legislative article include annual sessions of unlimited duration, but with annual legislative salaries fixed by statute and not to be changed during the current elective term. Alternate annual sessions would be restricted to budgetary and fiscal considerations. Special sessions of unlimited duration could be called by the legislature as well as the governor. Legislators would be limited as to financial dealings with the state. Records of votes of legislative committees, and an index of progress on bills, would be maintained. Limitations would be placed on local and special legislation. Provision for emergency meeting places for the legislature have been brought up to date and placed in the legislative article, along with various other provisions relating to the legislature but now found in other articles.

Pointing out that Florida's courts do not comprise an integrated system the committee proposes one that has been worked out in recent years by a committee of the Florida Bar Association. The present twelve types of courts would be replaced by four: a supreme court, circuit courts, county courts and juvenile courts. The legislature could increase the number of supreme court justices as need arises. That court would make rules of practice and procedures for all courts. The chief justice could transfer judges temporarily from one court to another. A simpler and cheaper method of handling small claims is provided. Adequate court review of rulings of all boards, bureaus and commissions is proposed. The position of justice of the peace is abolished, its duties to be turned over to regular courts.

All future judges would be lawyers on salaries, the existing fee system being abolished. The Missouri system of appointment of judges by the governor from a panel prepared by a nonpartisan court commission is recommended. To hold office for a further term a judge would stand for election on his record, the governor to appoint a successor if the voters turn the incumbent down. Florida judges are now elected.

A constitutional commission of 100 members is recommended, 34 to be appointed by the governor, 33 by the senate president and 33 by the house speaker. Research would be performed by the Legislative Reference Service.

Tennessee to Vote on Limited Constitution Convention

The 1951 Tennessee legislature has passed an act (chapter 130, laws of 1951) calling for a referendum, on August 7, 1952, on the question of holding a limited constitutional convention. If an affirmative vote is cast, 99 delegates will be elected on November 4, 1952, to meet in April 1953. The convention will be limited to these matters: (1) amending clause of the constitution, (2) pay of legislators, (3) governor's term of office, (4) governor's veto power, (5) right of suffrage, and (6) proposed home rule amendment providing (a) home rule for counties and cities, (b) uniform systems of city charters, and (c) consolidation in whole or in part of governmental or corporate functions of municipalities and counties. Amendments proposed by the convention must be submitted to popular vote for approval before becoming effective.

The legislature has also passed bills repealing the poll tax as a prerequisite for voting for all years except 1871 (chapter 63) and providing for the statewide permanent registration of voters (chapter 75).

Constitutional Convention Sought in Oregon

A bill to provide for a constitutional convention in Oregon has been introduced in both houses of the legislature. Sponsorship is bipartisan and includes Senators R. L. Neuberger and R. D. Holmes and Representatives E. J. Ireland, Mark Hatfield and Maurine Neuberger. It proposes the election of a convention, with one delegate for each 10,000 people in each of the state's four congressional districts. If the voters approve, as necessary under the constitution, the convention would meet at the state capitol in Salem in July 1954. The resultant constitution draft would be submitted to popular vote at the subsequent general election.

The Oregon constitution dates from 1859 and has been amended 113 times.

Arizona Reorganizes Executive Departments

Major steps toward state administrative reorganization in Arizona were taken recently by the legislature when it provided for the consolidation of a number of agencies and functions into three new administrative departments —finance, law and public health, welfare and correction.

Administrative reform was strongly supported by a special legislative committee on state operations,[1] which conducted a comprehensive study of state administrative organization, and by the leadership of both houses of the legislature, in which the Democrats have a substantial majority. Without the backing of the leadership, which customarily maintains a tight rein on legislative proceedings, the chances for favorable action on administrative change would have been remote. Governor Howard Pyle, a Republican, also endorsed reorganization.

A December 1949 report to the legislative committee by Griffenhagen and Associates recommended consolidation of most of the approximately 115 state agencies into five principal staff and auxiliary departments and ten principal line departments. The governor would appoint department heads, subject to Senate confirmation. The report proposed that the department heads collectively serve as an executive cabinet. The governor was to be supplied with adequate staff aid. Recommendations were also made with respect to the legislature and judiciary, although the emphasis was upon administrative reorganization.

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[1] See the REVIEW, April 1951, page 207.

The first action based upon the report was taken last year when a special session of the legislature established the position of post auditor. The post auditor is named by the presiding officers of the two houses of the legislature, subject to confirmation by the membership. A law passed by the 1951 session provides for the transfer of the functions of the state examiner to the post auditor, contingent upon repeal of the section of the state constitution establishing the office of state examiner.

Constitutional amendments to abolish the office of state examiner, as well as that of state treasurer, will be submitted to the voters at the general election in November 1952, or sooner, if authorized by the next annual session, or a special session, of the legislature. The elimination of the office of treasurer, an elective post, is proposed in connection with establishment of the Department of Finance. A referendum measure passed by the state legislature for submission to popular vote proposes that members of the Board of Pardons and Paroles, which will be transferred to the new Department of Public Health, Welfare and Correction, be appointed by the governor.

Opposition to the reorganization program developed before adjournment of the legislature. Its leaders are now directing the circulation of referendum petitions which, if signed by the requisite percentage of the voters, will require submission of the laws establishing the three new departments, as well as the act pertaining to the duties of the post auditor, to the voters at the next general election. Opponents believe they will have no difficulty in obtaining signatures equivalent to 5 per cent of the total vote for all candidates for governor in the last election, the minimum required by the constitution; if they are correct, the reorganization program will be held up at least until after the general election in November 1952.

The speaker of the lower house of the legislature was reported by the newspapers as saying that the move to refer the laws to popular action, if successful, will deprive numerous state functions of funds, as the financing of these activities is tied up in the budget with the new departments. He indicated that a special session may be called if it appears that the required number of signatures will be obtained. If repassed by a special session as emergency measures, the reorganization laws would not be subject to referendum proceedings.

Paul Kelso
University of Arizona

Maryland Administrative Study Group Established

Governor Theodore R. McKeldin of Maryland has set up a Commission on the Administrative Organization of the State, on the basis of authority given by the 1947 legislature. The commission, appointed on March 3, 1951, consists of eleven members, headed by Simon E. Sobeloff, former city solicitor of Baltimore and U. S. district attorney. It includes prominent legal, financial, educational and governmental figures.

In announcing establishment of the commission the governor outlined its functions as including analysis of each state agency's purpose and its relationship to other agencies, surveying of the operating procedures of each agency, evaluation of the effectiveness of the government in serving its citizens and recommendation of such changes as the commission finds necessary. The appointment of a larger advisory body to assist the commission was being considered by the governor.

Technical assistance is to be given the commission by a group composed of: Carl B. Swisher, professor of political science at Johns Hopkins University; Elwyn A. Mauck, director of the State Fiscal Research Bureau; Horace E. Flack, director of the Department of Legislative Reference; Malcolm Moos, associate professor of political science at Johns Hopkins University; D. Benton Biser, director of the Baltimore Commission on Governmental Efficiency and Economy; and Herbert Fallin, Baltimore budget director.

Oregon Administrative Study Group Makes Final Report

Suggestions for reorganization of state administration in Oregon are contained in a third and final report of the Legislative Interim Committee on State Government Administration, *Suggested Studies for Reorganization in State Government,* submitted to the legislature February 16, 1951. It is a brief report without positive recommendations except for further study on the part of the legislature as to various general and specific suggestions.

On the same date there was also issued the committee's second report, *State Government Organization,* a 277-page analysis of the administrative structure. The initial report of the committee[1] dealt with state financial reorganization and recommended many changes.

The final report stresses the existence of more than 125 separate statutory or constitutional state agencies and some twenty others that no longer function although still possessing legislative authorization. There are many cases where closely related services are performed by different agencies. Another point of criticism was the diffusion of executive responsibility. Six statewide officers are elected by the people; many boards have been established over the years, some of which are purely advisory but others have administrative duties. The report emphasizes the need of a more logical plan of organization.

One suggestion is for a constitutional study commission consisting of legislators and outstanding private citizens to study possible constitutional changes and to report to the next legislature. Specific points for study include: placing of direct executive responsibility in the governor; restriction on the number of permanent departments or bureaus; and a post-audit of the executive branch by an agency outside that branch.

Topics suggested for further legislative review, involving statutory additions or changes, are: abolition of inactive or obsolete agencies, consolidation of agencies, improved management of state records and coordination of field offices and services.

Michigan Voters Approve Annual Legislative Sessions

At the spring election April 2, the people of Michigan endorsed two proposed constitutional amendments and rejected a third.

The first provides for annual sessions of the legislature, which has heretofore held regular sessions in odd-numbered years and could meet at other times only in response to a call for a special session by the governor, to consider only such matters as he specified. The legislature has actually met every year since 1940. It can now act every year on whatever it considers necessary, one such perennial topic being finances. The governor retains the power to call special sessions.

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[1] See the REVIEW, April 1951, page 209.

The other amendment adopted authorizes $500 payments to the next of kin of members of the armed forces killed in line of duty in the present national emergency. A bonus to World War II veterans had been authorized in 1946.

The defeated proposal would have permitted State Supreme Court justices to have their salaries increased, but not decreased, during their term of office. Circuit court judges may now have such increases. Some recently elected Supreme Court justices receive more than justices longer in office, under present staggered eight year terms.

New York Creates Special Authority; Restricts Another

Shortly before adjournment the New York State legislature adopted measures to create a Long Island Transit Authority and authorize a Railroad Redevelopment Corporation. The latter would be a private corporation with certain tax exemptions; the main purpose envisaged is acquisition of the bankrupt Long Island Railroad Company in an attempt to operate it under private ownership. The Long Island Transit Authority, a public body, would be expected to aid the redevelopment corporation and would own and operate the railroad if it develops that private ownership is not feasible. Governor Dewey subsequently signed the bills.

On the same day an attempt to enlarge the powers of the New York City Parking Authority was defeated. The measure would have given the parking authority exclusive power to install and operate parking meters in New York City and to use the revenue therefrom to help finance a system of parking garages and other objectives, including an elevated expressway across Manhattan Island. The bill was urged by the city but was vigorously opposed by the Citizens Union and others, who pointed out that it would divest the city of proper powers and would tend to conflict with the city's Department of Traffic. One critic called it "home rule in reverse."

Nevada Legislature Approves Municipal Association

Both houses of the Nevada legislature have unanimously approved a bill authorizing cities to belong to the Nevada Municipal Association, to participate in its organization, to pay dues or service charges for its support and to send delegates to its conference and pay their expenses at the rate allowed state employees. The bill was sponsored by the association, which has thus far operated on a voluntary basis.

The next convention of the association is to be in Ely on June 15-16. Mayor Caro M. Pendergraft of Carson City is president and temporary executive director.

Council-Manager Plan Developments

Greenville, South Carolina, (57,932) is expected to begin operating under the council-manager plan on October 8 as a result of recent state legislation. The city voted in favor of the plan in an advisory vote on November 7 of last year.

St. Clair Shores (19,785) and **Farmington** (2,312), **Michigan,** adopted the manager plan by popular vote on April 2.

Marinette, Wisconsin, (14,198) voted on April 3 to adopt the council-manager plan.

Santa Clara, California, (11,668) voted 1,342 to 1,023 on April 2 in approval of a council-manager charter. There is to be a council of seven elected at large for four-year terms; it appoints the manager and chooses one of its members as its presiding officer, with the title of mayor. Councilmen are the only elective officers.

Hot Springs, South Dakota, (4,980) adopted the council-manager provisions of the state enabling act by a vote of 768 to 148 on March 20.

Oxford (1,625) and **Levant** (702), **Maine,** adopted the council-manager plan at recent town meetings.

Cornelius, Oregon, (997) which adopted the manager plan in 1949, has been added to the official list of such cities.

At a town meeting on March 13 in **Charlestown, New Hampshire,** a committee of five was appointed to study the manager plan and report to the 1952 town meeting.

Lancaster, New Hampshire, voted 447 to 317 to retain the manager plan at its town meeting on March 13.

A manager proposal was rejected at the March 13 town meeting in **Gorham, New Hampshire.**

Rutland, Vermont, will vote on adoption of the council-manager plan at a special election in June.

Bennington, Vermont, at its town meeting on March 6, voted almost three to one to retain its manager government. It rejected a plan for consolidation of four governmental units—Old Bennington, North Bennington, Bennington town and Bennington village.

Montpelier, the capital of **Vermont,** by a vote of 879 to 672 on March 6, discarded the council-manager plan, under which it had operated since 1947. There was a negative majority in each of the six wards. A salary of $3,600 for Mayor A. F. Barber, reelected to his third term, was authorized at the city meeting, which was held in the evening. An effort to increase the salary of the six aldermen from $150 to $250 per annum was defeated, as was a proposal to amend the charter to provide a council of four members and the mayor, all elected at large. It was decided by voice vote to cut the tax rate, partly on the dubious theory that by saving the salary of the manager the over-all cost of government would be less, and partly because of additional revenue expected from taxes on new buildings. It was decided to have the council appoint a committee of five to rewrite the city charter.

A town manager proposal for **Swampscott, Massachusetts,** was rejected 1,498 to 1,016 at the annual election on March 19. The total vote was about one-third of registration. A committee appointed last year to study the manager plan had recommended approval of the manager principle, with a specific plan to be worked out and presented to the legislature.

At the annual town meeting on March 17 in **Nahant, Massachusetts,** the voters rejected the town manager plan by a close margin. After a recount the vote was given as 453 in favor and 473 against. A petition was filed later, asking for a special town meeting to consider the manager plan again.

At the town meeting in **Amesbury, Massachusetts,** in March a recommendation of the Finance Committee that a committee be appointed to study the town manager plan was adopted.

The voters of the town of **Holden, Massachusetts,** have instructed the selectmen to petition the state legislature for action on a proposed manager plan so that it may be presented to the town meeting next March.

Townsend, Massachusetts, at its town meeting March 5, voted to have the selectmen appoint a committee to study the manager plan and report next year.

At the town meeting in **North Andover, Massachusetts,** on March 17 a proposal for a study of the organization and administration of the town's departments was rejected. It had been recommended by the town manager study committee in a report advising against the manager plan at this time.

The Democratic majority of the common council of **Pawtucket, Rhode Island,** on March 14 tabled a minority resolution that a committee of four be appointed to study the council-manager plan. Previous motions to the same effect had died in committee.

Four council-manager charter proposals have been presented to the **Connecticut** legislature for action this year. They relate to **New Haven, New Britain, Watertown** and **Norwich.** For New Haven, besides the council-manager bill providing for a council of nine elected at large without party designation, there is a mayor-council proposal with a council of eight members elected by districts and seven elected at large. For Norwich a consolidation of the town and city is proposed, with a council of nine, six to be elected from the "city district" and three from the "town district."

The city council of **Albemarle, North Carolina,** has been authorized by the state legislature to hold a referendum on the question of adopting the council-manager plan. The vote is set for May 8.

Petitions have been circulated in **Kinston, North Carolina,** calling for abandonment of the council-manager plan and reestablishment of the ward system of representation. The Kinston *Free Press* urges retention of the manager plan despite local criticisms.

Interest in the manager plan is evident in **Charleston, South Carolina.** Mayor W. E. Bynum of Sumter, South Carolina, manager city since 1912, reviewed the advantages and growth of the plan to the Charleston Lions Club in March.

In an advisory referendum March 28, **Savannah, Georgia,** voted 8,369 to 5,983 for the council-manager plan over the present mayor-alderman form. Led by the Junior Chamber of Commerce, citizens will circulate petitions for election of a commission to draft a charter under the new Georgia home rule law.

Dalton, Georgia, voters turned down an opportunity to get the manager plan.

The council-manager plan, adopted in 1948, was retained on April 3 by the voters of **Eau Claire, Wisconsin,** 5,122 to 3,562. The majority of 1,560 for retention was over 400 greater than that for the original adoption of the plan.

Fort Atkinson, Wisconsin, also voted to retain the council-manager plan at the April 3 election. The vote was 1,386 to 920, as compared to 1,488 to 681 in favor of the charter's adoption in 1930.

Green Bay, Wisconsin, defeated a proposal, on the ballot April 3, to adopt the state's optional manager plan provisions. The vote was 10,078 to 2,381.

A new **Tennessee** law facilitates referenda on abandonment of council-manager government. A petition of 20 per cent of the registered voters could call a referendum within 50 days after filing.

St. Charles, Missouri, voted 1,527 to 1,373 against adoption of statutory provisions for the manager plan on April 3.

The **Kansas** legislature has amended one of that state's council-manager enabling acts to provide that the manager shall appoint and remove all non-elective department heads, officers and employees of the city.

Active interest in the manager plan for **Augusta, Kansas,** is reported by the *El Dorado Times*, which states, "with the recent passage of a new law by the present legislature the way has been cleared for Augusta to vote on the council-manager plan."

In **Snyder, Texas,** the Scurry County Chamber of Commerce is working for adoption of the council-manager plan.

Petitions requesting a vote on the council-manager plan are being circulated in **Florence, Colorado.**

The International City Managers' Association has removed **Drummondville, Longueuil and Riviere-du-Loup,** in the province of Quebec, from its list of manager cities because of failure of the city councils to fill the vacancy in the office of manager.

Manager Enabling Act in Arizona; Other New Laws

Arizona cities and towns may by ordinance create the office of city manager, according to a law enacted by the 1951 Arizona legislature, which adjourned recently. Councils are authorized to appoint the city or town manager and define his duties. The manager is to serve at the pleasure of the council and may be removed without cause by majority council vote.

At least two Arizona towns had created the office of manager or executive officer before enactment of the statute although, in the absence of state legal authorization, his powers were extremely limited. Joseph C. Furst, executive secretary of the Arizona Municipal League, which sponsored the measure, believes that two or three additional Arizona towns and cities may soon adopt manager ordinances. Phoenix and Tucson have council-manager charters, adopted on the basis of the municipal home rule section of the state constitution.

Several other laws in the municipal field sponsored by the Arizona Municipal League were enacted. Cities and towns obtained legislative permission to seek the coverage of the federal old-age and survivors' insurance program for their officers and employees. Municipal councils may now adopt lengthy regulatory codes by reference instead of, as formerly, paragraph by paragraph, after the printing of the proposals in full. The authority to adopt by reference, it is believed, will facilitate adoption of various uniform codes.

Mandatory segregation of Negro pupils in Arizona public elementary schools has been ended by the legislature. Local school boards now have authority to decide whether to separate Negro and white pupils. Shortly after enactment of the law trustees of the Tucson school district, one of the largest in the state, went on record as favoring an end of segregation "at the earliest possible time."

PAUL KELSO

University of Arizona

Philadelphia Adopts Home Rule Charter

At a special election on April 17 the citizens of Philadelphia approved the home rule charter[1] drafted by the fifteen-member charter commission authorized by the 1949 state legislature. The vote (unofficial) was 259,656 to 139,439.

Two separate questions were also answered affirmatively. A seventeen-member council, partly elected at large, was approved, 246,407 to 140,766, to replace the recent body of 22 members elected from eight districts. Abolition of the elective office of receiver of taxes, in favor of an appointed revenue commission, was authorized 238,179 to 140,929.

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[1] See the REVIEW, May 1949, page 240; October 1950, page 455; March 1951, page 150.

Los Angeles Administrative Officer Proposed

At an election to be held in Los Angeles, California, on May 29 six proposed charter amendments and three bond propositions will be voted on. Outstanding among the proposed amendments is one providing for a city administrative officer, to be appointed by the mayor, subject to confirmation by the city council. Together with two assistants whom he would be empowered to appoint, the administrative officer would be exempt from the usual civil service requirements, but it is specified that he "shall have administrative and executive ability as demonstrated by five years' experience at the executive or administrative level." He would be removable by the mayor with the consent of a majority of council members or by the council alone by two-thirds of its members. Written notice of grounds for removal, and the right of a hearing, are provided for.

Mayor Fletcher Bowron and other city officials recommend establishment of this office to "direct, coordinate and expedite business administration, leaving general managers and other administrative officers free to devote more time and attention to functional operations." The Los Angeles "little Hoover commission" (Commission for Reorganization of the City Government) also recommends it; A. L. Weil, chairman, signed a statement that "it is an improvement over the ordinary city manager proposal—tailored to fit the particular requirements of our great city." He listed the proposed duties of the new office as including budget planning, budget control, administrative research, procedural analysis, form design, personnel management and direction of central services such as purchasing, transportation, communication, printing, duplicating, clerical pools, etc. He would not have control over the "operating departments," however, and would have no powers or duties applicable to the proprietary departments (water and power, harbor, and airport).

Opponents include a member of the commission's "task force" that dealt with such subjects, who charges that the proposal is hasty, ill-considered, and has never been submitted to the task force concerned; that it is not a real city manager plan but merely a provision for a mayor's assistant with special powers.

The other proposed charter amendments deal with increase of employees' retirement benefits, leasing of airport property and civil service exemption for four aids to the general manager of the Department of Water and Power.

Georgia Adopts Home Rule Law

The 1951 Georgia legislature has passed a home rule law for municipalities. Under it cities may, by ordinance of the council or an initiative petition of 30 per cent of the registered voters, place on the ballot the question of drafting a new charter or they may vote to continue their present charter but with power to amend it?

Chicago Grand Jury Probes Aided by New Law

The Illinois General Assembly on March 28 enacted a bill extending the possible term of grand juries in Cook

(Continued on page 269)

Nevada Approves County Manager Plan

System Now Available to All Those Over 10,000

ON MARCH 21 Governor Charles H. Russell of Nevada signed legislation which will permit all counties of 10,000 population and more to adopt the county manager plan of government. It was said to be an emergency measure for Washoe County, but Las Vegas, Clark and Elko Counties also have populations above 10,000 and thus would be enabled to secure the manager plan.

The salary of the manager would be determined by the county commissioners but they could pay no more than $9,000 nor less than $5,000 per year. The manager's qualifications would include graduation from an accredited four-year institution with a degree in public administration or business management plus "at least four years of progressively responsible experience in administrative management or related activities." He would hold office at the pleasure of the board.

Iowa County Government Under Fire

The Des Moines *Register,* in an editorial, "Counties are Most Out-of-Date of All," recently observed:

"We are glad the Iowa 'little Hoover commission' is thinking about recommending reorganization of county governments as well as the state government.

"County government in Iowa is even more cumbersome and rickety than the state government, and less nearly up to date. But hitherto it has been a sacred cow to the legislature because of the legend that counties are 'good' and cities are 'bad.'

"The close political ties between county officers and legislative candidates reinforce this feeling of solidarity, and make it harder for legislators to see the beam in the county setup's eye.

"Talk about the inefficiency of the three-man commissions which are still so common in the state government! Look at the counties, with their three to seven supervisors sharing responsibility with more than half a dozen separately elected officials!

"Wow!"

County Officers Urged to Lead in Local Improvement

A recent issue of *The County Officer,* published by the National Association of County Officials, devoted its leading editorial to the discussions of county government that took place at the National Municipal League's National Conference on Government in Buffalo last November. Entitled "Just to Keep Us on the Alert," it gave the League credit for "substantial contribution to better government across the nation," but it urged its own members to take the lead in improving their respective county governments. It urged them to adopt elements of plans conceived and developed elsewhere, pointing out that the best thinking of the country is available to every county official. It concluded that the county official's responsibility was to adapt this best thinking to the needs of his community.

Counties Cooperate in Highway Research

The requirements of the Federal Aid Highway Act pertaining to state-local cooperation in highway planning has resulted in establishment of a research project to explore the problems of administration involved. Participants are the Federal Bureau of Public Roads, Council of State Governments, American Municipal Association, Automotive Safety Foundation and the National Association of County Officials. County officials long have complained of domination by state highway departments, unnecessarily high standards and the neglect of rural roads.

CITY, STATE AND NATION

(Continued from page 267)

County from 30 to 90 days. The state's attorney, the chief justice of the criminal court or the grand jury itself may petition for two 30-day extensions to investigate crimes taken up during the original 30-day term.

This measure is one of five proposals advocated by the Chicago Crime Commission for several years past to strengthen criminal law enforcement in Cook County. In previous sessions the entire program was killed by the opposition of a group of legislators from Chicago. The original proposal called for possible extension to 180 days—the limitation on grand juries in each of Illinois' 101 other counties. The 90-day compromise and the public clamor resulted in enactment. The other proposals deal with alibis, perjury, self-incrimination immunity and penalizing public officers who refuse to waive immunity when being investigated. With the current session nearing its end, the question is how many, if any, of the remaining proposals will "get through" this session.

EDWARD M. MARTIN,
Civic Affairs Director

Norfolk Undertakes Large Expansion

The city council of Norfolk, Virginia, has approved initiation of court proceedings, under the established Virginia method of annexation, to take in additional territory of 15.76 square miles containing some 45,000 people. If the courts are persuaded that the annexation is justified it would make Norfolk the largest city in Virginia both in area and population.

PACH Opens New York Office

The Public Administration Clearing House, of 1313 East 60th Street, Chicago, has opened an office in New York City at 45 East 65th Street, to serve its expanded program in international administration. The office is under the supervision of Dr. Rowland Egger, former director of the Bureau of Public Administration, University of Virginia, now associate director of the Clearing House.

International Civil Service Code Drafted

Representatives from 21 countries attended the first conference under the United Nations program of training in public administration for civil servants, from November 1950 to January 1951, inclusive. The *Newsletter* of the Civil Service Assembly reports:

"During the last month of the conference a document was developed which might aptly be termed the first international civil service code. Beginning with statements on the organization and functions of public personnel agencies, the report makes general policy recommendations about all the major aspects of personnel administration."

Taxation and Finance • • • • *Edited by Wade S. Smith*

141 California Cities Levy Sales Tax

Study Shows $31,000,000 Taken in Last Fiscal Year

SALES and use taxes imposed by California cities yielded nearly $31,500,000 in the fiscal year ended June 30, 1950, the fifth since the excise began to gain in popularity following its adoption by Santa Barbara. As compared with five cities using the tax in fiscal 1945-46, there were 138 in fiscal 1949-50, with additions since bringing the total to 141 as of January 1, 1951.

The 141 cities imposing the sales tax at the beginning of 1951 contain nearly 56 per cent of the state's population and are estimated to contain 70 per cent of all outlets licensed under the California state sales and use tax law to sell tangible personal property. They include six of the eight cities with populations exceeding 100,000—only Long Beach and Sacramento are excluded—and 21 of the 26 cities with populations of 25,000 to 100,000. In the 10,000-25,000 population group 50 of the state's 70 cities have a sales tax and 25 of the 44 cities between 5,000 and 10,000 use it. Only among the smaller municipalities are there more cities without the sales tax than with it—22 out of 61 in the 2,500 to 5,000 group and 17 out of 95 under 2,500.

The most popular sales tax rate remains at ½ of 1 per cent. However, two cities levy at a ¾ of 1 per cent rate and 38 levy at a 1 per cent rate. The highest rate is levied by Needles, 1½ per cent. The state sales tax rate is 3 per cent, and most of the cities use the same tax base, although frequently they exempt specific commodities subject to the state tax and they universally exempt sales to nonresidents.

According to a study by the California State Board of Equalization,[1] yields on a per capita basis for each ½ of 1 per cent of city sales tax ranged from a low of $1.10 in San Pablo to $23.27 in Walnut Creek, the former representing a new tax in a newly incorporated city and the latter the collections in a rapidly developing area on the fringe of the Oakland metropolitan area.

Among the larger cities, per capita collections in 1949-50 were $5.04 for Los Angeles, $5.99 for San Francisco, $4.94 for San Diego, $4.85 for Oakland and $6.13 for Pasadena. For all the cities, the median figure was $4.84 per capita. Interestingly enough, those cities using a 1 per cent rate did not gain twice the average per capita yield from a ½ of 1 per cent unit of tax; the median yield per ½ of 1 per cent unit of tax for cities with 1 per cent rates was $4.66 per capita, or from the full 1 per cent $9.32 per capita.

Statewide, the city sales tax collections are estimated to reach about 75 per cent of the sales taxed under the state sales and use tax law, the ratios in individual cities varying from about 41 per cent to over 97 per cent. Few of the cities resort to comprehensive audit of sales tax returns, and differing bases contribute also to local failure to tax all the sales reached by the state.

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[1] *What's Next in Local Sales Taxes?* A Second Supplement to *City Sales Taxes in California.* Sacramento, State Board of Equalization, Division of Research and Statistics. January 1951.

Proposals for increasing the administrative efficiency of local sales tax use, and for eliminating the difficulties inherent in a given area when some of the cities use it and some do not, have for several years centered in methods of integrating the local tax with that of the state. Under one setup, the tax would be collected with the state tax as a "supplement" where enacted by the city governing body and the city share returned to the city. Under another proposal, the supplement would be levied statewide, with the portion collected within cities returned to the respective units and that collected from establishments in unincorporated areas turned over to the counties. A state-collected supplement distributed on a per capita basis has also been considered.

Use of Pennsylvania's Act 481 Continues to Gain

The extensive grant of authority to local units in Pennsylvania to develop virtually all revenues not already preempted by the state, originally conferred by Act 481 of 1947 and somewhat curtailed by the 1949 legislature, still is popular. This is shown by a recent study indicating a gain of 293 units using the tax since the 1949 amendment and an increase of approximately 400 in the number of levies imposed.

A total of 1,025 local units were using the act as of January 1, 1951, according to the study.[1] In all, there are 3,572 units of local government eligible to use it. While 41 of the state's 49 cities are making use of some revenues under the act, as well as 23 of the 59 first class townships, there were only 251 of the 940 boroughs and 710 of the 2,524 school districts imposing taxes under the act's authority. There were 142 instances of the act's use by coterminous school districts and municipalities.

In all, 1,306 separate taxes were being imposed under the act at the beginning of 1951. The most numerous were per capita taxes, numbering 506 and including mainly adoptions following the prohibition of severance taxes under the 1949 amendment to the act. The most common per capita tax rate was $5 but rates above $10 were not lacking. Amusement taxes were levied by 260 units, income taxes by 230, and taxes on mechanical devices by 104, to mention those used by more than 100 units. By type of levying unit, 855 of the taxes were levied by the school districts, 349 by the boroughs, 77 by the cities and 25 by the townships.

In terms of tax yield, returns are partly on a calendar year basis and partly on the school district split year. For the calendar year 1949, city, borough and township collections totaled $16,871,598, while for the school districts 1949-50 collections under the act were $6,731,978. Of the combined total of $23,603,576, income taxes accounted for $10,101,062, mercantile and business taxes for $4,570,376, amusement taxes for $4,954,499 and per capita taxes for $1,880,254, to mention the largest.

States Act on Gas Taxes

Legislatures of four states raised gasoline tax rates and two lowered them in 1951 session actions reported to the end of March. Rates were raised from four to five cents per gallon in North Dakota, South Dakota, Utah and Wyoming. In Georgia and

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[1] *Taxes Levied Under Act 481.* Harrisburg, Pennsylvania Department of Internal Affairs. January 1951.

New Mexico rates were reduced from seven cents to six cents per gallon.

Tantamount to a hike in rates also was the action of the Kansas legislature, which continued for another two years the five cents per gallon rate there. According to the Federation of Tax Administrators, the rate was scheduled to decline to four cents on June 30, 1951.

Saginaw to Vote on Income Tax

Voters of Saginaw, Michigan, are scheduled to decide at an election May 22, 1951, whether the city shall impose a municipal income and net profits tax. A majority vote is required to pass the measure.

Proposed is a tax of 1 per cent on all earned income—personal, business and corporate. Proceeds are estimated to approximate $1,600,000 per year and will be earmarked for construction of a sewage disposal system and other improvements. The tax would take effect January 1, 1952, and be levied for a period of ten years.

State, Local Pay Rates Increased

A large majority of state and local governmental agencies responded to increased living costs during 1950 by raising wage and salary levels, according to a sample study reported by the Civil Service Assembly. Of some 150 agencies queried, at least 102 cities and states made increases, chiefly after the outbreak of the Korean hostilities. Inflation and the need to meet competition for manpower were both factors.

Some 75 per cent of the 115 cities studied reported increases for all employees, while 8 per cent raised the salaries of only certain groups. Special groups benefiting were chiefly police and fire employees and the craft and skilled trades. Raises for the latter group were based generally on the prevailing rates paid for similar jobs in private industry. Sacramento, California, for example, raised the pay of skilled workers to conform to rates set forth in contracts between unions and private employees.

Formulas used by cities to grant general wage raises differed widely. Approximately half the municipalities reporting salary increases gave flat raises applying equally to all levels. For example, in Dallas, Texas, all salaries were boosted $10 monthly and in Nashville, Tennessee, wages of all employees were raised $25 monthly effective January 1. The average monthly increase for the cities giving flat, across-the-board raises was $15.30, the study showed.

Thirty cities reported applying increases on a percentage basis. Glendale, California, upped all salaries 5 per cent last October and a 4 per cent increase was effective in Winnetka, Illinois, on January 1. Pittsburgh gave the majority of its clerical and white collar workers a 10 per cent increase on their first $3,600. Average increase for cities determining pay boosts on a percentage basis was 7 per cent.

Some cities based their raises on a cost-of-living plan, on an index or on the basis of a salary survey. In Milwaukee, a formal cost-of-living pay plan tied in with the consumer price index resulted in salary increases for all city employees of $16.88 per month effective January 1.

At the state level, less than half the 40 personnel agencies surveyed, representing 36 states, granted general pay increases. In large part, this was because few legislatures met in regular session in 1950. Those agencies granting increases did so chiefly on a

(Continued on page 275)

Proportional Representation . . *Edited by George H. Hallett, Jr. and Wm. Redin Woodward*

(This department is successor to the Proportional Representation Review)

P. R. Wins First Rounds in Cincinnati Battle

Attacks Dismissed by Ohio Court and Secretary of State

PROPONENTS of proportional representation in Cincinnati have won the first two rounds in a battle to continue the use of the Hare system for the election of councilmen under the city's council-manager charter.

On February 13 Robert P. Goldman, George E. Fee and Morison R. Waite, attorneys appearing as *amici curie* at the request of the Cincinnati City Charter Committee, asked dismissal of the suit filed November 13, which was based on the alleged conflict between Cincinnati's P. R. provisions and the office type ballot amendment adopted in 1949 for Ohio general elections.[1] Eight days later the court, without reference to the substance of the pleading, dismissed the case on technical grounds.

On March 5 Colonel C. O. Sherrill, former city manager of Cincinnati, announced himself as head of an otherwise unnamed committee against P. R., and asked the secretary of state to determine and prescribe that the form of ballot in next fall's election be the office type ballot and not the P. R. ballot provided in the Cincinnati charter. A week later Messrs. Goldman, Fee and Waite filed arguments in opposition to the request with the attorney general, to whom the secretary of state had referred the matter for an opinion.

The secretary of state dismissed the request on April 6 but by inference suggested that the matter be brought to the Supreme Court for a ruling. That same day attorneys for the Sherrill group filed a petition for writ of mandamus in the Ohio Supreme Court to command the secretary of state to determine and prescribe the office type ballot for council elections. As defendants in the case the plaintiff included members of the local board of elections and the city of Cincinnati.

The City Charter Committee will, of course, continue its efforts in behalf of P. R.

Forest Frank, *Executive Director*
Cincinnati City Charter Committee

Danes Use P. R. for Upper House

Approximately 650,000 Danish voters elected 2,070 electors in April, these electors choosing 28 members of the 76-member upper house (Landsting) of the Danish parliament. Both elections are conducted by P. R., the latter by the single transferable vote, known in Denmark as the Andrae system and elsewhere as the Hare system from its two independent inventors. The last time voters in the districts involved chose such electors was in 1943, during the German occupation.

The returns show only slight changes from the distribution of votes by parties in the lower house (Folketing) elections of September 5, 1950. The Social Democratic party obtained 38.5 per cent of the votes as against 37.6 per cent in 1950; the Farmers' Liberals dropped to 24.3 per cent from 24.7 per cent in 1950; the Conservatives obtained 17.3 per cent as against 17.2 per cent; and the Liberals' poll was unchanged per-

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[1] See the Review, February 1951, page 103.

Danish Landsting Elections of April 1951

Party	Votes	Percentage of Votes	Electors	Percentage of Electors
Social Democratic	261,583	38.5	820	39.6
Farmers' Liberal	162,508	24.3	553	26.7
Conservative	115,654	17.3	356	17.4
Left Liberal	58,400	8.3	158	7.6
Single Tax	48,952	7.4	131	6.3
Communist	19,216	2.9	32	1.5
German Minority	6,813	1.0	20	1.0

centagewise at 8.6 per cent. The Single Tax party obtained 7.4 per cent as against 8.2 per cent in 1950; the Communists obtained 2.9 per cent as against 3.1 per cent; and the German Minority party obtained 1 per cent as against 0.6 per cent. The vote for electors in 1951 is tabulated above.

France May Drop P. R.

As the term of France's first P. R. parliament, elected in 1946, nears its end, revision of the electoral law to affect the outcome of the approaching election has become a major national issue. Disturbed by the size of the Communist forces on the left and those of General deGaulle on the right, the other parties are endeavoring to distort the electoral system deliberately so as to give these forces less than their share. The parliamentary crises last March which resulted in Premier Queuille forming a cabinet, arose principally from disagreement over what form of unproportional representation should be adopted in place of the present P.R. list system.

Attempts to restore the single-member district system, under which France was governed for most of the period 1875-1939, failed to obtain majority support in the Chamber of Deputies. The greatest difficulty was experienced over the question whether a mere plurality vote or a majority vote should be required for election under the proposed single-member district system. The latter requirement would usually necessitate a run-off election under political conditions prevailing in France.

The proposal adopted by the Chamber and sent to the Senate in the first part of April provides a complicated method reminiscent of the modified block-vote system used in the elections of 1919 and 1924 and thereafter abandoned.[1] Multi-member constituencies and a party list ballot, as at present, are to be provided, but if any single party or any combination of parties declaring themselves allied in the particular constituency obtain a majority of the votes cast, such party or combination is to have all the representation for the district instead of only representation proportional to votes, and all minority representation will be excluded in that constituency. When a victory is won by a combination of parties, the seats are to be shared by the victors in proportion to the votes polled by the victorious parties. If, however, no party or declared combination of parties obtains a majority, seats will be apportioned in proportion to votes as at present. Paris, apparently, is to elect proportionately whether any party or combination gets a majority or not.

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[1] "This system gave a sweeping majority to the *bloc national* in 1919 and, by a malicious turn of fate, gave a similar exaggeration to the triumph of the Radicals and Socialists in 1924." W. L. Middleton, *The French Political System*. E. P. Dutton & Company, New York, 1933, page 100.

Since the parties are permitted to combine differently in different districts in order to achieve exclusion of their arch-adversaries, it seems likely, in view of the experience under the similar system used in 1919 and 1924, that few districts outside of Paris will provide any minority representation.

It is expected that under the system the Communists, who have few allies, would be excluded from representation in most districts. The system will probably also work to the disadvantage of General deGaulle and his followers—who are found in many parts of the country and not concentrated in any particular section. On the other hand, news reports indicate large scale defections in the Communist following in France, such as has been reflected in other countries in elections in the last few years, so that a great reduction in the Communist delegation in the Chamber of Deputies would probably result even if the P. R. system used in 1946 were retained.

Washington Member of P. R. Advisory Council Dies

Oliver T. Erickson, one of the leading proportionalists on the west coast, died early this year. He was a member of the Advisory Council of the Proportional Representation League from 1921 until the time of his death. Mr. Erickson was a well known civic figure in Seattle and served from 1911 to 1931, except for one term, as a member of the city council, which adopted a memorial resolution in his honor. He was long an active member of the Seattle Municipal League.

TAXATION AND FINANCE

(Continued from page 272)

percentage basis. Nebraska's Merit System Council, for example, raised the salary of all employees under its jurisdiction by 5 per cent.

Sales Tax Raised in New York City

The bitterly contested proposal of the city administration to increase the New York City sales and use tax from 2 per cent to 3 per cent was concluded the second week in April when the necessary city ordinances were enacted making the rate hike effective May 1. In the city council the vote was nineteen to six, while the board of estimate concurred unanimously.

The rate increase is expected by city budget-makers to provide $60,000,000 of the additional $71,000,000 of new revenues needed to balance the executive budget for the fiscal year beginning July 1, 1951. The budget, providing appropriations totaling $1,336,000,000, was the fifth in succession to exceed the one billion dollar mark.

Authority to increase the sales tax rate was granted by the New York legislature in its closing session in a bill signed later by Governor Dewey with the expressed hope that the city would not find it necessary to use the full 3 per cent rate authorized.[1] Vociferous opposition was spearheaded by an anti-sales tax committee representing a number of retail, business and labor groups. The city's right to use the sales tax under state law expires June 30, 1952, so that further contention on the issue is expected at next year's legislative session.

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[1] See the REVIEW, April 1951, page 218.

Organized Citizens Beat Reunited Machine

Kansas City Vote Returns Reform Slate to Council

KANSAS CITY has scored again. For the sixth successive time organized citizens have won over the Pendergast machine in the election of council and mayor under the city's council-manager charter. By a vote of 68,065 to 55,413, eight of the nine candidates supported by the Citizens Association, including Mayor William E. Kemp, were elected.

Up to a year ago the reform element comprised a somewhat loosely organized group which swung into action at election time but whose activities subsided when the fight was over. Early in 1950, however, under the guidance of former Mayor John B. Gage, the Citizens Association was organized on a permanent basis.[1]

Kansas City adopted the council-manager plan in 1926 but for fourteen years the citizens were unable to throw off the yoke of Boss Pendergast. In 1940, when Pendergast was finally sent to prison, a nonpartisan council pledged to good government was elected, a competent city manager was appointed, and the charter was at last honored by its observance instead of its breach.

The candidates of the Citizens Association this year, for the first time since 1940, faced a united machine. Since Pendergast's imprisonment, two factions contended for power—the remains of the Pendergast machine led by his nephew and the group led by Charles Binnagio. The gang murder of the latter, however, resolved this division of the spoils crowd.

The imprisonment in January 1951 of a former county assessor who was a machine leader, the murder of Binnagio, the hearings of the Kefauver committee, the frauds in the Democratic primary election of August 1946 with its subsequent indictment of 108 persons by state and federal grand juries for those frauds, and the blasting in 1947 of the vault in the courthouse office of the Kansas City Election Board and the theft of the incriminating ballots—an unsolved crime to this day—all reacted in favor of the Citizens slate.

A declaration by one of the machine candidates that its ticket would consult the "party leaders," and be guided by them in the conduct of city affairs; a promise to dismiss all the "experts" in the city hall, which meant destruction of the merit system; and several other statements equally dismal indicated to the voters what might be expected if the candidates backed by the machine were elected.

The machine this year gained 3,500 votes over its 1946 total and 1,500 over the 1942 total. On the other side, the Citizens ticket gained 4,200 in 1951 over 1946, and fell nearly 17,000 below the 1942 total. An overcast rainy day caused some voter apathy in districts which normally cast large majorities for the Citizens candidates.

One of the strongest influences in the election was the Kansas City *Star,* which conducted an all-out campaign for the Citizens ticket.

The big question left unsettled by the election is "why are 55,413 people [those voting the machine ticket] dissatisfied with a city government which, in eleven years, has brought Kansas City from a state of bankruptcy and from the lowest possible level of political corruption to a sound financial position and to a place at the top of the list of well governed cities?" The answer may be (1) a well organized political machine, (2) lack of knowledge of the real facts, and (3) apathy on the part of the voters.

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[1] See the REVIEW, July 1950, page 360.

This spring's election means that Kansas City may look forward to the continuation of its good government regime for four more years (in 1949 the term of office for mayor and council was changed from two to four years), a total of fifteen consecutive years of honest, competent administration.

'Gold Feather' Day Brings Out the Vote

Adding another "feather in its cap,"[1] the League of Women Voters of Des Moines promoted "Gold Feather" day at the general election in November,[2] in a dramatic and successful effort to secure a large vote. Almost a thousand women worked on the project, reports Mrs. Maurice H. Noun, voters' service chairman for the league, either in the telephone campaign to get out the vote or at the polls distributing gold feathers to those who voted. The slogan was "Wear a gold feather with pride."

Volunteers for the telephone campaign were secured from the league and from clubs and churches. These women were sent 30 names from the telephone directory with a letter of instruction. The radio, newspapers, civic organizations, churches and the political parties all urged citizens to cast their ballots.

Two stores gave special window displays and a number used the gold feather in their advertising during the week preceding election. Some 500 posters, prepared and distributed by the League of Women Voters, were displayed in store windows.

Retail stores opened 45 minutes later than usual so that employees would have ample opportunity to go to the polls but insisted that employees report for work wearing a gold feather. Because those living outside the city limits were unhappy about this provision, the league hopes to extend its gold feather distribution at the polls to the rest of the county in future elections.

While the league ordered 50,000 feathers, basing its estimate of need on the previous year's vote of 37,000, by late afternoon volunteers at the voting booths were calling for more. The final count showed a record vote of 50,407.

New Organizations

Representatives from six cities and towns interested in securing home rule for Rhode Island municipalities have formed the Rhode Island Home Rule Association. The group will back the governor's optional charter bill and his measure which proposes a home rule amendment to the constitution. Amos L. Lachapelle, chairman of the Citizens League of Pawtucket, has been named temporary chairman. Communities represented at the meeting were Barrington, Central Falls, Cranston, Newport, Pawtucket and Warwick. Citizen groups in East Providence, Jamestown, North Kingston and Westerly have announced they will join the organization.

Haverhill, Massachusetts, citizens have organized the Haverhill Civic

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[1] See "Des Moines Drops Own Plan," the REVIEW, June 1949, page 269; also the REVIEW, February 1951, page 66.

[2] See "Drama Gets Out the Vote," the REVIEW, March 1949, page 116.

Association—The Citizens' Committee for Good Government, with Dr. Aram S. Gulezian as president and John R. Knapp as director. The group is planning a membership campaign for the immediate future and a political campaign to start in the early fall.

* * *

True or False

"True or False" is a "brief quiz presenting pertinent questions on government and introducing the league's program for 1951," says the Cleveland Citizens League in *Greater Cleveland.* A sample question and answer:

> Our local government is in good shape with an up-to-date, sound organization and satisfactory services; there are no problems to get excited about and the citizen can relax. True ___ or False ___
>
> > **False.** Cleveland was not elected to the list of eleven all-American cities this year because (1) it has not made substantial progress against pressing problems of traffic, transportation and parking, river and lake pollution and lakefront development, or sanitation and sewage disposal; (2) it has not created an agency for metropolitan government and has not revamped an outmoded form of county government; (3) it has not shortened the long confusing ballot.
>
> **League objective No. 3:** *Through some fourteen committees composed of local citizens, the League will seek to stimulate community action to improve these conditions and to call public attention to local government needs and goals.*

* * *

The Politician and His Time

How do politicians use their "free" time? asks the Philadelphia Committee of Seventy in its *Civic Affairs.* "Many agencies, including grand juries, bureau and department heads and the Committee of Seventy have never been able to answer this question fully," says the bulletin. "But, according to the studies made by our committee, it is apparent that not many of them put in regular hours on the job for which the citizens are paying them, nor do they use their time to inform the people concerning the platforms of their party, the merits of the candidates or the political policies for which they claim to stand." The committee recommends as a remedy "a job appraisement—a study of all jobs in the city and county to determine the actual amount of work to be done, the number of employees actually needed to do that work and the fitness of those on the payrolls."

* * *

Appraising Aldermen

The Citizens' Association of Chicago has made an "Appraisal of Aldermanic Activity in the 1947-51 City Council." "During this term of office," comments the council's bulletin, "the city council and the administration generally have cooperated to set in motion a progressive modernization of city government—centralized purchasing and control of contracts, reorganized traffic safety and police procedures, a modern building code and more efficient building inspection," etc. Certain aldermen were commended for outstanding individual effort. A table sets forth the number of years each alderman has served, his "rating of service in the council," and the total meetings—council, committee and subcommittee—he has attended. The association made recommendations on aldermanic candidates for the 1951 election.

Potpourri

The Commonwealth Club of California reprints in *The Commonwealth*, its weekly publication, "The Message that Founded" the club—a paper by Founder Edward F. Adams, read at the first meeting on February 3, 1903. Said Mr. Adams, "I believe the time is now ripe for permanent organization upon an important scale for the concentration of the influence of the best citizenship of California, not for the purpose of promoting this or that or any particular reform but for promoting the consideration and discussion of all important measures upon their real merits and contributing what we can to such discussion."

"Watch us grow!" says the Seattle Municipal League. Five years ago, in 1946, a total of 134 league committee meetings were held with a total attendance of 862. In 1950 the number of meetings had grown to 198, with an attendance of 2,219.

"It takes 9 good men to make a good ball club" and "It takes 9 'yes' votes to make a better Flint," slogans the Civic Research Council of Flint, Michigan, in its leaflet urging passage of nine bond proposals providing money for needed city improvements. The council endorsed the bond program unanimously.

Seeking to secure adoption of more of the Hoover Commission's recommendations for efficiency and economy in the federal government, the Greater New York Citizens Committee for the Hoover Report is asking citizens to write their congressmen and senators, urging passage of proposed legislation. Terming such action "your second ballot," the committee has issued a circular containing maps of the five counties within the city, showing congressional districts and the names of congressmen from each, for the convenience of those who would follow the suggestion.

"A manual for persons concerned with determining questions of United States citizenship, with special reference to the applicable provisions of the constitution and laws of the state of Washington relating to qualifications for voting" is the purpose of *United States Citizenship and Qualifications for Voting in Washington* (94 pages). It was prepared by Ernest H. Campbell and George D. Smith for the Washington Bureau of Governmental Research and Services, and published by the University of Washington Press, Seattle, at $1.50.

The February 1951 issue of *Citizens and Their Schools* is a special edition reporting the second annual meeting of the National Citizens Commission for the Public Schools held in January of this year. This is the fourth issue of the new publication which began in November 1950. It is devoted to "news for people working for better schools in their communities."

The American Council for the Community, with headquarters in New York, has begun publication of a new quarterly, *Communities, U. S. A.—A Journal of Community Development*. The first issue features several stories on activities in particular localities.

"The salvation of the state is in the watchfulness of the citizen." "Thus reads the inscription over the main entrance of the state capitol," reports the *Bulletin* of the Governmental Research Institute of Lincoln, Nebraska. "Is it intended merely as a decorative motto or does it express one of the real fundamentals of American government from the nation on down?" The ensuing discussion comments on citizen organizations elsewhere which have been doing yeoman service and asks "Should Lincoln have a Citizens' League? . . . The sentiment seems rather widespread among those interested in good government."

Cities Must Act During Cold War

Keep Up Maintenance Canada Institute Warns

IN AN open letter on "Municipal Objectives for 1951," dated March 8, President J. T. Bryden and Director Eric Hardy, of the Citizens' Research Institute of Canada, discuss the implications of the present international situation and defense program for municipal governments. While recognizing and stressing "the need for renewed economies and fearless elimination of waste and extravagance," the letter warns that the nature of the present emergency necessitates a different approach to municipal economy than that dictated by the last war.

"The current emphasis on thrift and the increasing restrictions on municipal undertakings are strongly reminiscent of the conditions under which local authorities operated in the war years. But there are special responsibilities and constructive opportunities which contrast sharply with wartime objectives. It is important, therefore, for civic officials to view the coming year as something more than a period of forced inaction, to see wider opportunities than the work of civil defense.

"During the war, municipal authorities, for lack of men and materials, postponed even normal maintenance of streets and sidewalks, parks and playgrounds, school and municipal buildings. It was a sensible move and contributed in no small measure to the winning of the war.

"What was good strategy in war, however, is hardly a wise policy today when physical facilities should be kept in good condition and ready for any eventuality. Indeed, the neglect which maintenance work is suffering in many municipalities is becoming a cause for genuine alarm.

"There are two important reasons for this growing weakness in municipal budgeting. First of all, when economies are demanded, maintenance expenditures are among the easiest to slash while efforts to curtail services or eliminate frills nearly always run counter to some voters' interests. Secondly, the cost of repair work and general upkeep is steadily rising and budget-makers appear reluctant to recognize the amounts required to do an adequate job at current price levels.

"To guard against this weakness, the institute recommends that in all municipal budgets top priority be given to maintenance expenditures. While all-out hostilities can be avoided, adequate maintenance should, we believe, be recognized as an essential part of civil preparedness."

The letter insists that although municipalities must forego many capital undertakings some essential projects should be pushed forward, particularly in areas of rapid urban expansion. Obviously going on the assumption that it is not possible to think of the present international tension in terms of a short, acute emergency, the report continues: "In wartime, it was a case of building only what was needed to get by temporarily. Today is no time to indulge in expensive ornamentation, yet whatever we need to build should be carefully planned and constructed on a scale to serve for a good number of years. Half measures will prove to be nothing more than false economy."

The letter stresses the fact that the present situation accentuates the necessity for careful long term municipal planning and for reorganization and simplification of local government structure so as to reduce the number of more or less independent elected and appointed authorities, consolidate responsibilities and secure better organization of administrative departments. Attributing the existence of many separate authorities to "fear of 'politics'" the letter asserts "experience has long since demonstrated that the results have not generally been beneficial." The council-manager plan is credited with having "done a good deal toward streamlining civic operations" in American cities and in the 36 manager municipalities in Canada.

Milwaukee Bureau Prescribes Facts, Teamwork, True Economy

The Citizens' Governmental Research Bureau of Milwaukee held its 37th annual meeting this winter. In his report to that meeting, published in the bureau's *Bulletin* of January 30, Director Norman N. Gill explains the past and projected operations of the bureau in a manner which goes a long way toward explaining why this organization is still growing in influence.

Here are excerpts from the report:

"This 37th annual meeting marks the third time in the bureau's history that the nation is girding itself for defense. As on the two previous occasions since the bureau's establishment in 1913, we pledge full cooperation with our local governments in whatever tasks are required of us in the interest of national security.

"At the same time we shall redouble our efforts to assist in keeping our local government house in order. In a world of conflicting ideologies, we must demonstrate that the American way of life is effective in meeting local community needs. One American city operated in genuine democratic fashion, with efficiency and vision, is a much more convincing illustration to the peoples of Asia and Europe than tons of printed words.

"The bureau founders . . . lived in a period when there was complete turnover of untrained officials at every election. So they provided that the bureau should be a permanent stabilizing influence, non-political and independently financed.

"The approach to this day remains the same—to cooperate with public officials in applying sound business methods to local government. Therefore the bureau is not concerned with personalities in public office. The emphasis is upon procedures, methods and results. The public credit for accomplishments goes to the public officials. They should get the credit because they have the responsibility, make the decisions and strive for reelection.

"We are a fact-finding, not a fault-finding, organization. As the slogan on our letterhead indicates, we seek 'Efficiency in Government through Cooperation with Government.'

"Because the bureau is an unofficial agency, it can serve as a clearing house on matters affecting more than one taxing body, including the city, the county, the public and vocational school systems, and the suburban municipalities. The facts gathered and analyzed by the bureau, as to the efficiency and effectiveness of the public services provided by the local governments in metropolitan Milwaukee, are made available to the citizens as well as to the public officials.

"This aspect of the bureau's work is in recognition of two basic facts of democracy: first, that the citizens themselves are responsible for the conduct of their government; and second, that in last analysis majority public opinion will prevail—*if* the public is adequately informed.

"But it is about as easy for the citizen to appraise the efficiency of the local governments as to write the formula for nuclear fission. We have 91 different taxing bodies within Milwaukee County, of which 70 are school districts. Then there are the five cities, six villages and seven towns as well as the Milwaukee city and county governments and the two sewerage commissions. The county board provides over 200 different public services; the city of Milwaukee over 400. About 17,000 employees administer these services; and the combined budgets for 1951 total over $140,000,000. Local government is indeed big business!

"Research is just as essential to maintain our local governments at maximum efficiency as business research has been responsible for Milwaukee's reputation as America's industrial workshop. The total public and private national research budget has risen from a quarter billion dollars in 1938 to over a billion and a third today, excluding the unknown atomic-energy research budget. General Motors' research budget alone totals $60,000,000 and Du Pont's $35,000,000. The Du Pont president recently stated: 'We do research because we have to. If we let up, our competitors would trim us. Research is our insurance that our investment will continue to be profitable.'

Citizen Insurance

"Citizen research is part of the insurance that the tax dollar investment is giving the citizen his money's worth in keeping Milwaukee a good place in which to live and work and play and in making sure that the municipal housekeeping is in step with the best practices of other well governed communities.

"At this point we should emphasize that these facts are used to help maintain good government, which does not necessarily mean cheap government. No business man can feel satisfied with a low tax rate if school buildings are obsolete, if traffic is constantly snarled, if the rubbish and garbage service is poor, if the community's physical and cultural facilities are inadequate and shabby!

"True civic wisdom is the striking of a proper balance between community needs and community resources. The more efficient the public services, the narrower will be the ever present gap between what we should have and what we can afford."

The report shows in detail how the bureau cooperates not only with government but with virtually every organization or group interested in the government or welfare of Greater Milwaukee. It points out that the bureau has supplied data and consulting service to the recently completed two-year Milwaukee County Survey of Social Welfare and Health Services and is now working with the Community Welfare Council in implementing the 80 survey reports with their more than 1,000 recommendations. For this purpose the bureau staff holds membership on the council's social planning committee, chairmanship of its research advisory committee and its committee for study of public and private recreation facilities, and memberships on other committees. The bureau maintains similar consulting relations with the Greater Milwaukee Committee, Association of Commerce, City Club, Affiliated Taxpayers' Committee, Board of Realtors, League of Women Voters, Junior Chamber of Commerce, Research Clearinghouse, service clubs, certain AFL and CIO groups, personal and company foundations and other groups.

In discussing the impact of war on the bureau's program the report indicates that first priority will be given to recommendations of the recent Griffenhagen administrative survey of Milwaukee's government. "The bureau will emphasize the impact of current inflation and the 'cold war,' including the need for greater mechanization of procedures, to save labor costs and offset the growing manpower shortage; simplification of office records and forms, so as to streamline methods and offset the paper shortage; prevention of possible over-staffing, by holding positions open for returning servicemen; and development of work-measurement units for installing performance budgeting and post-budgetary controls."

Industry Supports Program

Stevens Institute's new program in municipal management recently received its first contribution from industry. The Aluminum Company of America presented the program with a $1,000 check and pledged $1,000 annually for the next four year.

In presenting the check for the company, E. H. Grotefend, manager of the Edgewater works, declared it was important that the program "was conceived to improve government where it begins—at the municipal level—and that industry is interested in supporting this significant development in the field of education. Recognition of the need for improved government administration, and public support of programs effectively directed toward meeting that need, are the foundation upon which progress can be built."

Commenting on the program, Professor Paul Volcker, retired manager of Teaneck and director of the institute's Municipal Consulting Service, said, "Municipal government is important because it is the level of government closest to the people. It is their training school in democracy. It spends large sums for fundamental purposes, protecting and affecting the citizen in his everyday life."

The municipal management library has been started with the gift of a complete set of bound volumes—1909-1950—of *The American City,* presented by Editor Harold S. Buttenheim.

A current project of the Municipal Consulting Service is a survey of garbage disposal in the 70 municipalities of Bergen County.

* * *

Bureau Notes

The Bureau of Public Administration of the University of Mississippi (University) has begun publication of a monthly bulletin, *Mississippi Municipal News,* "as a public service to the municipal officials of the state."

A survey of the use of technical assistance in government on state, county and municipal levels is being sponsored by the Bureau of Government Research of the University of New Hampshire (Durham). The objectives of the survey are "(a) an appraisal of the use of technical assistance by units of government; (b) an appraisal of the services offered by agencies providing technical assistance; (c) the preparation and issuance of a directory."

The New Jersey Citizens Tax Study Foundation was formed on January 10 of this year. Its general purposes are: "(a) to obtain the facts on New Jersey's tax structure; (b) to inform the people of New Jersey of these facts; (c) to outline to the people in a nonpartisan manner the various proposals for a better tax structure so that New Jersey may have a sound, long-range fiscal policy able to provide for the needs of a growing state."

In recent *Bureau Notes,* the Detroit Bureau of Governmental Research has been presenting summaries of the staff reports to the Michigan Joint Legislative Committee on Reorganization of State Government. Loren B. Miller, director of the bureau, is director of the reorganization committee.

* * *

Summer Workshops

On July 9-27, Michigan State College will hold its sixth annual summer forum, "a political science course designed to give teachers and students of social studies an opportunity to learn first hand about state and local government in Michigan." Topics will include the executive department, Michigan's "little Hoover commission" and city and county government. An outstanding feature of the course is the participation of state, county and city officials along with university and college professors.

A similar workshop is being inaugurated this summer by Rutgers University, at the request of the New Jersey State Department of Education and under the auspices of the university's Bureau of Government Research, to be held in Trenton July 9-20.

* * *

Strictly Personal

Former research director of the Connecticut Public Expenditures Council, Fred A. Schuckman has been appointed director of the Washington office of the American Municipal Association.

Stuart A. MacCorkle, executive director of the Texas Economy Commission, has recently been reelected to the Austin city council.

Research Pamphlets and Articles

Budgets

1951-52 Budget Problem. San Francisco, Bureau of Governmental Research, *Bulletin,* March 13, 1951. 2 pp.

Proposed 1951-52 City Budget. Buffalo 2, Municipal Research Bureau, *Just a Moment,* March 15, 1951. 3 pp.

State Executive Budget. Madison 3, Wisconsin Taxpayers Alliance, *The Wisconsin Taxpayer,* March 1951. 7 pp.

Charters

Home Rule for Philadelphia. The Proposed Charter. Philadelphia 7, Bureau of Municipal Research, 1951. 15 pp.

The New Threat to Hartford's Charter. (Proposals for partisan election of councilmen by wards.) Hartford 3, Governmental Research Institute, *Taxpayers' Business,* March 1951. 2 pp.

City Councils

Proposed City Council. Philadelphians to Vote on Changes in Council's Composition at April 17 Charter Election. Philadelphia, Bureau of Municipal Research, *Citizens' Business,* March 19, 1951. 3 pp.

Civil Service

Proposed Personnel System. Home Rule Charter's Civil Service Provisions Protect Public's and Employees' Interests. Philadelphia, Bureau of Municipal Research, *Citizens' Business,* March 12, 1951. 3 pp.

Education

Buffalo's School Enrollment. (Showing decrease since 1937-38.) Buffalo 2, Municipal Research Bureau, *Just a Moment,* April 5, 1951. 4 pp.

The Need for Higher Standards in the Teaching Profession. Providence, Governmental Research Bureau, February 1951. 2 pp.

Shall the City of Milwaukee Issue $9,850,000 of School Bonds to be Sold $2,000,000 a Year Beginning in 1951? Milwaukee 2, Citizens' Governmental Research Bureau, *Bulletin*, March 24, 1951. 8 pp.

Hospitals

The Utah State Hospital. Salt Lake City 1, Utah Foundation, *Research Report*, March 1951. 4 pp.

Legislative Councils

1950 Report of the Wisconsin Legislative Council Submitted to the Governor and Legislature. (Volume III.) (Covers Departmental Administration, Civil Defense, State Budget, Judiciary, Part I. Includes a proposal for a division of administration for purchasing and other housekeeping functions.) Madison, Wisconsin Legislative Council, 1951. 120 pp.

Second Biennial Report 1949-1950. Report and Recommendations to the 23rd Legislature. Oklahoma City 5, Oklahoma Legislative Council, 1950. 106 pp.

State Administration

State Administrative Practice. Solutions to Case Studies in State Administrative Practice. A Course in Administrative Management for Wisconsin Departmental Executives. Prepared by Bureau of Government of University of Wisconsin Extension Division in cooperation with State Board of Health of Wisconsin and State Bureau of Personnel of Wisconsin. Madison 6, University of Wisconsin, Bureau of Government, 1950. Variously paged. $2.50 and 50 cents respectively.

State Reorganization[1]

Driver and Vehicle Services. Michigan Department of Corrections. The Michigan Conservation Agencies. (Staff Reports Nos. 14-16.) Lansing, Michigan Joint Legislative Committee on Reorganization of State Government, 1951. 41, 56 and 43 pp. respectively.

Finance and Revenue. State Government Orgainzation. Suggested Studies for Reorganization in State Government. Reports of the Legislative Interim Committee on State Administration. Submitted to the Forty-sixth Legislative Assembly in Accordance with House Joint Resolution 32, Oregon Laws, 1949. Salem, Oregon, the Committee, 1950 and 1951. 215, 279 and 20 pp. respectively.[2]

Florida's State Governmental Structure. Report of the Special Joint Economy and Efficiency Committee of the Florida Legislature of 1943. Part I: **The Reorganization of Florida's Government.** Gainesville, University of Florida, Public Administration Clearing Service, 1950. 62 pp. Charts.

A Preliminary Study of Government Management in North Carolina. By Roma Cheek Sawyer. Raleigh, Office of the Governor, 1950. 127 pp.

Reorganization of the Executive Branch of the State Government of Delaware. A report to the Commission on Reorganization of the State Government by Its Executive Committee. Wilmington, the Committee, 1950. Variously paged.

Report of Iowa Governmental Reorganization Commission to Governor William S. Beardsley For Submission to the Fifty-fourth General Assembly. Des Moines, the Commission, 1950. 112 pp.

Second Report of the Special Commission on the Structure of the State Government. Third Report of the Special Commission on the Structure of the State Government. Boston, the Commission, 1950 and 1951. 10 and 17 pp. respectively.

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[1] For a review of some of these reports see the REVIEW, April 1951, page 207.

[2] For a review of these volumes see page 262, this issue.

Books in Review

Liberal Democracy: Its Merits and Prospects. By J. Roland Pennock. New York, Rinehart and Company, 1950. xii, 403 pp. $4.

A fluent and sweeping study of our way of life and its chances in a shaking world, concluding "that the essential elements of liberal democracy are still sound—sound as the human nature on which they are based; that its specific political institutions are practicable today and can be kept so with no more than the kind of continual modification that has been taking place to date, without departure from the fundamentals; and that there is a good prospect, at least as far as concerns Great Britain and the United States, that evolution will in fact continue in the liberal mold."

R. S. C.

Gambling. Should It Be Legalized? By Virgil W. Peterson. Springfield, Illinois, Charles C. Thomas, 1951. viii, 158 pp. $2.75.

One of the best posted men in the country, operating director of the Chicago Crime Commission, demonstrates that provision of some legalized gambling, public lotteries, etc., does not reduce the amount of crookedly managed, illicit gambling but increases it.

American City Government and Administration (fifth edition). By Austin F. Macdonald. New York, Thomas Y. Crowell Company, 1951. xvi, 699 pp. $4.50.

The previous editions beginning in 1929 have run through 24 printings and so this new edition needs no introduction or recommendation. The new matter is mainly in the sixteen chapters dealing with administrative departments and functions. It remains a fine readable textbook.

Surveys, Polls and Samples: Practical Procedures. By Mildred Parten. New York, Harper and Brothers, 1950. xii, 624 pp. $6.

With a background of twenty years of participation in governmental and institutional surveys, the author provides an exhaustive and lucid manual of the techniques of making sound public opinion surveys and samplings of mass information.

The People, Politics, and the Politician. Readings in American Government (revised). By A. N. Christensen and Evron M. Kirkpatrick New York, Henry Holt and Company, 1950. xiv, 1042 pp. $6.

First published in 1941, now revised, this bulky volume brings together 120 brief articles on 34 subjects dated from 1920 on and including three from the NATIONAL MUNICIPAL REVIEW, all of them transient items worth rescuing from imminent oblivion because of their lasting value.

Additional Books and Pamphlets

(See also Researcher's Digest and other departments)

Assessment Administration

Assessment Administration 1950. Papers Presented at the Sixteenth International Conference on Assessment Administration, Atlantic City, New Jersey, October 9-12, 1950. Chicago, National Association of Assessing Officers, 1951. 214 pp. $5.

Building Regulations

Building Regulation Systems in the United States. Washington 25, D. C., Housing and Home Finance Agency, Division of Housing Research, 1951. Variously paged. Tables.

Counties

Economic County Data Book for Maryland. Baltimore 2, Maryland State Planning Commission, 1950. 63 pp. $1.

Defense

Building America's Might. By Charles E. Wilson. Washington, D. C., United States Government Printing Office, 1951. 43 pp.

Civil Defense Check List for Cities. Washington, D. C., Federal Civil Defense Administration, 1950. 6 pp.

Financing Defense. Can Expenditures Be Reduced. New York 20, Committee on Federal Tax Policy, 1951. 31 pp.

Proceedings of Emergency Meeting, League of California Cities. Los Angeles 13, The League, 1951. 112 pp.

Expressways

Status of Express Highway Program. Cleveland, Regional Association, 1950. 13 pp. maps.

Federal Reorganization

Action on Hoover Commission Reports. Report of the Senate Committee on Expenditures in the Executive Departments. Washington, D. C., United States Government Printing Office, 1950. 152 pp.

Organization of Federal Executive Departments and Agencies. By Senate Committee on Expenditures in the Executive Departments. Washington 25, D. C., United States Government Printing Office, 1951. 22 pp. 20 cents.

Government Insurance

Government Insurance in the United States. By Department of Research. New York, Association of Casualty and Surety Companies, 1950. 130 pp.

Governors' Messages

Fourth Annual Message Alfred E. Driscoll, Governor of New Jersey, to the Legislature January 9, 1951. Trenton, The Governor's Office, 1951. 19 pp.

Governors' Messages—1951. Chicago 37, Council of State Governments, *State Government*, March 1951. 55 pp. 50 cents.

Handbooks

Handbook for Connecticut Selectmen. By Max R. White. Storrs, University of Connecticut, Institute of Public Service, 1951. 53 pp. 25 cents.

Housing

The Relationship Between Slum Clearance and Urban Redevelopment and Low-rent Public Housing. Washington, D. C., Housing and Home Finance Agency, Division of Slum Clearance and Urban Redevelopment, 1950. 15 pp.

Municipal Ordinances

Report of Municipal Statutes Study Committee Created by Chapter 308, Laws of the Fifty-third General Assembly, November 15, 1950. Des Moines, Iowa, Governor's Office, 1951. 37 pp.

Patrol Cars

One and Two Man Patrol Cars: Selected References. Detroit 26, Public Library, Municipal Reference Library, 1951. 4 pp.

Personnel

Counseling in Personnel Work 1945-1949. An Annotated Bibliography. By Paul S. Burnham and Stuart H. Palmer. Chicago 37, Public Administration Service, 1951. 39 pp. $1.

Price-Wage Control

Conditions Necessary for Effective Price-Wage Control. A Statement by the Program Committee. New York 22, Committee for Economic Development, 1951. 8 pp.

Salaries

Salary and Wage Data. Michigan Cities and Villages over 4,000 Population. Hours of Work, Overtime Pay Practices and Holiday Pay Practices, 1950-1951. Ann Arbor, Michigan Municipal League, 1951. 96 pp. $3.

Taxation and Finance

An Emergency Tax Program for 1951. Highlights of a Statement on National Policy issued by the Research and Policy Committee. New York 22, Committee for Economic Development, 1951. 4 pp.

Report to the Legislature for the Year Ending December 31, 1950. Boston, The Finance Commission of the City of Boston, 1951. 36 pp.

State Tax Legislation in 1950. New York 7, Tax Institute, *Tax Policy,* January-February 1951. 16 pp. 50 cents.

The Unconstitutionality of a Federal Tax upon State and Municipal Bond Interest. The Constitutional Immunity of State and Municipal Securities. Memorandum Presented by Nathaniel L. Goldstein, Attorney General, to Congress in Opposition to Proposal to Tax State and Municipal Bond Interest. Albany, Attorney General of New York State, 1951. 22 pp.

Urban Sociology

Urban Sociology and the Emerging Atomic Megalopolis (two volumes). By Jesse Walter Dees, Jr. Ann Arbor, Michigan, Ann Arbor Publishers, 1950. 538 pp. $4.

Water Supply

A Water Policy for the American People. Summary of Recommendations from the Report of the President's Water Resources Policy Commission. Washington, D. C., United States Government Printing Office, 1950. 18 pp. 15 cents.

CARE OF STATE TRUST FUNDS

(Continued from page 258)

as the funds' boards of trustees have been given. These are relatively unimportant administrative provisions, but they do represent a balance of values between the policy of holding the head of a department responsible for the conduct of the work under him and that of assuring a career service free of the possibly changing political influence of an appointive head of a department. Since the director is originally appointed on the basis of proved qualications, albeit under a special procedure applicable only to this position, the situation is similar to the usual bureau chief who is in the classified civil service.

In summary, the new legislation in New Jersey offers an example of how other states may profitably undertake one of the less glamorous but more important acts of functional reorganization. While those experienced in state administrative reorganization generally agree that actual dollar savings should not ordinarily be the measure of success, effective organization and procedure in the management and custody of public investment funds can mean much in actual dollars saved. It can assure the security of capital and adequacy of return on investments and also realize economy and efficiency in investment fund operations far beyond the possibilities suggested by the small number of persons involved in their administration.

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NEWS for League Members

Local Committee Plans Conference

The nucleus of a local arrangements committee, meeting in the office of Mayor Albert D. Cash on May 1, began making plans for the National Conference on Government which will be held in Cincinnati November 26, 27 and 28.

Mrs. Fred Lazarus, Jr., president of the Cincinnati League of Women Voters, who has accepted the chairmanship of the conference arrangements committee, said that the group would be augmented by the addition of representatives of other organizations in the community.

The committee heard Allen H. Seed, Jr., director of field services for the National Municipal League, describe the tentative program for the three-day conference which will include about 25 separate group and general sessions. He invited suggestions of problems and speakers for inclusion in the program.

In addition to those appearing in the accompanying picture the committee at present consists of: James M. Nelson, City Charter Committee; J. J. Deisenroth, Civic Research Department, Cincinnati Public Schools; Roger H. Ferger, publisher, *Cincinnati Enquirer;* Carl D. Groat, Editor, *Cincinnati Post;* Hulbert Taft, publisher, *Cincinnati Times-Star;* L. B. Wilson, president and general manager, WCKY; Allen Haid, manager, WSAI; James Shouse, chairman of the board, AVCO Manufacturing Corporation, and chairman of the board, World Affairs Council; Douglas K. Fuller, executive vice president, Chamber of Commerce; George Hayward, secretary, Citizens' Development Committee; Bernard Kashdan, director, Adult Education Council; Gale S. Lowrie, professor, political science department, University of Cincinnati; Mrs. Roswell Raitz, president, Woman's City Club; Mrs. Griffith Resor, Jr., chairman, Constitution Committee of the League of Women Voters of Ohio; E. W. Simpkinson, president, Citizens' School Committee; Leonard M. Sive, president, City Charter Committee;

(Continued on page 339)

At meeting of arrangements committee for next November's National Conference on Government in Cincinnati are, left to right: Mayor Albert D. Cash; Price Gaines, Jr., president, Junior Chamber of Commerce; E. Leo Koester, Cincinnati Chamber of Commerce; George Stimson, *Cincinnati Times-Star*; Mrs. Fred Lazarus, Jr., president, Cincinnati League of Women Voters, and chairman, conference arrangements committee; Grauman Marks, president, Cincinnati Bar Association; Forest Frank, executive director, Cincinnati City Charter Committee, and secretary, conference arrangements committee; William H. Hessler, *Cincinnati Enquirer*; Oliver M. Gale, Proctor & Gamble Company; Sam Rouda, Cincinnati Ad Club and Kroger Company official; and George Palmer, executive secretary, Hamilton County Good Government League.

Model Direct Primary System Issued

Describing reform of the primary election system as "one of the most urgent political problems of our time," a committee of the National Municipal League has issued *A Model Direct Primary Election System.*[1]

Dr. Joseph P. Harris, of the University of California, Berkeley, noted authority on election methods, served as chairman of the committee and wrote the drafts of the new model with the aid and criticism over a period of two years of the following committee:

Claude H. Allen, Minnesota House of Representatives; Albert S. Bard, The Citizens Union, New York City; Clarence A. Berdahl, University of Illinois; Hugh A. Bone, University of Washington; Franklin L. Burdette, University of Maryland; Richard S. Childs, chairman of the Executive Committee, National Municipal League; Thomas C. Desmond, New York State Senate; Harold M. Dorr, University of Michigan; V. O. Key, Jr., Yale University; Dayton D. McKean, Dartmouth College; Richard L. Neuberger, Oregon State Senate; Mrs. Kathryn H. Stone, former first vice president, League of Women Voters of the United States; Edwin E. Witte, University of Wisconsin.

"One of the pleasant myths of American politics," says the committee, "is that qualified, civic-minded citizens will voluntarily and spontaneously announce their own candidacies and run for public office, at large expense to themselves, for the privilege of serving the public."

JOSEPH P. HARRIS

The model sets forth defects of existing primary systems and makes twelve recommendations which the committee believes will, when incorporated into state laws, produce better candidates and help the well intentioned voter to participate effectively.

Among the model's recommendations are use of the short ballot, several means of encouraging party responsibility while insuring a fair chance for independent candidacies, setting of primary dates to shorten the campaigning period and simplification of party organization to increase the interest and power of the rank and file.

Far from injuring political parties, the committee believes its recommendations would "enable political organizations to bring forward well qualified candidates and induce outstanding citizens to enter public life on the basis of consistent programs and visible leadership. To this extent political parties will be brought into better order and enabled to play a more useful and salutary role in the democratic process."

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[1] 1951, 46 pages, $1.

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Editorial Comment

A Purge Past Due

NOW if ever is the time to purge public payrolls of employees who are not needed or are not qualified for the jobs they are supposed to be doing.

It is always inexcusable to hire more people than are actually needed to handle the public's business. It is especially inexcusable and actually unpatriotic to hoard manpower when there is a labor shortage and when we are under the greatest pressure to outproduce the enemies of our way of life.

Most public employees are competent and devoted, working on jobs that are important to the general welfare. Many are underpaid. Some public agencies are actually undermanned.

But it is useless to pretend that political favoritism, departmental ambitions and just plain inefficient failure to use up-to-date methods have not put many more people on public payrolls than need to be there.

The politician or elected public official is notorious for his sentimental reluctance to turn people out to shift for themselves in the harsh world, as shown by the reply a member of Philadelphia's Committee of 15 got when he pointed out to the head of a city department that the work could be handled better with half the employees by installing modern office equipment. The answer: "But office machines don't vote!"

Motives for padded payrolls are not always as crass as this, of course, but the big item in public budgets is always wages and salaries. That is where cuts must be made if an economy effort is to be more than shadow boxing.

It is being demonstrated right now in the federal government and in many state and local governments that any public agency that has not had a recent checkup can be benefited by calling in impartial experts.

The next question: How can the heat be taken off public officials who are afraid of pressure group attacks that might result from some good, healthy cutting?

Set up an advisory committee of well selected citizens to help direct surplus public employees into private jobs. This would win praise rather than blame. Those who get new jobs would be grateful, not resentful. Such a plan would, in places that have long been complacent about political payroll padding, begin educating the public toward a new concept of public office and employment. It would set an example to private as well as public employers. It would help solve the national manpower problem and limit the need for further national bureaucratic control.

By no means the least benefit would be the opportunity to raise the salaries of the remaining public employees where they have not kept pace with inflation.

With costs going up and essential materials becoming harder to get, most local and some state governments will find it harder to make ends meet and to keep plant, equipment and services up to snuff.

These were widely neglected during the depression and World War II. If, as seems probable, we face a period of chronic emergency and perpetual readiness for the worst, we must brand as unpatriotic any waste of manpower and money. Nothing could be more appropriate than for responsible local officials to take the lead in helping people get together with jobs in which they can make their maximum contribution to the country's safety and to their own self-respect. Indeed, a competent committee could be used by business and industry, as well as the public, to channel some of their own employees who could be spared into higher priority work.

The Pork Barrel Is Out

One lesson to come out of the disturbed times through which we are living is the clear necessity of maintaining at home those values which will go to make our world objectives worth while. Today, the pork-barrel philosophy ought to be discarded once and for all and, in place of seeing what can be got out of government, citizens should use every legitimate influence to improve public services and to encourage economies.—ERIC HARDY, director, CITIZENS RESEARCH INSTITUTE OF CANADA, in *Annual Report and Year Book, 1951.*

Credo of a Public Servant*

This Is My Code of Conduct in the Government Service

The government post I hold was established only to serve the public.
I accept it as a trust.

I was designated to my office by honest means.

I owe no undue allegiance to any individual, group or special interest.

I perform my duties in the spirit of a builder of good government,
worthy of the respect and support of all citizens.

I take full responsibility for my conduct in government service
and for the official conduct of government
employees who are under my jurisdiction.

I am prepared to challenge and expose misdeeds in government, no
matter what the source or the consequence.

I affirm that ignorance of misconduct does not excuse or properly explain
such misconduct, either for myself or my associates.

I consider my sworn statement of office a contract to perform my duty
according to the law. But public service requires a higher pledge,
and to this Code of Conduct I hold myself strictly accountable.

*Prepared by American Veterans Committee

They Don't Vote for Ghosts

In Seattle citizens get full information on candidates for city and county office from Municipal League report.

By **C. A. CROSSER***

IN MANY American communities, especially the larger ones, voters might just as well cast ballots for ghosts for all they know about candidates for dozens of public offices. By contrast, in Seattle and King County the Seattle Municipal League supplies thousands of voters with pertinent biographical information about candidates for local and legislative offices.

Benjamin Franklin, James Madison and other framers of our pattern of national, state and local government could not foresee this gap in our democratic processes. They didn't anticipate that this country and its communities would grow so large that voters couldn't be familiar with the personal antecedents and qualifications of candidates for public office. So, in the absence of any official procedure to enlighten voters about the many aspirants for public office, who else can provide this information but organized citizens?

The Seattle Municipal League has appraised about three thousand candidates in published reports prior to each election for the past 39 years but none of its members has been shot, socked or sued for libel as a result.

Starting with 1912, the league published reports on candidates with recommended "slates." In 1939 it stopped making recommendations and since then has appraised candidates with objective comments on their records and qualifications, leaving it to the voters to make their choices on the basis of the facts and comments presented.

The statement of league policy which appears in the forefront of the pre-election reports reads: "It shall be the policy of the Municipal League to report upon the qualifications of candidates for office to be elected within Seattle and King County, reporting in such judicial and nonpartisan manner and in such a way that the league shall in no sense be considered as sponsoring a slate."

The report on candidates is prepared by the Candidates Investigating Committee of 40 men and women. It is confined to candidates for the city of Seattle, school board, port district, King County and legislative offices. It does not cover local judicial offices beyond publishing the membership choices of the King County Bar Association—the league is considering expanding its appraisal to include judicial candidates.

Let us take the 1950 fall general election report, "Behind the Green Curtain," as an illustration. Pedigrees and comments on 93 county, port district and legislative candidates were published.

In the first column was the candi-

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*Mr. Crosser, executive secretary of the Seattle Municipal League, was actively engaged in civic and research work for years in Toledo and Des Moines before taking his present post.

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date's name and home address. The second column gave his age, number of years in county or city, marital status, whether a homeowner, education, present and previous business, professional or trade connections, and enumeration of public offices held, if any. The third column gave a thumb-nail appraisal of the candidate as to his past record in public office, if any, his qualifications and competency.

Appraisal of Candidates

If an incumbent official, his record may be recorded as "satisfactory administration of office," "sheriff's office capably administered," or "unsatisfactory record in public office." This appraisal is based on day-to-day observations by league staff members who cover the city, county and other public agencies as well as knowledge of the candidate by members of the committee.

The appraisal of legislative candidates is somewhat different. A glossary explains what the terms "capable," "average" or "unsatisfactory" legislator mean. This of course applies only to incumbents. Next, they are appraised as to their economic outlook—whether conservative, middle-of-the-road or all out for higher taxes and governmental expansion. The term "liberal" is not used. Who is the "liberal" nowadays?

On-the-scene observations of state legislators, by a league staff member who covers the legislative session, helps the committee.

Thus a candidate may be dubbed "capable legislator, favors extensive expansion of governmental activities and services," or "average legislator; moderate." From this the voter can take his pick of a smart tax spender or a not-so-smart middle-of-the-roader.

Candidates who are first-time seekers of public office are appraised on the basis of their business or professional background or community activities with such comments as "well regarded in his community," "alert, sincere," "well informed on problems of office" or "successful in business."

Persons who are finicky about language may find fault endlessly with the terms used in these reports. We invite them to toy around with this job to see how much better they could do it. Members of the appraisal committee themselves never are entirely satisfied. But the upshot is that the appraisal comments, expressed in simple language, do give voters a pretty good idea about the man or woman for whom they are to vote.

Every summer committee preference sheets are sent to the 4,400 league members, to get their choice of service among the seventeen standing committees. The returns include those who wish to serve on the Candidates Investigating Committee. The president and staff review these. In some, the "ax" of political interest gleams brightly. These are quickly eliminated. The test for membership on this important committee of about 40 is that the applicants must be citizens of repute and good community standing. They don't have to be "big shots." Their politics are not inquired into—the only deviation is an attempt to enroll several well known Democrats and Republicans of integrity for the purpose of supplying the committee with "low down" about candidates from their own parties. The committee chairman is carefully selected by the president and approved by the Board of Trustees.

Over the years, files have been built up on the local aspirants for public office. Press clippings are filed when he is elected president of his community club, promoted in his business or when he has been arrested for drunk-driving.

Questionnaires are sent to all candidates inquiring as to their vital statistics, educational, business, professional or other backgrounds, military service, club affiliations, campaign supporters, etc. They are asked to name several well known citizens as references who are checked by phone. Formerly, candidates were asked whether they considered themselves "conservative," "middle-of-the-road" or "liberal." Everyone called himself a "liberal."

All this information is summarized on mimeographed pages which are made into books for the use of members of the committee.

At the committee's organization meeting the chairman emphasizes the objective policy of the appraisal and urges secrecy over the deliberations. The board recently recommended that members of the 1952 committee sign an affirmation that they will not be active in the campaigns of any candidate and that they pledge themselves to secrecy about the discussions. This grew out of several unfortunate though not serious incidents.

When too little information is available about a candidate, two-member teams of the committee visit him in his home. Credit reports are obtained about some candidates. These frequently give clues as to how an aspirant might be expected to handle millions of dollars, based on the manner in which he has run his own smaller affairs.

Committee Hears Candidates

Candidates are invited to appear before the committee. About 80 per cent do so. At this hearing the chairman places the candidate at his ease by assurance of the informality and confidential nature of the proceedings. He is given a slip with a few questions concerning the duties and problems of the office he seeks. This is designed primarily to disclose his effort to familiarize himself with the office. Committee members record their impressions on check-sheets in their books.

One might feel depressed at the many uninformed, unqualified third-raters who seek public office. But, on the other hand, there are those candidates for whom sacrificial public service far outweighs the compensation. In recent years a number of returned war veterans, whose experiences have fired them with zeal to help better their community, have appeared as candidates.

There are the glib ones, the issue-dodgers, the shallow thinkers, the uninformed but sincere ones, the timid ones who wish they had never tossed their hats in the ring, the idealists, the habitual office-seekers, the suspected fellow-travellers, the conservatives, the crack-pots, the plain dummies and a minority of competent incumbents and promising first-time aspirants.

This is an experience which members of the Investigating Committee never forget and they feel deeply their responsibility at playing a kind of election "god." Anyone who talks politics in committee meetings is cracked down.

The committee members spend several long sessions in compressing their impressions of candidates into terse, over-all comments about their records, competency and qualifications. Notes in committeemen's books are fused into comments agreed upon by the majority. Nobody is entirely satisfied with the results and damn the limitations of the King's English. After the report is completed, it is transmitted to the league board of trustees for possible revision and final approval.

Incidentally, the report contains brief explanations of all ballot propositions. Some are endorsed, some are disapproved and some are presented without comment. This action follows thorough investigation by league standing committees.

The two daily papers wait on the league doorstep to get this report, which they print in detail thus bringing it into hundreds of thousands of Seattle and King County voters' homes.

The report is published also in the league's weekly *Municipal News*. Not only do its 4,400 members receive copies of the *News* but also the 10,000 persons on the membership prospect list. Reports for the four 1950 elections, sent out with appeals for contributions to help in the printing, brought in $7,600 and 500 new members. More than half the league membership consists of persons who have joined because of appreciation of this service. This is a hint to other organizations seeking a means of building up membership.

No Explosions — Just Pops

After the release of the report, league staff members hold their ears for the ensuing explosion. But, strangely, there are only mild pops from a few candidates who call up with complaints about their appraisals. Some have threatened libel suits which never materialized.

In partisan elections complaints come from members of both parties, which is a rough indication of the nonpartisan attitude of the committee. Probably more squawks come from Democrats than Republicans. This is not because the league has any avowed Republican bias but because more candidates from this party reflect the middle-of-the-road economic outlook of the majority of the members of this organization. But offsetting this are repeated instances in recent years of league blessings on a number of capable Democratic incumbents of some county offices.

Next comes the distribution. Literally, the reports go like hot cakes. Civic organizations, churches, retail and manufacturing concerns clamor for large bundles to distribute to members or employees. Non-league members come to the office for copies. Prior to elections this certainly is the "book of the month" in Seattle. Few copies are left.

Frequently, candidates who get a favorable league comment use these statements on their billboard and other advertising. In some cases where the league gave a mixed appraisal, the favorable part has been deftly extracted and publicized.

For some days prior to election, the league phones are busy with inquiries from persons who want to know what the league said about certain candidates. On election day it is a common sight to see voters at the polls clutching their league reports, which they consult when pulling down the voting machine levers.

Good Officials Elected?

As compared with a total vote of over 200,000 for the 1950 fall general election in King County, 71,000 copies of the league report were distributed. This indicates that a substantial number of voters may have been helped by it.

Have these league election reports resulted in a corps of model public officials in Seattle and King County like those in Plato's Ideal Republic? Or have they been merely another drift of printed sheets which have landed in ashcans while incompetents roost securely in public office? The truth is somewhere between. Results are hard to measure. The benefit of the report in helping good candidates into public office, however, can be proved in numerous cases.

Several years ago an unknown but competent newcomer announced himself as a candidate for the Port Commission. He ran against a mediocre incumbent who held a tremendous advantage. After checking his antecedents, the league report gave the new man its blessing and he was elected. A few years ago a league report commented thus on the incumbent county treasurer who had thoroughly snarled up the tax records, "record of incompetence as county treasurer." He was defeated although the other officials belonging to his party were elected. The same thing happened several years ago to a city councilman who failed to measure up to his colleagues who were reelected.

There is little question but that the incumbent mayor in 1948, one of the best city executives in the country, who was elected by a narrow squeak of 2,400 votes, would have been defeated had it not been for the league's favorable comment.

Quite convincing was the effect of the league's report on the 95 candidates for the County Freeholders Charter Commission in 1950. The league recommended a slate of fifteen, all of whom had given assurance of supporting its recommendation for a county manager charter. All fifteen were elected from the large field.

The league reports have had more effect on city and county elections than on legislative contests because some legislators come from outlying rural districts with few members.

By and large public officials in Seattle and King County average up better than those in many communities. League members like to think that their reports have been a contributory factor.

Home Rule in Labor Peace

States have developed successful mediation facilities; New Jersey board has settled more than 3,500 disputes.

By **ALLAN WEISENFELD***

"PICKETS Defy Injunction Ban!"

"Three Are Injured in Clash Between Workers and Strikers."

"Bread Shortage Looms as Strike Enters Eighth Day."

These are typical headlines as the press reports the daily news of labor-management relations. Economic strife is news—dramatic news of conflict between management and men. A strike is not unlike a war, the front is the picket line rather than the fox hole.

Strike news, however, tells but a bare fragment of the story of industrial relations in America. It is estimated that some 100,000 contracts are negotiated annually. The strike then is the exception rather than the rule as an arbiter of the terms and conditions under which people work.

Primarily, the tendency toward a reduction in strike activity stems from two causes: (1) Since the United States Supreme Court sustained the constitutionality of the Wagner Act, employers have increasingly accepted the principles of collective bargaining; (2) A large percentage of current contracts provides for a grievance procedure terminating in an arbitration clause.

The first reason has created an atmosphere in which labor-management differences may be explored without fear by the unions of threats to their institutional life. The second has virtually eliminated strikes during the life of a contract. This development of an escape valve in day-to-day industrial relations has moved one writer to comment humorously:

> They've dehumanized business, that's what. They've taken all the warm personal relations out of industry. It used to be, when I wanted to fire a man, I would call him into my office and give him the sack, man to man. But now—shop stewards, grievance committee, red tape. It's so cold and mechanical.[1]

Primarily, labor disputes today concern themselves with bread and butter issues. Wages, pensions, social security and related economic matters constitute the major controversies. Because of this narrowing down of the issues progress has been made in devising techniques for the settlement of disputes.

Elimination of disputes is probably undesirable. It is inherent in the democratic process that individuals reserve the freedom to disagree. In the area of industrial relations, disagreements are essentially over the division of the fruits of productivity. The right to disagree has a price tag attached. At times the price of exercising these rights is so high as to be condemned as a luxury which the nation can ill-afford. Yet democracy, as a dynamic living force, cannot be denied on the economic front and persist politically for long. Particularly in times of crisis, the people are faced with a hard choice—permit an unrestricted right to strike when bargaining breaks down and suffer the costs of lost productivity or restrict utilization of the strike weapon and run the risk of institutionalizing governmental direction of labor relations.

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*Mr. Weisenfeld is secretary of the New Jersey State Board of Mediation as well as adjunct associate professor at the Graduate School of Stevens Institute of Technology and lecturer, economics and management, at Rutgers University.

[1] Max Shulman, *Sleep Till Noon*, page 64.

New Techniques Evolve

Fortunately it may not be necessary, at least in the foreseeable future,[2] to choose either alternative. America has been slowly developing techniques for resolving labor disputes that may enable us to have our cake and eat it.

I am convinced that the nation can ill-afford to pay the price of protracted economic losses because of labor disputes. At the same time, I am equally convinced it would be most damaging to the ideals of democracy were the right to strike restricted. In order to minimize the costs of disagreement, however, we must create an atmosphere in which agreements can be reached readily.

Late in the 19th century four eastern industrial states—New York, New Jersey, Maryland and Massachusetts—established machinery providing impartial forums for the airing and adjudication of disputes without recourse to economic self-help. In the 1913 act establishing the United States Department of Labor, provision was made for mediation by the secretary of labor. Despite the fact that the states initially recognized the need of mediation facilities, it soon fell to the lot of the federal agency to settle most of the major disputes until about a decade ago.

During this period those immediately concerned with maintaining industrial peace became aware that labor disputes were essentially local. For the most part, firms engaged in labor disputes were local employers. Employees were from the community in which they had employment. Obviously disputes involving local people were more amenable to settlement within the area by people in the community whose prestige and integrity were known. As a result, industrial states strengthened statutory means for the settlement of disputes arising within their boundaries.

Today, the principle of mediation, as a technique of settling labor disputes on the local level, is well established. Thirty-seven states and territories have authorities which promote the voluntary mediation and conciliation of labor disputes. The United States Department of Labor reports that special authorities or boards for mediation have been established in eleven states, eight within departments of labor—Connecticut, Maine, Massachusetts, Minnesota, New Hampshire, New Jersey, New York and Oklahoma; three outside such departments—Michigan, Oregon and Wisconsin.[3]

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[2] The conclusion is predicated on the assumption that the Korean conflict does not expand into World War III.

[3] U. S. Department of Labor, Division of Labor Statistics, Bulletin No. 91, 1947.

In 1941 the New Jersey legislature, by unanimous vote, created a State Board of Mediation to conciliate, mediate and arbitrate labor disputes. The keynote to the activities of this board is sounded in the declaration of policy of the statute:

> It is . . . the public policy of this state that the best interests of the people of the state are served by the prevention or prompt settlement of labor disputes; that strikes and lockouts and other forms of industrial strife, regardless where the merits of the controversy lie, are forces productive ultimately of economic waste; that the interests and rights of the consumers and the people of the state, while not direct parties thereto, should be considered, respected and protected; and that the voluntary mediation of such disputes under the guidance and supervision of a governmental agency will tend to promote permanent industrial peace and the health, welfare, comfort and safety of the people of the state.

New Jersey Setup

On the theory that all segments of society have a stake in industrial peace, the New Jersey State Board of Mediation is a tripartite body, seven in number, appointed by the governor with the consent of the Senate. Three members represent the public, two management, and two labor. Each is a leader in his field. The board performs a dual function—determining policy and participating in major disputes. Assisting the board are six full-time professional mediators drawn from the fourth estate, law, engineering and the university campus.

Mediation as a technique of settling disputes is more an art than a science. Labor disputes, by their character, do not lend themselves to the application of slide-rule techniques. Disputes involve not only economic issues but frequently are supercharged with personality differences. The mediator, therefore, cannot avail himself of a "handbook" as a guide as he goes from dispute to dispute. The factual problems in different disputes may be similar but the personalities involved are dissimilar. Equally dissimilar is the history of past relationships between the parties. Mediation requires a practical application of such social sciences as economics, psychology, sociology and politics.

Mediation is not a substitute for collective bargaining. It is rather an adjunct. The mediator serves as a catalyst — the medium through which disputants are assisted in reaching their own agreements. The only power a mediator can wield is that of persuasion. His suggestions will be influential only to the extent that the parties have faith in his impartiality, integrity and know-how.

The job of mediator is an exacting one. The hours frequently are extended and the costs of failure are high.

On a Sunday evening in October 1949, I was attending a dinner-dance with my wife. At about 10.30 P.M. I received a telephone call from a representative of the unions meeting with the milk industry employers in New York to the effect that negotiations were stalemated and a strike loomed. A strike would cut off the supply of milk to approximately twelve million consumers in New York City, southern

Connecticut and northern New Jersey. At midnight I joined the negotiations. At 6 A.M. the meeting was adjourned until 2 P.M. Monday. The contract was to expire at 4 P.M. Monday.

From 2 P.M. on Monday until the following Thursday at 1 A.M. negotiations were conducted continuously. The metropolitan newspapers were intensively covering the negotiations, reflecting the concern of consumers. After 60 hours of unbroken negotiations, an agreement was reached assuring consumers of uninterrupted milk supply for at least an additional two years, the term of the agreement.

All disputes submitted to mediation are, of course, not so extended nor do they so directly affect the public welfare. Some disputes even have their humorous aspects.

In another matter the union was seeking an eleven-cent per hour increase. The best employer offer to the moment the parties came into the offices of the Mediation Board was three cents per hour. Both parties were adamant. After three hours of debate and mutual recrimination, the mediator suggested a caucus. In his private meeting with union representatives, they indicated that because of other interests they were willing to settle for five cents. Armed with this information the mediator joined the employer's caucus. The employer promptly advised that he had decided on one final offer to avert a strike. If the mediator thought that a seven-cent offer would resolve the dispute, the employer would make the proposal. Otherwise, he was prepared to take the consequences.

It isn't often that the mediator is faced with the dilemma of an employer offering more than the union has indicated as its rock bottom price.

During its almost ten years of existence the board has settled over 3,500 disputes by mediation. Nine hundred were strike situations. The remainder were potential strikes which presumably were avoided because the services of the board were available and the parties had the will, through the medium of the board, to find the answers to their problems.

Early in its life the board recognized that disputes arising out of the interpretation and/or application of the terms of the agreement do not lend themselves to mediation. Rather they represent matters that, by their character, are arbitrable.

Arbitration Cases

Here is an example. A labor contract provided for six paid holidays. To qualify for holiday pay, the employee was required "to work the day before and the day after the holiday." On Wednesday, February 21, the day before Washington's Birthday, a paid holiday, Richard ——— was in the plant cafeteria having lunch. A telephone call informed him that his wife had just given birth to their first child. His unfinished lunch was left on his tray. With a word to a fellow workman to advise his foreman, he punched out and raced to the hospital to see his wife and greet the new arrival. Thursday being a holiday he did not work. On Friday he reported as usual and worked all day.

When the employee received his pay he found that he had not been paid for the holiday. He filed a complaint with the shop steward who took the grievance step by step through the grievance procedure without avail. The company insisted that the requirement "to work the day before and the day after the holiday" meant the whole day. Happily for the new father, the arbitrator appointed by the mediation board supported his contention. "After all," he reasoned, "it isn't every day that one has such cause to leave his job during the course of working hours."

Typically, an arbitration case arises out of a discharge, a lay-off, a dispute regarding the withholding of holiday or vacation pay or some other matter relating to a contract. The contract represents the "law" by which the parties live. The possibility of successful application of the mediation technique is extremely narrow because mediation may result in altering the "law" the parties agreed to live by. Generally, neither of the parties desires to change the agreement. They seek interpretation in accordance with their respective views. Generally, the area of compromise is fully explored in the grievance procedure.

When the parties have reached the conclusion that arbitration is the only means of settling a controversy, they have, for all practical purposes, closed the door on mediation. They now want someone to tell them what to do. They no longer want someone to suggest a course of action which might solve the problem but give each somewhat less than he thinks he is entitled to.

Since parties submit a dispute to arbitration because they seek a favorable as well as a definite answer, one of them will be disappointed. For this reason the New Jersey State Board of Mediation does not permit either board or staff members to act as arbitrators. A staff or board member who, while acting as arbitrator, ruled against one party is not likely to be received with open arms in a subsequent dispute in which the services of a mediator are required.

Board Suggests Arbitrators

Since it is a managerial function to apply the labor contract to work-a-day problems in the plant, it is generally the labor union which is aggrieved by an alleged misapplication of contract terms. Generally, therefore, the labor union is the moving party in an arbitration procedure. The New Jersey State Board of Mediation is named in many contracts as the arbitration agency. A union which has exhausted the grievance machinery unsuccessfully will, if the contract so provides, petition the board to appoint an arbitrator to hear and decide the issues.

Despite the fact that the board is named as the arbitration agency and is therefore authorized, upon request, to appoint an arbitrator without further consultation with the parties, it believes the interests of industrial peace can best be served if the principles of mutuality inherent in the mediation process are projected into the arbitration process. Therefore, upon receiving a request for appointment of an arbitrator, the board submits five names from its panel to each party, together with biographical sketches. It requests the disputants to rate the names in order of preference and then appoints as arbitrator a person reasonably acceptable to both. The board handles all preliminaries incidental to the conduct of the proceedings in order to expedite the resolution of the dispute.

During an average year the board handles more than two hundred arbitrations. It regards the increasing utilization of such procedures as a healthy development, substituting orderly action for economic self-help.

Public Utility Disputes

The most dramatic aspect of the board's job relates to disputes in the state's public utility operations. The problem of industrial warfare in public utilities was brought sharply to public attention when, in November 1945, it was indicated that negotiations between 3,500 men represented by the International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers (AFL) and the largest utility in the state, the Public Service Electric and Gas Company, were stalemated and a work stoppage was imminent.

Newspapers of the state expressed dire forebodings. The Camden *Morning Post,* on November 23, dramatically outlined the effects of a strike:

> News wire service would be out. Trolley and electric buses would halt. Home and industrial lighting would cease. Oil, electric and gas heating for homes and industries would become inoperative. Water services would halt. Traffic and street lights would go out. Draw and turn bridges would be paralyzed. Newspapers would be unable to publish due to the lack of power for machines and presses.

New Jersey was among the first of the states to come to grips with the problem of utility labor disputes. In April 1946 the legislature enacted a statute providing for gubernatorial seizure of struck utility plants if a strike deleteriously affects the health and welfare of the citizens. Provision was made for public hearing of the issues in dispute following seizure.

During its first year the legislation was not uniformly successful. On the eve of the national telephone strike in April 1947 the law was amended to provide for compulsory arbitration.

Subsequently the act received two major tests in the state courts. As an outgrowth of the telephone strike, a declaratory judgment as to constitutionality was sought by the attorney general. The New Jersey Supreme Court supported the motives of the statute but held the act unconstitutional for lack of "standards" to guide arbitrators. This defect was promptly remedied. The legislature amended the statute by incorporating such standards.

The second major legal test also involved the telephone industry. The New Jersey Bell Telephone Company attacked an arbitration award under the amended act, contending that the law was unconstitutional, the standards too vague and the award not in conformance with the

(Continued on page 322)

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Kansas City, Mo.

Compulsory Reapportionment

Texas board, set up by constitutional amendment to act if legislature fails, solves part of a chronic problem.

By ROBERT H. McCLAIN, JR.*

THIS first year following a federal census one of the perennial problems faced by American state governments is again accentuated and brought into focus. This is the matter, basic to all republican government, of providing and maintaining adequate and equitable representation in the legislature for all segments of the population—a problem which, although it is as old as the states themselves, still remains unsolved.

It has always been assumed that our state governments are both representative and democratic. But, if a strict comparison were made of the theories of representative democracy and the practice of government today, most of our state governments would be found lacking. In short, here is an area in which our theories and our practice conflict and we simply do not "practice what we preach."

If any government is to be both representative and democratic, in the sense that it holds to the ideal of democracy that all men are created equal, the apportionment of representation must be such that it will be as nearly representative of the population of the state as possible and at the same time assure equal representation to every citizen. No matter what the basis of that apportionment might be, the same measure must be applied to all alike. When the apportioning base is one which does not remain constant, such as population or the number of qualified electors, the apportionment must also be altered periodically if even a semblance of equality is to be maintained.

Two familiar practices in American state government are in conflict with these ideas—the common custom of discriminating against urban populations by limiting their representation in state legislatures and the routine refusal of most apportioning authorities to make a periodic reapportionment. It is this latter practice with which this article deals.

Texas, while it has no accomplishment to boast about in doing away with urban discrimination, has at least made some progress in achieving a periodic apportionment. Benefiting from the experience of other states, Texas adopted a constitutional amendment in 1948 which had the effect of forcing the legislature into passing a reapportionment at the current session. If the legislature had not, an ex officio board established by that amendment would have done the job for it.

The Texas legislature has not proved to be very different from those of other states in regard to reapportioning legislative representation. Legislatures in those states in which they are the apportioning authorities are, for several reasons, notoriously reluctant to make any periodic reapportionment. The legislators prefer, of course, to keep the districts in which they are known and in which they have a record of winning. They are hesitant about changing districts in which their party has a marked superiority. The legislators from districts which would lose in a reapportionment are generally in control of the legislature. And, finally, the legislators dislike any plan which would prevent some friend and fellow legislator from returning to the state capital at the next session. These reasons are logical, human and quite understandable; but they are not justifiable when the refusal of the legislature to reapportion deprives the people in various sections of the state of their fair share of representation.

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In Texas, these more or less standard reasons for failing to reapportion were emphasized by conditions within the state itself. The enormous growth of the cities and of the metropolitan regions surrounding them and the very noticeable shifts of population from North and East Texas to the gulf coast and western regions are but two of these conditions. At any rate, the legislature, although obligated by the state constitution to reapportion every ten years, had for the past twenty years simply refused to redistrict the state. Some form of coercion was the inevitable result and, oddly enough, this coercion came from the legislature itself. In response to insistent demands by people in the areas greatly underrepresented, the legislature finally submitted a proposal to the vote of the people.

Redistricting Board Provided

The constitutional amendment which forced the legislature into action provides that, in the event the legislature should fail to pass a reapportionment bill for either or both houses in the first regular session following a decennial federal census, the Legislative Redistricting Board will meet within 90 days after the final adjournment of the legislature and reapportion either or both of the houses, as the action of the legislature requires. The members of this board are the lieutenant governor, the speaker of the House of Representatives, the attorney general, the comptroller of public accounts and the commissioner of the General Land Office. Any three of these will constitute a quorum and any bill approved by at least three and filed with the secretary of state shall have the same force as any law passed by the legislature. The governor's signature is not required and the Supreme Court of Texas has the power to issue a writ of mandamus compelling action by the proper officials.

The Texas amendment bears great similarity to the provision for reapportionment in the old constitution of Missouri and in the more recent amendments to the constitutions of Arkansas and California. It seems, however, that the Texas amendment combines the better features of the latter and effectively corrects the faults of the provision of the Missouri constitution.

Although Missouri now has a new constitution and a new provision for reapportionment, the old constitution contained a provision which has served as the example for other states. Under it the reapportionment board consisted of the governor, the attorney general and the secretary of state and was given the duty of apportioning the senatorial districts in the event the legislature failed to do so. In several cases, however, the Supreme Court of Missouri ruled that the governor must approve and proclaim as law any action taken by these officials; that this grant of power to executive officials was legislative in character and that, therefore, the court could not compel action by a writ of mandamus; and that a subsequent initiative and referendum amendment to the constitution, which reserved all legislative power to the legislature and the people, actually withdrew the original grant.

Other State Provisions

In 1936 Arkansas amended its constitution by removing the apportioning authority from the legislature and investing it in a three-member Board of Apportionment composed of the governor, the attorney general and the secretary of state. Action by this board could be compelled and reviewed by the State Supreme Court.

The constitution of California was amended in 1942 to provide for a Legislative Reapportionment Commission composed of the lieutenant governor, the attorney general, the state controller, the secretary of state and the superintendent of public instruction. This commission was given the task of reapportioning either or both the Assembly and the Senate if appropriate action was not taken by the legislature in the first regular session following a decennial federal census.

It can be seen that the Texas amendment combines the Arkansas and California amendments, which in turn were similar to the Missouri provision. While leaving the apportioning authority in the legislature, as does the California amendment, it provides for compulsory action by the board and mandamus, if necessary, as does the Arkansas amendment. Also, the Texas amendment provides for a quorum, as did the Missouri constitution, but does not require any action by the governor.

Compulsory apportionment is in itself no cure-all. It does not solve the second aspect of the reapportionment problem—urban discrimination. However, as advantageous as it would be to attack the entire problem in one amendment, a solution to either aspect of the problem is better than none at all. Even if unaccompanied by desirable reforms in the apportioning system, a provision for a periodic apportionment will accomplish something because in any reapportionment some concession must be made to the areas obviously underrepresented.

This was the situation in Texas. Because of constitutional restrictions, the urban areas of Texas do not receive their proper share in any reapportionment of representation. But, in the bills which were passed in the current session, these

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News in Review

City, State and Nation . . . . *Edited by H. M. Olmsted*

Another Victory Scored in San Antonio Fight

Officials Elected Pledged to Council-Manager Plan

THE citizens of San Antonio, Texas, voted twice on May 8 to reiterate their previously expressed demands for the council-manager plan to replace their commission form of government. Two years ago Mayor Jack White was overwhelmingly elected on the manager plan issue, but his four fellow-commissioners frustrated all efforts to carry out his pledge.

At the recent election these four were soundly defeated, but Mayor White was re-elected by a vote of 26,738 out of a total vote of 45,799. The four other places on the city commission were filled by candidates elected on the same ticket as the mayor. All but one obtained clear majorities; the one exception received 19,736 votes against 15,636 for his nearest competitor, who has announced he does not desire a run-off election. The citizens also voted nearly three to one to set up a charter commission and elected a fifteen-man slate headed by W. W. McAllister and committed to the drafting of a council-manager charter.

One of the results of the election is a move on the part of residents of several suburbs to have their communities annexed to San Antonio. "The only thing they have against San Antonio," said Mayor White, "is its rotten politics."

Council-manager Plan Developments

At a special municipal election in **Arcadia, California,** (23,041) on April 24, a council-manager charter was approved by a vote of 1,482 to 326. The charter has been submitted to the state legislature for ratification. The move for a new charter was begun by the city council, which appointed a committee to make recommendations. The committee suggested the council-manager plan and the council prepared a tentative draft with Louis H. Burke as consultant. It then referred its draft to a citizens committee of 30, which after study made revisions which the council accepted.

On April 17 **Madison, South Dakota,** (5,142) voted 800 to 779 in favor of the council-manager plan. The present three-member commission will be succeeded by a nine-member commission or council. Election of the latter must be held within 30 days, according to the city attorney.

Waurika, Oklahoma, (2,336) adopted a council-manager charter on April 27 by a vote of 192 to 37.

At the annual town meeting of **Arlington, Massachusetts,** on April 12 a proposal to establish the town manager plan was approved by voice vote. The proposal is now before the legislature in the form of a bill and if enacted will be submitted to local referendum. The plan had been drafted by a committee authorized at a special town meeting on October 4, 1950.

The April 1951 annual town meeting in **Dedham, Massachusetts,** approved the report of a town manager study committee appointed in 1950. The report asked that the committee be empowered to draft a manager plan proposal for submission to the legislature and, if approved, to referendum at the 1952 town meeting.

At the request of the special committee of the **Amesbury, Massachusetts,** town meeting appointed to

PERIODICAL DEPT.

study the town manager plan, a bill proposing the plan has been introduced in the State Senate. If enacted, it will be submitted to the 1952 town meeting.

On April 30 voters of **Nahant, Massachusetts,** turned down a proposal to adopt town manager government, 611 to 416.

Maywood, New Jersey, on May 8 defeated a council-manager proposal 1,088 to 786. This was the first such election in New Jersey under the so-called Faulkner optional charter act.[1] Maywood is a borough with a mayor and council. The local Republican administration opposed the change, apparently because of the nonpartisan feature of the proposal rather than the manager idea. Municipal employees turned out in force to work against the plan.

Citizens of **West Orange** and **Hoboken, New Jersey,** have been circulating petitions to place one of the optional statutory council-manager plans on the ballot.

An act providing a council-manager charter for **Takoma Park, Maryland,** has been passed by the 1951 legislature and signed by the governor. The charter must now be submitted to local referendum in March 1952.

In **Savannah, Georgia,** where the citizens approved the council-manager plan in an advisory vote, a petition was submitted to the city council in mid-April, calling for an election to select a commission to draft a manager charter under the state's new home rule act, but efforts to obtain immediate action were unsuccessful.

A petition for a referendum vote in **Owensboro, Kentucky,** at the November election, on adoption of the council-manager plan was filed with the county court on April 16. If the referendum is successful the manager plan would become effective in January 1954.

With adoption of the manager plan by **Farmington, Michigan,** reported last month, ten out of the eleven cities in Oakland County have adopted the plan. The one exception, South Lyon, has only about 1,200 population and has a modern non-manager charter.

The **Illinois** House of Representatives, by a vote of 90 to 19, has passed a bill giving all municipalities of 500,000 population or less the option of adopting the council-manager plan. At present only those of 5,000 or less may so act. The proposal is now before the Senate.

The charter commission of **St. Cloud, Minnesota,** newly elected for a four-year term, decided on April 10 to prepare a charter amendment establishing the council-manager plan, to be voted on next fall. A council-manager charter submitted to a vote in February 1948 was defeated.

Petitions in favor of the council-manager plan have been circulated in **Marshalltown, Iowa.**

Konawa, Oklahoma, voted on April 24 to retain the manager plan, 402 to 16.

The charter committee set up in **Beeville, Texas,** to draft a new charter has announced that it will provide for the council-manager plan.

The **San Carlos, California,** city council voted in March to rescind the manager ordinance adopted in 1949.

The city council of **Yuba City, California,** on April 2 adopted an ordinance establishing the position of administrative officer, effective in 30 days. This officer would have coordinating, budgeting, public relations and personnel responsibilities, as assigned to him by the council.

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[1] See the REVIEW, June 1950, page 293.

Facts About the Council-manager Plan

The 1951 *Municipal Year Book,* to be published in June, will list a total of 1,013 council-manager cities as of March 1.[1] This includes 35.4 per cent of the cities over 25,000 population according to the 1950 census. Only one city over 500,000 has the plan, Cincinnati, but the next classification (100,000 to 500,000) has 29, or 33 per cent.

Seventy-six per cent of managers appointed in 1950 were from out of town as compared with 38 per cent in 1939. Cities hiring their first manager have almost without exception appointed experienced out-of-town men. Counting ten who died and four who developed ill health, 120 managers were separated from the service in 1950, a turnover of 12.6 per cent. The oldest city manager is 77 and now in his 32nd year as manager of Fillmore, California.

Seventy-three per cent of the 953 managers in office at the end of 1950 were still serving in their first city and 16 per cent were in their second; 29 of them have been in the profession 25 years or more. Fifty-two per cent of new appointments in 1950 had been managers, assistant managers or internes in manager cities, as compared with 23 per cent in 1939. The percentage of municipal engineers in the profession is diminishing, with an increase in those with public administration background. The tenure of managers is gradually lengthening. The average tenure of those leaving the service in 1950 (excluding those with less than two years service) is 8.9 years.

New Charters in Maryland; Home Rule Gains

Although recent efforts to obtain municipal home rule in Maryland by constitutional provision have not as yet succeeded, substantial home rule progress has been made, according to the Maryland Municipal League.

Four new charters approved by the 1951 legislature contain provisions authorizing the municipalities concerned to amend their charters. The legislature also approved an amendment to that effect for the Cumberland charter. If these proposed new charters obtain the necessary local approval Maryland will have six municipalities with legislative grants of home rule.

The legislature approved new or largely revised charters for Salisbury, Frederick, Friendsville, Mount Airy, Chevy Chase Village, Denton and Cheverly. Although none of these provide the council-manager plan, the Salisbury charter—which takes effect January 1, 1952, if approved at a local referendum September 21, 1951—would create the position of executive secretary to the mayor; he would be appointed by the mayor and city council and the mayor could delegate any of his administrative powers to the executive secretary. The latter would also serve as purchasing agent under a central purchasing system. The financial functions of the existing elective city clerk, collector of taxes and treasurer would be performed by a treasurer appointed by the mayor and council.

Both the charter for Frederick, which is scheduled to take effect June 1 without a referendum, and the charter for Friendsville, which becomes effective if approved at a referendum by September 1, provide increased powers for the mayor. Like the Salisbury charter, they provide for local amendment.

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[1] A total of 1,030 has been unofficially reported as of May 15, 1951.

Washington Cities Lose Out on Home Rule

The recent legislative session in the state of Washington failed to advance the cause of local autonomy, particularly by defeating a proposed constitutional home rule amendment. A bill to authorize cities to cope with parking as a comunity problem died in the Senate Rules Committee. Proposed legislation to enable cities to redevelop blighted areas failed to pass.

One adopted bill, favored by the Association of Washington Cities in connection with annexations, provides definite procedures for transfer of sewer, water and fire district facilities to the annexing city, either in whole or in part, depending on whether such districts are wholly or partly annexed.

Bayonne, New Jersey, Votes for Charter Commission

In Bayonne, New Jersey, where the city commission blocked a move for a council-manager charter by providing for election of a charter commission, the latter was chosen at the city election on May 8. Its members were sponsored by the same group which won the city commission. Hence it is not considered likely that a change from the present commission form of government will be recommended.

The winning slate for the city commission received less than one-third of the total vote. There were four five-man slates in the field, and three other candidates for commissionerships. Thus, the use of the plurality system, without even a run-off election to follow, produced a minority government.

The four full slates were labeled with these glowing designations (listed here in the order of the size of vote): Build for Bayonne; Safe, Sane, Common Sense Government; Civic Candidates for a Better Bayonne; Charter Reform and Lower Taxes.

In a near duplicate of the Bayonne election, five city commissioners were elected in Hoboken, New Jersey, by about one-third of the total vote scattered across a field of 48 candidates.

New Zoning Plan Proposed in New York

The City of New York, which pioneered in regulation of the use of private land through its zoning resolution of 1916, now has under consideration a comprehensive report proposing a completely revised zoning plan. It is the result of a two-year study by the firm of Harrison, Ballard and Allen as consultants to the City Planning Commission.

The new plan aims to provide better protection against excessive congestion and better safeguards as to light and air, while allowing more freedom for good building design and easier understanding of zoning regulations. Control of the size or bulk of buildings would be effected by prescription of various "floor area ratios"—the relation of total floor area to lot area. The amount of available daylight is controlled by requirements of various vertical light angles and horizontal spread. More off-street parking and loading space would be required in new construction.

The proposals would establish fifteen basic types of districts representing variations of the three chief categories of land use; six of these would be for residential and associated uses, five for commercial uses and four for manufacturing or industrial uses. These fifteen basic types of districts are further divided into 38 zoning districts distinguished from one another primarily by differences in bulk restrictions. There would also be eighteen use groups based on more specific types of permissible establishments.

At present the use, height and area

restrictions are shown on three separate maps. The new proposal requires only one map. All the regulations for each district are set forth in a series of tables. A positive or permissive rather than negative or restrictive brand of regulation is attempted.

The report will be studied by the City Planning Commission and will be the subject of public hearings before final official action is taken.

District of Columbia Reorganization Studied

The government of the District of Columbia has arranged for a study with a view to management improvement and reorganization. Walter G. Held, assistant professor of public administration at The American University, has been retained as consultant on reorganization.

Building Code Services Available to New York Cities

The New York State Building Construction Code, now in preparation by the State Building Code Commission, will be available not only to 339 New York municipalities with building regulations but to more than 1,200 other municipalities without regulations of their own.

Extension of the commission's code, technical and consultative services to all municipalities, on an optional basis, results from amendments to the state building code law passed at the 1951 session of the legislature and signed by Governor Dewey on April 6.

Many municipalities are reported to have been reluctant to enact needed regulations because of the cost involved and difficulty of procuring the services of experts for drafting and keeping them up to date.

Ten States Now Have Annual Legislative Sessions

The recent approval by Michigan voters of a constitutional amendment providing for annual sessions of the state legislature[1] brings to ten the number of states with legislatures which constitutionally must meet every year, according to the Council of State Governments.

Colorado and Arizona both adopted constitutional amendments calling for annual legislative sessions in last November's general election. Arizona's amendment, like Michigan's, does not limit the subject-matter for annual sessions but Colorado specifically limits its sessions in even-numbered years to consideration of budgetary and tax questions.

Similarly, California and Maryland limit their even-year sessions exclusively to budget, revenue and tax matters. Both of these states have adopted annual sessions since 1946. Other states with annual sessions include Massachusetts, New Jersey, New York, Rhode Island and South Carolina.

Reorganization Measures Passed by Kansas Legislature

The chief recommendation of the Kansas Commission on State Administrative Organization[2] obtained legislative support in the closing days of the session. According to the Bureau of Government Research of the University of Kansas:[3]

"As finally passed, the measure provided for the establishment for a two-year period of a Division of Administration in the office of the governor. The director of the new division was given broad power to investigate fiscal affairs and procedures and to prescribe a uniform classification of accounts. The measure aimed to commit both houses and the governor to the reorganization and modernization of the fiscal, accounting, purchasing and budget affairs of the state and to provide for an orderly means of starting to make these changes. The transitional nature of the present law is indicated by the provision requiring the new director to cooperate with and aid the Legislative Council in drafting a reorganization act to establish, not later than July 1, 1953, a single administrative department.

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[1] See the REVIEW, May 1951, page 259.
[2] See the REVIEW, April 1951, page 208.
[3] *Your Government,* April 15, 1951.

"The legislature followed two other recommendations of the 'Little Hoover Commission.' The Joint Merit System Council was abolished as a separate personnel agency. Its functions of examining personnel for departments receiving federal funds were transferred to the Civil Service Department. The positions in the State Department of Social Welfare, county departments of social welfare, the State Board of Health, the Crippled Children's Commission, and the Employment Security Division of the State Labor Department, which had previously been specifically excluded from civil service, were brought into the statewide civil service system. Arrangements were made for the transfer of the employees under the merit council system to the state civil service. Likewise the Office of Veterans Affairs was abolished and its work consolidated with a reorganized Division of Veteran Services in the Department of Social Welfare. . . .

"In recognition of the tense international situation the legislature created a new state agency for civil defense. This new agency was patterned largely after the temporary organization which had been established last year. The Civil Defense Council, which is created by the new act, is composed largely of state officials who supervise functions that need to be coordinated in defense planning. In addition the state agency seeks to stimulate and coordinate local defense activities. Under this new act the civil defense director and the governor are given broad emergency powers."

Government Reorganization Proposed in Iowa

The Iowa Governmental Reorganization Commission has transmitted its report to Governor William S. Beardsley for submission to the 1951 legislature. The commission was established by the previous legislature and consists of five senators and four representatives, Senator DeVere Watson, of Council Bluffs, being chairman.

The report, of 112 pages, contains considerable information on the administrative structure of the state government as well as many recommendations resulting from the study. It notes that there are now approximately 87 state administrative agencies and that only seven out of 35 major departments are managed by single administrators.

To consolidate various existing agencies several new departments are proposed. A Department of Finance would merge various financial agencies, including the Insurance and Banking Departments, Real Estate Department and Divisions of Building and Loan and of Morris Plan Banks under the auditor of state. A Department of Industry and Labor would combine the offices and duties of the Industrial Commission, Commission of Labor and Department of Mine Inspectors. A Department of Welfare and Institutions would supersede the Board of Control, Board of Social Welfare, Commission for the Blind and Board of Parole; it would comprise three divisions—welfare, penology and mental institutions—each headed by a qualified director appointed by a commissioner of welfare with the approval of the governor; all five of these officials would constitute a policy-making board for the department.

A Department of Traffic and Transportation would replace the Department of Public Safety and would also take over the Motor Carriers Division of the State Highway Commission. The Highway Patrol, which now has broad police powers, would be restricted to regulation of highway traffic, vehicle inspection and law violations occurring on the highways. A Department of Conservation and Natural Resources would combine the Conservation Commission, Council of Natural Resources, Soil Conservation Commission and Geological Survey. A Department of Military Affairs, to be headed by the adjutant general, would absorb numerous military and veterans' agencies.

Various other department changes are recommended, with the intent of more logical arrangement of functions. In general, departments would be headed by single administrators appointed by the governor with Senate approval—except for elective constitutional offices.

Although the commission points out the diffusion of authority and responsibility among officials, including the secretary of state, auditor, treasurer and attorney general, who, like the governor and lieutenant governor, are constitutional elective officers, no constitutional change is recommended; it proposes that these officers be given "more administrative duties and authority than they now possess." The office of the governor is sought to be strengthened, however, especially by greater authority and more direct control of departments under him.

The commission estimated that an annual saving up to $5,000,000 could reasonably be expected if its proposals are properly carried out. It urges creation of a committee to make a continuous study of governmental functions.

Nebraska Legislature Repeals State Merit System

The Nebraska state merit system was abolished by the legislature in March by a vote of 33 to 10, according to the Civil Service Assembly *Newsletter*. This system provided limited civil service coverage for some four hundred state employees. The action followed a report, made last fall by a legislative committee, stating that the system made it difficult for department heads to discharge incompetent workers and that it apparently had increased state payroll costs. The action did not affect the joint merit system that covers hundreds of employees in agencies receiving federal money.

Little Hoover Commission for Indiana

The 1951 Indiana legislature has created a governmental reorganization commission of eleven members and granted it an appropriation of $50,000. The Junior Chamber of Commerce of Indiana was instrumental in persuading the legislature to take this action.

Committee on Managerial Assistance Set Up in California

The problem of training and placing able young men in positions in local government leading toward managerial responsibility are numerous and complex. In most areas the difficulties include these:

1. Most of our educational institutions emphasize the study of federal and state government and few courses are offered in local government;

2. There has been little regular procedure established by which promising managerial personnel may obtain training in on-the-job techniques;

3. Most local governments are not aware of the need of adequate managerial staffing and there are few open-

ings for young men in the field.

In an attempt to solve this problem, a group of staff and administrative assistants from northern California cities met informally in May 1950. Their discussion covered the general field of management training in order to acquaint all the participants with the scope of the problem. The conclusions were that the problem was divided into two phases: (1) training of management personnel, (2) placement of these individuals.

A Committee on Managerial Assistance was created and officers elected, after which subcommittees on placement and training were appointed.

At the next meeting, the subcommittee on training reported that it felt the original responsibility for giving administrative management personnel their initial academic background was with the state university and this institution should be urged to establish a curriculum designed to give students a comprehensive understanding of local government. The subcommittee suggested that a statewide supervised interneship be developed to give properly educated persons training in administrative skills.

The subcommittee on placement reported that it felt there was little need for creating a large supply of well trained management personnel when there were, as yet, few placement possibilities. It recommended that the League of California Cities and the International City Managers' Association be urged to further their efforts to accomplish more adequate managerial staffing in local government.

After several discussions of the subcommittee reports it was decided that the aid of the League of California Cities should be requested. At the 1951 meeting of the California City Managers' Department, the League of California Cities staff was authorized to prepare the suggested standards for examination of administrative management candidates and to set up the procedures by which a pool of select, qualified personnel could be established.

HARRY L. MORRISON, JR.
Citizens' Advisory Committee,
Alameda, California

Student City Managers' Association in Oklahoma

Students at Oklahoma Agricultural and Mechanical College have formed what is believed to be the first organization of students preparing for the profession of city manager. Under the name of Student City Managers' Association of Oklahoma Agricultural and Mechanical College, it adopted a formal constitution on April 5, 1951. Its membership at the time consisted of ten students, graduate and undergraduate. The president is Glen R. Turner. The constitution provides for a faculty representative, which position is filled by Dr. E. Foster Dowell, associate professor of political science, who assisted in the organization of the group.

The purposes of the association include interesting students in becoming city managers, encouraging contacts with city managers and other government officials in Oklahoma and supporting high professional and civic standards and ideals.

Student members are required to hold student or other membership in the International City Managers' Association. The constitution also provides for associate, affiliate and honorary members.

Shelby County, Tenn., Improves Coroner System

Medical Man Replaces Old Time Political Appointee

UP UNTIL a couple of months ago, at least, you had a reasonable chance of getting by with murder in Memphis if you were subtle about it and used poison instead of a .45.

For Memphis, along with the rest of Tennessee, was operating under the coroner system. The Shelby County (Memphis) coroner was a 71-year-old man suffering from arthritic rheumatism, who had held the job for 28 years and had prepared for this post of investigating mysterious death by serving as a city commissioner and in the truck business. Death certificates signed by the coroner, where there was no attending physician, usually attributed death to exposure and pneumonia during the winter months and to heat prostration or heart attacks during the summer.

Both Memphis newspapers started campaigning about this condition and the Medical Association and hospitals got interested. Finally, the legislature was prodded to action.

What resulted isn't ideal, but it's an improvement. The legislature had to wrestle with constitutional restrictions—the office of coroner is provided for in the constitution of Tennessee, which, because of a peculiarly difficult amending clause, has never been amended. (The coroner, under the constitution, is the only man who can arrest the sheriff.)

However, the legislature passed two acts—one authorizing the Shelby County Court to increase the salary of the coroner from $100 a month to $5,000 a year, the other authorizing the county (and municipalities within it) to enter into contracts with the University of Tennessee Medical School, located at Memphis, for autopsies and other laboratory work in connection with the investigation of unexplained or violent death.

With this authorization, the County Court then retired the 71-year-old coroner and appointed a medical man, Dr. Hugh Raines, to the post at the higher salary. It entered into contracts with the medical school for the necessary laboratory work. Of course, Dr. Raines continues his private practice. He has long been a mystery fan, from the whodunit to the scientific level—an avocation which frequently found him present at police lineups out of curiosity, even before he was the Shelby County coroner.

RICHARD WALLACE

Memphis *Press-Scimitar*

Wisconsin Seeks to Improve County Coroner System

The Wisconsin Bar Association has organized to revise the state's elective county coroner system to provide appointive and qualified medical examiners in all counties, except Milwaukee which already has one. These officials will be fortified by a state-supported central chief medical examiner, with staff and laboratory at the University of Wisconsin Medical School and general hospital at Madison, all in line with the recently published *Model Medico-legal Investigative System.*[1]

The Bar Association's Committee on Administration of Justice, Arnold C. Otto of Milwaukee, chairman, called

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[1] National Municipal League, 1951, 39 pages, 50 cents.

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a joint conference, bringing together at Madison on April 19 representatives of state groups including the Coroners Association, District Attorneys Association, Funeral Directors Association, Morticians Association, State Medical Society, Pathological Association, State Crime Laboratory, Legislative Reference Library and Dane County Medical Association, as well as University of Wisconsin officers and the medical examiner of Milwaukee County.

Dr. Richard Ford, acting head of the Department of Legal Medicine of Harvard Medical School and medical examiner of Boston, exhibited lantern slides of modern techniques and resources of medico-legal science and expounded the program of the model system of which he is principal author.

The conference produced general agreement that the duties imposed on elective county coroners require higher technical qualifications than now expected, that tenure should be related to merit and efficiency and that a full time pathologist and toxicologist with laboratory equipment should be made available to all counties on call by district attorneys and local medical examiners.

Of the 71 coroners in Wisconsin only about fifteen are physicians; 36 are undertakers. No technical qualifications for the office are specified in the law.

A bill[2] prepared subsequently and introduced in the legislature appropriates $20,000 a year for two years to set up a state medico-legal laboratory at the University Medical School, staffed with a pathologist as chief medical examiner, assistants and staff appointed by the Board of Regents on recommendation of the dean of the Medical School. The salary of the chief is to be not over $7,500 for not less than three-fifths of his time. The duties are to provide technical help to the county authorities and to conduct an annual institute for county medical examiners. Each county board (except Milwaukee) is required to appoint and pay for a physician as county medical examiner, from a list of two provided by the county medical society if there be one. These local medical examiners or the district attorney will provide death certificates in ordinary cases where crime is not suspected. District attorneys instead of coroners may hold inquests with six-member juries or without jury.

R. S. C.

City-County Study Commissions at Work in Two Areas

The 1951 Indiana legislature recently enacted legislation to create a Metropolitan Area Study Commission for Indianapolis and Marion County. The eleven-member body will be expected to report to the 1953 legislature. An appropriation of $30,000 has been made for the commission's work.

The Community Services Commission for Davidson County and the City of Nashville, Tennessee, has been created by the 1951 Tennessee legislature. The statute recognizes that the corporate city of Nashville and the metropolitan community of Nashville are not co-extensive, with the result that problems of government are created for both the city and the county requiring specialized study for their solution. The commission is authorized to study and make recommendations as to procedures and policies by which the city and county governments may provide and finance those services and facilities which are usually a function of local government, "including but not limited to matters of transportation, protection of life and property, promotion of health and sanitation, providing for education and recreation and other matters affecting the welfare of the community".

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[2] Substitute Amendment No. 1, S., to Bill No. 705, S.

The commission, which has organized and is preparing a plan of activity, must make and file its report by July 1, 1952.

City-County Cooperation and Consolidation Activity

The Maricopa County (Phoenix), Arizona, Tax Council suggests that if it is properly organized and implemented, the joint city-county committee first proposed by the city council would save the taxpayers many dollars and improve services which now overlap. The nine-member committee consists of three each from the city and county and three public members. The Tax Council suggests some projects for the committee's consideration including consolidated library services, health and sanitation and cooperative garbage disposal, more space for both city and county offices, county-city planning and zoning commission and county-city law enforcement, especially in the feeding, care and use of prisoners.

A proposed city-county consolidation amendment to the Pennsylvania state constitution, which got off to a fast start, has been held up in committee in the House of Representatives. Introduced in the legislature on February 5, it was approved by the Senate unanimously on February 20. In the House, it was referred to the Committee on Judiciary, where it has been bogged down ever since. If adopted by the voters, the amendment would make possible the complete merging of the city and county governments of Philadelphia. First passed by the 1949 legislature, it must be passed again by the present legislature if it is to be submitted to the voters this year.

The Indiana legislature recently voted to have the Indianapolis and Marion County health units consolidate.

Oregon County Consolidation Stymied by Legislators

A proposal in the Oregon State Senate for consolidation of five counties has been treated as a joke by use of absurd counter-proposals and has been killed effectively by re-referring it to committee.

The four eastern Oregon counties of Sherman, Wheeler, Morrow and Gilliam, with a combined population of 13,000, would have been consolidated with Umatillo County, thus creating a unit of 54,000 persons.

In defense of his bill, Senator Richard L. Neuberger declared, "It's time we did something about the myriad of governmental agencies the people are called on to support. We talk about economy, but we never honor it in action."

Four Pennsylvania Counties to Merge Planning

Four Pennsylvania counties which will be affected by the erection of a new steel plant will join forces to plan for the changes that will necessarily follow. Bucks, Montgomery, Chester and Delaware Counties, all neighbors to Philadelphia, are establishing a Southeastern Regional Planning Commission in order to plan areas which will be developed for building and which will receive a large population influx in future months. About 60 per cent of the population growth in Pennsylvania during the last decade occurred in this area.

The Bucks County Planning Com-

(Continued on page 324)

Taxation and Finance • • • • *Edited by Wade S. Smith*

Less State-Local Borrowing Urged for Defense Effort

Bankers Committees Will Screen New Bond Issues

IN AN effort to hold to a minimum the competition for men and materials, and to eliminate all unnecessary inflationary pressures on the national economy during the current defense effort, the postponement of all but essential public borrowing has been asked by Director of Defense Mobilization Charles E. Wilson. The request has been backed up by the organization, pursuant to provisions of the 1950 defense production act, of a National Voluntary Credit Restraint Committee and a number of subcommittees covering the entire country and charged with the responsibility of securing voluntary compliance with the request.

The effort to curb inflation resulting from state and local borrowing, unlike the credit restrictions already applied to mortgage financing, installment credit and bank credit, is at this stage voluntary. Further, while efforts are being made to secure full cooperation of the borrowers—state and local governmental units—the greater pressure of the campaign is being leveled at the investment banking fraternity, the banks and investment houses being asked to participate only in the flotation or purchase of new issues which have been cleared as being for purposes consistent with the credit restraint program.

The National Voluntary Credit Restraint Committee, under the chairmanship of Oliver S. Powell, a governor of the Federal Reserve System, had by early May carried its deliberations to a point where it was able to suggest broad criteria for deciding whether individual bond issues were compatible with the credit restraint program. Noting that soldiers' bonus bond issues are clearly inflationary under today's conditions, it also suggested four other types of state and local government capital outlays "for which, in the judgment of the committee, the financing should be postponed." They are:

1. Replacement of existing facilities that can continue to perform their function during the emergency period,
2. Construction of facilities of the types not recommended by the Defense Production Administration—such as recreational facilities and war memorials,
3. Acquisition of sites or rights-of-way not immediately needed,
4. Purchase of privately-owned utilities by municipalities which involves borrowing to replace equity capital.

The committee also urged avoidance of deficit borrowing and the holding of tax anticipation and other temporary borrowing to a minimum.

With these tests there probably will be little quarrel by either responsible local officials or most citizen groups, although an attempted prohibition against municipal acquisition of proprietary enterprises may seem to some a gratuitous effort by the committee to enter the public ownership controversy. The effort to enforce the tests, however, even on the present voluntary basis, undoubtedly will result in a considerable disagreement at times as to whether the tests apply, or should apply.

A tough problem confronted the committee from the start, since there was pending a proposal to issue a large block of bonds clearly in the inflationary category. This was the scheduled offering by West Virginia on May 23 of $67,500,000 soldiers' bonus bonds voted last November. Announcement of the credit restraint program by Mr. Wilson, including the citation of soldiers' bonus bonds as among the inflationary types of borrowing which should be postponed, drew an immediate reply from Governor Okey L. Patteson of West Virginia. The governor cited the fact that the bonds were being issued pursuant to the "overwhelming vote" of the people of the state and said, "It is my firm belief that no state official would have the right to set aside the sale of these bonds." He noted, however, that "quite naturally, if the investment brokers fail to bid on same [the bonds], or if they do not make satisfactory bids, the sale will not be consummated on May 23."

West Virginia's Pattern

The West Virginia response may very well set the pattern in cases of borderline issues or of issues rather clearly not able to meet the tests suggested by the Credit Restraint Committee. In that event, each case will be squarely up to the national committee and to four regional subcommittees established to pass on the eligibility of issues referred to them for judgment. If a bond issue is not cleared by the committee, financing institutions are requested not to participate in the public or private sale or purchase of the securities.

In the case of the West Virginia bonus issue, two large syndicates of investment banking houses had been formed to submit bids but both have announced that, in the face of the refusal of committee clearance, they will not submit bids provided no other responsible bidder does so.

Actually, the Credit Restraint Committee and its regional subcommittees are not likely to be faced with many issues as clear cut as that presented by soldiers' bonus bonds. The great bulk of state-local financing is for projects where the need is for permissible construction and the question is mainly whether the work can be postponed—a point on which local opinion is likely to differ sharply from that of outsiders.

Scope of Borrowing

Something of the scope of the field for controversy is evident from an examination of a recent sample of prospective state and local borrowing. The *Daily Bond Buyer,* a financial journal specializing in state and municipal bonds, publishes as a regular feature a list of major issues which have been advertised for public sale. The listing published on April 30, 1951, contained some 38 issues of long-term bonds, each exceeding $750,000, and aggregating $185,279,000. Of this total, thirteen issues aggregating $47,708,000, or 26 per cent of the dollar total, were improvement bonds, in some instances issues not more specifically described and in other cases bonds earmarked for a variety of purposes. Another thirteen issues totalling $41,091,000, or 22 per cent, were school bonds. Three hospital issues aggregated $70,700,000, or 38 per cent, including a $65,000,000 state of Michigan issue, while there were three issues of water bonds and three of sewer bonds, accounting respectively for $14,920,000, or 8 per cent, and $10,860,000, or 6 per cent, of the total. On the basis of the general descriptions available, it would appear that each of the issues would qualify as to purpose.

Thus far at least one new issue has appeared with clearance from the Credit Restraint Committee granted prior to the public announcement. The Wichita, Kansas, School District offered nearly $6,000,000 of its bonds for sale early in June, with the invitation for bids carrying the announcement that approval of the issuance had been granted.

The present efforts to minimize the inflationary effects of state and local borrowing contrast with the indirect controls exerted during the period of armament and hostilities of World War II. Then, the system of allocation of materials, and priorities for individual projects, served to weed out postponable projects. There was no need to attempt regulation at the financing stage since only projects of urgency got far enough along to require borrowing.

Actually, new financing by states and local governments during the first four months of 1951 was considerably below the postwar peak of 1950, although it was accelerating and the total long-term issues sold in April alone exceeded any prior April except that of 1947. For the first four months, 1951 bond sales, as reported by *The Daily Bond Buyer,* totaled $785,139,819, compared with $1,362,932,437 for the 1950 period, $773,202,994 in the first four months of 1949, and just over $1,000,000,000 for the corresponding months in both 1948 and 1947. For April 1951, sales were $229,706,295 compared with $184,191,815 last year in April and an all-time high for the month of $405,775,858 in 1947.

Partially accounting for the expanded local borrowing activity in April this year was the downward movement of municipal bond prices (upward movement of interest costs) following the dislocation of the government bond market in March,[1] after the Federal Reserve Board's open market committee permitted United States government bonds to move in a "free" market.

The Bond Buyer's index of yield on twenty representative municipal issues, which rose moderately immediately after the March readjustment in governments, reacted more positively toward the end of the month and, through most of April and in early May, stood at about 1.97 per cent compared with a low of 1.58 per cent in February and 1.63 per cent March 1.

Although part of the rise in the municipal bond yield index undoubtedly reflected failure of the Congress to enact higher personal income tax rates—which, making the tax exemption feature of municipals more attractive, had to some extent been anticipated in bond prices early in the year—the accompanying condition in the market for federal securities undoubtedly prompted many local officials to conclude it would be prudent to sell their pending authorizations before interest costs increased further. Thus the announcement of the tests to be applied by the voluntary credit restraint committee coincided with the announcement of a considerable number of new borrowing proposals and the readying for market of many others.

Oregon Legislature Proposes 'Price Tag' on Ballot Measures

A bill to place "price tags" carrying the estimated cost on any ballot measure proposing a public expenditure was passed in April by both houses of the Oregon legislature, after lengthy debate about means of providing safeguards. According to *Oregon Voter,* the law requires that any such measure be accompanied by an estimate of its cost, to be prepared by a committee comprising the state treasurer, secretary of state and state budget director.

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[1] See "Local Borrowing Costs Rise Slightly," the REVIEW, April 1951, page 219.

Appeal from their estimate may be taken to the State Tax Commission. The estimate of cost is to be inserted on the ballot and included in the state voters' pamphlet describing the measure. The bill is along lines urged by Governor McKay in his message to the legislature.

LABOR PEACE

(Continued from page 304)

statute. In the fall of 1950, the State Supreme Court sustained the statute, holding that the standards were clear and unambiguous, but sent the award back to the board of arbitration because, in its judgment, the board failed properly to apply the standards to the evidence. For all practical purposes the court was substituting its judgment for that of the arbitrators.

Labor's reaction was immediate. The decision of the court was denounced as unrealistic. Thus far, however, there has been no further legal jousting with the statute. The telephone dispute was settled by mediation directly after the Supreme Court decision.

Attacks on the statute were renewed when the United States Supreme Court recently held a Wisconsin statute, which similarly compelled the arbitration of disputes affecting public utilities, to be unconstitutional. There are, however, important distinctions between the two statutes. The Wisconsin law is all-embracing. Under it all disputes involving public utilities which could not otherwise be settled had to be submitted to arbitration. In New Jersey before arbitration can be imposed, the governor must find that an emergency exists and seize the plant. The acts of finding the existence of an emergency and seizing the utility property converts, at least technically, private employees into public employees.

The people of New Jersey believe that their statute has served the purposes for which it was established. Even those opposed to the law do not assert that workers have been denied economic justice under it. Those in favor merely point to the fact that New Jersey has been virtually free of crippling utility strikes of any size or duration since the statute has been on the books. This, they feel, is complete justification of their position.

Public approach to the problem of industrial disputes has undergone a complete cycle in the last 50 years. The states which first recognized the need for a "home rule" approach to the problem left the task to the federal government for most of the first half of the century. During the dismal 30s many industrial municipalities—Toledo, Newark, New York City, Louisville, Elizabeth—sought to curb industrial unrest through the medium of local mediation boards.

The states reawakened to their responsibilities in the years preceding the war. The impact of rising prices, and the labor disturbances which followed in their wake, made them recognize that, on a municipal basis, machinery was inadequate and, on a national basis, too far removed from the scene. The states have accepted their responsibilities and developed successfully functioning mediation facilities.

Proportional Representation . . *Edited by George H. Hallett, Jr. and Wm. Redin Woodward*

(This department is successor to the Proportional Representation Review)

Lower Saxony Holds Elections

Combines P. R. and Single Member District Systems

THE appearance of a new party, pledged to work for "restoration of all that was good in National Socialism," marked the election of the state parliament in Lower Saxony on May 6. This group, known as the Socialist Reich party, obtained 10.8 per cent of the 3,393,696 ballots cast in the British zone state. Although the state borders on the Soviet zone, and is subject to much Communist propaganda, the Communists made the poorest showing of any West German election since the war, obtaining only 1.8 per cent of the votes (two seats instead of the seven held formerly).

The returns, including the allocation of seats in the 158-member legislature, are given in the accompanying table. The election system used is modeled on that for elections of the federal parliament, providing for election of a certain number of members by districts and apportioning the remainder among party lists so as to approach an over-all proportional result.[1]

The Social Democrats obtained the largest vote, bettering their 1949 showing slightly to obtain 33.1 per cent. The Christian Democrats and German party, which went into the election in combination, obtained 23.8 per cent, a drop from 35.4 per cent obtained in 1949. The Free Democratic party, which is allied with the two last mentioned parties in the governing coalition of the West German Federal Republic, made a slight gain but obtained only 8.2 per cent. The Union of Refugees obtained 14.9 per cent of the vote, showing that refugees are still a considerable and politically self-conscious group in Germany.

The Social Democrats won all their 64 seats in district elections and were entitled to no more on the further distribution because that was already more than their one-third share on a

LOWER SAXONY STATE PARLIAMENT ELECTION
May 6, 1951

Party	*Votes*	*Per Cent Votes*	*Representatives District*[a]	*Representatives Total*	*Per Cent Seats*
Social Democratic	1,123,068	33.1	64	64	40.5
Christian Democratic-German	798,923	23.8	23	34	21.5
Union of Refugees	496,269	14.9	—	22	13.9
Socialist Reich	366,790	10.8	4	16	10.1
Free Democratic	278,269	8.2	—	12	7.6
Center	110,343	3.3	—	4	2.5
German Reich	74,108	2.2	—	3	1.9
Communist	61,371	1.8	—	2	1.3
German Social	26,040	0.8	—	1	0.6
Other	58,515				

[a] It is not quite clear from the reports in New York newspapers whether the figures in this column are complete—whether any other parties secured representation at this stage of the election.

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[1] See the REVIEW, October 1949, page 460.

proportional basis. The Christian Democrat-German party combination obtained 23 of its 34 seats in district elections and the Socialist Reich party obtained four of its sixteen representatives in the district elections. The remaining parties, including the third-place Union of Refugees, apparently obtained all their representation in the proportionalizing stage of the election.

State Officials Support Cincinnati's Use of P. R.

Attorney General C. William O'Neill and Secretary of State Ted Brown appeared before the Ohio Supreme Court on May 2 in opposition to the suit filed by Colonel C. O. Sherrill which aims to require Cincinnati to drop its P. R. election system for alleged inconsistency with "office block" ballot requirements of the state constitution.[1]

Without waiting for the decision in this suit, opponents of P. R. have announced their intention to circulate petitions to put repeal of P. R. on the ballot next November. Repeal has been voted down three times in Cincinnati since P. R. was adopted in 1924, most recently in 1947.

COMPULSORY REAPPORTIONMENT

(Continued from page 307)

areas were given all that it was constitutionally possible to give them and the representation from all other areas in the state was equalized as well.

Thus, it is evident that Texas has solved only part of its problem. But since a means has been provided for compelling periodic apportionment, perhaps those forces interested in equitable representation for all citizens can now concentrate their efforts on the provisions of the state constitution which work to prevent a fair apportionment.

Judging from the debate on the current bills, there can be little doubt that the task will be a difficult one. But a start has now been made toward apportionment reform and, just as Texas benefited from the experience in Missouri, Arkansas and California, perhaps other states can benefit from this experience in Texas.

COUNTY AND TOWNSHIP

(Continued from page 318)

mission has been active with the subdivision of land in the Morrisville area to help provide for the erection of homes, industrial concerns and commercial establishments. It points out that farms in lower Bucks County are being sold at prices ranging from $500 to $2,000 per acre. The acres are broken up into lots to sell for $500 to $1,000 each. Requirements for proper streets, paving, water and sewer services and other community necessities are being planned by the board.

Kansas to Vote on Sheriff, County Treasurer Terms

The 1951 Kansas legislature is referring to the voters in the 1952 election a proposed constitutional amendment which would repeal the existing two-term restriction on county sheriffs and treasurers and allow them to serve for three or more consecutive terms.

Bill to Destroy Missouri Townships Defeated

A bill to abolish the township form of government was defeated recently in the Senate of Missouri by a vote of sixteen to nine.

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[1] See the REVIEW, May 1951, page 273.

Nine Steps to Good Government

Citizen Must Play His Part in a Democracy

Editor's Note.—The article below is made up of excerpts from the address of Commissioner James M. Mitchell, of the United States Civil Service Commission, before the Hamilton County Good Government League, Cincinnati, February 8, 1951.

THE WAY to good government in a democracy is through good citizenship. And there is no royal road to good citizenship. It involves participation in government on the part of the individual citizen—participation which means going out of one's way.

Here are some steps which would lead to better government. Most of them involve some form of citizen participation.

1. As a prerequisite to more extensive citizen participation, we need better educated citizens. We should be concerned about whether the subjects taught and the extent to which they are taught adequately fit our citizens for the duties of citizenship. More emphasis should be placed upon the study of the basic principles of our democracy, on the fundamental purposes for which our government was founded and on the elementary principles of human relations.

2. We need well informed citizens. The citizen's education must not stop when he leaves school if he is to participate intelligently in government. He must keep himself informed of current issues. And he must know how to get at the truth. We probably have the best technique in the world for informing people about public affairs. Our media of mass communication—newspapers, magazines, radio and television—do an excellent job. We must remember, however, that much of our information comes from persons, or groups, who are advancing their own interests. The information is not always factual or unbiased, but the educated citizen should be intelligent enough to judge between the varying reports and arrive at the correct decision.

3. To have good government we need the high moral standards which are a part of good education. These standards are strengthened and reinforced by the churches of America. Whether a person affiliates himself with a religious group is his own personal decision, of course, but nearly everyone will agree that, in any community or state or nation, the combined influence of all religious denominations creates a moral atmosphere that is essential to the well-being of the people.

4. We need the thoughtful participation of other types of organization with high moral and ethical standards to carry on nonpartisan activities for the improvement of government and society. Since the citizen's responsibility is to apply his influence to the conduct and policies of government, one reason for affiliating with an organization is that he is in a better position to make his influence felt.

The opinion of John Jones seldom appears in the newspapers, but the stand taken on an issue by an organized group has a good chance of being printed in the news columns. In communications to legislators also the existence of an organization of like-minded people tends to add weight to the opinions expressed.

5. In our complex society we need more action and less talk. That is one of the failings of citizen groups. There are many demands made on our time, energy and personal resources. Citizens' organizations would be in a better position to attract members if they guarded against this tendency.

6. Another duty of the good citizen is to vote. In the 1948 general election, out of an estimated 98,000,000 people eligible to vote, less than 44,000,000 took the trouble to do so. If we are to have good government, those who are elected to head the government should be the expressed choice of a larger segment of the population. Few in this country would advocate abolishing voting, but more than half the eligible voters are perfectly willing to let someone else do the job.

Public Relations

7. While most of these proposals refer to the participation in government of citizens in general, there is one I would like to mention—the responsibility of the employees of federal, state and local governments. In our modern society a vast amount of contact exists between government and the citizens. We are halted at an intersection by a traffic officer. We receive a tax bill from the city. We are prevented from transporting certain fruits and plants across state lines. Particularly in time of national crisis all manner of restrictions are imposed.

Our willingness to cooperate cheerfully and our satisfaction with the procedures depend to a great degree on the courtesy and tact and good judgment of those designated to carry on public contacts. More care should be taken by those in authority to see that this is done. All too often these employees, hired for ability to do a certain kind of work, are not properly trained in maintaining good relations with the public they serve.

8. Another way to improve government is to get a little reasonableness into our criticism of government officials. If criticism is kept within reasonable bounds, it tends to be a beneficial force. It is a part of our system of "one party to govern, and another to watch." But it is possible to reach the point of diminishing returns. As friends of good government, we should be critical of criticism. We should encourage citizens everywhere to form the habit of distinguishing between (1) legitimate criticism, which is helpful in reaching sound decisions, and (2) unwarranted personal attack.

If we ever needed to think, weigh and consider, we need to do so now. We need to hear all sides of the momentous questions which confront us. But in times of tension and uncertainty, we are under extra obligation to maintain as much calm and as much capacity for reflection as we can.

Once we have chosen our officials, we should give them a fair chance to do their duty. True, all of us will not always be happy over the way they do it, but we can improve government by being constructive in the way we make known our disapproval. As one important result, good men will not shrink from public service because of fear they will become the target of abuse.

9. To have good government we must have efficient government. This means getting things done—with speed and in a manner useful to our citizens.

How can the individual citizen insure the employment of qualified personnel in appointive offices? Competitive appointments made without regard to political affiliations are your insurance that the best people will get the jobs.

The executive branch of the federal government, as you know, operates under civil service. All the states have merit systems, although in more than half the number of employees covered is restricted to those paid with federal funds; and over a thousand cities and towns have merit systems. Good government leagues should encourage the extension of merit systems where they exist, encourage their establishment in new jurisdictions and protest vigorously against encroachments upon these systems.

If all these things were done by the persons responsible, we would have a better, more responsive government. The way to good government is not through a one-year plan or a five-year plan; it can be attained only by a slow, unglamorous process tied in with our daily activities.

After all, in a country that decides issues by letting the citizens vote freely upon them, our government can be only as good as we make it. It is as good as we deserve. For those who do not vote and who take no interest in government, it is better than they deserve.

It used to be said that happiness and prosperity depended on good government. Today it may determine our chances of survival.

'Teaching Democracy by Doing'

THIS is the headline of a story in the Verona-Cedar Grove (New Jersey) *Times* reporting an address by Dr. Earl Hutchinson, of the United States Department of Education, at a meeting of teachers. "Teachers have a double responsibility with regard to instructing others concerning democracy," Dr. Hutchinson said. "They must practice what they preach." He asked teachers to ask themselves whether they had voted, refused to run for an elective office if asked, attended a meeting of a political club of their choice, campaigned for one or more elective officials, written a letter to a newspaper or government official about a problem, etc. "How can we expect students to practice democracy if we ourselves fail to do so? . . . Use every possible method at your command to drive democracy home," he commented, asserting that the sooner a child learns to accustom himself to responsibility the faster he will learn what it takes to become a good citizen.

Dr. Hutchinson also suggested citizenship training for youths between graduation from high school and the time they reached voting age.

In its first annual report, the Hartford Junior City Council[1] presents the highlights of its initial year and its future projects. Discussed are better recreation facilities for Hartford youth, public relations with the school administration, driver education for students and a "city beautiful" campaign. During the year a questionnaire was sent to school pupils many of whom signed up for participation in the Junior Council's projects.

"The end of the first year," says the report, "finds the Junior Council organized and operating to provide Hartford youth with three major types of experiences: (1) using the voting machines and becoming familiar with processes of election; (2) dealing with problems of concern to youth; (3) considering problems of general concern to the city. . . . The first year has been primarily one of organization and getting acquainted with the problems. In the years to come, it is expected that the council will produce achievements."

The Chicago Board of Education, the Chicago *Sun-Times* and the Chicago Junior Association of Commerce and Industry have conducted a statewide essay contest in Illinois schools on "What I Think Can Be Done to Make Government More Efficient." Essays will be based on weekly articles in the *Sun-Times* and news on the Hoover Commission reports on the reorganization of the federal government. Prizes, provided by the Illinois Citizens Committee for the Hoover Report and the Junior Association of Commerce and Industry totalled $3,500.

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[1] See the REVIEW, May 1950, page 258.

Pupils Get Out Vote

Pupils of the Katherine T. Murphy School of Stamford, Connecticut, conducted a ten-weeks campaign to "get out the vote" for the April election. Pupils first learned the importance of good citizenship. Then they carried to their homes and their neighbors what they had learned. Just before the election they took home notes written as part of classroom work and finally, on election morning, they left messages on mirrors and elsewhere in the home, "Please Vote Today." "If our project is carried on in every school in America," said Principal Thomas F. Clear, "the children of our country will send the people back to the path of responsible citizenry."

The Wyoming Taxpayers Association and the Agricultural Extension Service of the University of Wyoming are conducting a 4-H Club citizenship activity, "Know Your Government." It has been arranged "to encourage young people to take an active part in managing their government and is intended to assist them in grasping a fundamental knowledge of how county government functions." Members of 4-H Clubs will call upon county officials and visit county institutions to obtain information to complete questionnaires provided as the basis of study. Certificates of Merit will be presented to each 4-H Club which fulfills the minimum requirements of activity. The association is also providing $200 for eight cash awards of $25 each.

School Publications

Prepared for the use of students and teachers of civics, *A Unit on City Government with Emphasis on the Winston-Salem City Government and the City of Winston-Salem* affords the young people of that city an excellent means of knowing their city. Published by the Winston-Salem Chamber of Commerce, the 37-page pamphlet was prepared by Flora Ann L. Bynum, publicity director to the chamber and secretary to its education committee. "If the high school student acquires early an interest in and an understanding of city government, such an interest and understanding will go far toward making him an active, intelligent community member," says the chamber in its introduction.

Jackson City Government (81 pages) "A Supplementary Booklet for Use in Jackson's Public Schools," was prepared by Eugene G. Moody, administrative assistant to the city manager of Jackson, Michigan. It discusses Jackson's history, forms of city government with particular reference to Jackson and the services provided by city departments as well as the city's relations with other units of government. An appendix lists further readings, suggestions for discussion and "other things to do."

Education for Democracy Aids

Carnegie Corporation has made a grant of a million dollars to enable the Citizenship Education Project at Teachers College, Columbia University, New York, to expand its facilities and services. This grant supplements and extends the original Carnegie award of $450,000 made in 1949. According to the project's publication, *CEP News*, "the new sum will be used

Library
Kansas City, Mo.

to expand the program and materials developed by CEP's four operational divisions in schools throughout the country. New regional project centers will be established. These 'will spearhead and develop local citizenship improvement programs in schools,' says Dr. William C. Vincent, CEP's executive officer. 'The new grant will also make possible the further development of planning and instructional materials, workshops and additional services to colleges and teacher training institutions.' CEP hopes to work eventually with every school and teacher in the country for improved citizenship education."

CEP News reports regularly on the project's activities and accomplishments. Plans have been made for a citizenship training program for service men and women and tried out at Fort Dix, New Jersey, and Lackland Air Force Base, Texas.

Training in Democracy

A *Report on German Governmental Affairs Training Program,* conducted for the U. S. Department of State at the Institute of Public Administration, University of Michigan, has been issued by Professor Marvin Tableman, coordinator for the project. In addition to their various studies, the ten German trainees participated in an extension course on "Positive Citizenship at the Local Level," conducted for citizens of Ann Arbor, and on field trips they were given an opportunity to observe the role of the average citizen at meetings of civic groups such as Leagues of Women Voters.

* * *

Council-Manager News

The five candidates sponsored by the Iowa City Council-Manager Association were elected to serve as the first council under the manager plan.

Since Poughkeepsie, New York, will begin life under its new council-manager charter on January 1, 1952, the Poughkeepsie Area Development Association is devoting a series of stories in *Plans and Action* to reports on the changes to be made in the city's operations. First report covers the basic changes in administrative organization—"who appoints whom, who is responsible to whom, what agencies and positions will be abolished or created," etc. Charts describe the old and the new forms of government.

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Annual Meetings

"Your Undemocratic Long Ballot" was discussed by Richard S. Childs before the annual luncheon meeting of the Cleveland Citizens League and the Cleveland Bureau of Governmental Research, attended by over four hundred persons. Mr. Childs, retired businessman whose lifetime hobby has been good local government, is a volunteer member of the National Municipal League's staff. The Citizens League plans to publish his address in pamphlet form.

The New York Women's City Club heard Governor Chester Bowles of Connecticut talk on "How Can We Remove Legislative Road-Blocks?" at its annual dinner in May. Seven legislative and civic leaders of New York participated in a panel discussion on the subject.

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Strictly Personal

The board of directors of the Hamilton County Good Government League has elected Mrs. Roger N. Humphries of Cincinnati as its new president. Mrs. Humphries, a member of the board since January 1948, and the first woman president of the organization, succeeds Ben O. Stoner, recently appointed director of the Cincinnati District Office of the Office of Price Stabilization.

Researcher's Digest . . . . . *Edited by John E. Bebout*

CIO Studies Political Action, City Budget

Newark Costs and 1950 PAC Election Efforts Reviewed

LABOR unions are gradually getting into governmental research. A recent excursion of the Essex-West Hudson CIO Council (New Jersey) elicited the following editorial comment from the *Newark Evening News:*

"Organized labor is showing a new awareness of the cost of municipal government and new sensitiveness to waste and extravagance. This is all to the good. The taxpayer has suffered because he lacked effective organized representation. Now union spokesmen are taking their place beside businessmen at municipal budget hearings. With their usual thoroughness, they produce charts and statistics to prove their points.

"Typical of the welcome recruits in the fight for municipal economy is the Essex-West Hudson CIO Council. Analyzing reports of the Census Bureau, it has produced some startling comparisons which should give Newark's city hall plenty to think about. It finds that Newark out-taxes and outspends every city in the country in its own population class and even some considerably larger cities, such as St. Louis and Buffalo.

"In general and operational expenditures, in expenditures for police, fire and sanitation departments and for street cleaning, Newark tops its class. CIO recalls that last year it reported that Newark also ranks first in the number of full-time and part-time municipal employees.

"And with all this, CIO finds, Newark lags behind comparable cities in expenditures for schools, hospitals, recreation and libraries. In other words, too much money is being spent in those departments which run heavy in vote-producing patronage. . . . The CIO's critical interest in Newark's government is a development of the utmost significance."

The *News* goes on to suggest that the lack of such "intelligent pressure" from groups representing large numbers of voters "is at least partially responsible for the growth of the conditions which CIO cites."

Labor unions frequently find themselves at election time and before legislative bodies on the opposite side of the fence from other groups that have learned that governmental research is an invaluable tool in dealing with problems of government. There is every reason why labor unions, chambers of commerce and other groups should, on the merits, make common cause in demanding that government give full value for every tax dollar and recognize that taxpayers do not have unlimited resources.

A significant study of a different type has just been issued in the form of an Officers Report, *The Effectiveness of CIO-PAC in New Jersey in 1950—A Complete Study on the Methods, Problems and Results Obtained in New Jersey During the 1950 Congressional Elections by the CIO Political Action Committee.* The 72-page report, which includes 46 tables, is a careful attempt to measure the effectiveness of CIO's political action in congressional elections in certain counties in New Jersey. A great deal of attention is paid to registration as well as to voting itself. The scope and efficiency of "the PAC machine" in each of the congressional districts covered is estimated. Tabulated reports of PAC income from 1946 through 1950 are included.

The tables on registration and voting yield interesting incidental information on political trends and on differences in political habits between city and suburbs and between different economic groups. One conclusion drawn by the study is that it confirms "a long-standing contention of state PAC leaders that a mere paper endorsement of a candidate has little value. Only if the endorsement is backed up by a machine that will bring out the vote on election day, will it influence the election's outcome."

Bureau Reports

The *Annual Report and Year Book 1951* of the Citizens Research Institute of Canada (36 pages), presents with commendable economy of space and words an amazing amount of useful information not only about the work and financing of the 32-year old institute but also about Canadian public finances—federal, provincial and municipal.

The California Taxpayers Association, in *The Tax Digest* for April 1951, presents its "25th Annual Report—Future Work Outlined," by its general manager, N. Bradford Trenham, and "25 Years of Taxpayer Activity—Some Association Contributions Outlined," by Lane D. Webber, vice president of the association.

The April issue of *New Mexico Tax Bulletin* carried the "Report of Activities" of the Taxpayers' Association of New Mexico.

Bureau Notes

The Governmental Research Association (New York) has announced its 1951 Annual Award Competition. Two awards will be given for written material prepared by GRA members —"one award will be made for the most noteworthy piece of research; and one award will be made for the most effective presentation of a subject."

The School of Public Administration of the University of Southern California is offering a sixteen-unit course sequence which "is a concentrated professional package designed to acquaint the student with the fundamentals of administration and management. There are six courses in the sequence, progressing from an introduction to public administration to a study of human relations in management. Other courses include personnel administration, financial administration, statistics, and public organization and management."

The League of Colorado Municipalities has drafted a bill (HB No. 371) which proposes a state Board of Governmental Research. Its services would be available to state agencies, counties, cities and towns, and it would contract with universities for conducting studies.

Bureau Meetings

"Better Schools" was the subject of a luncheon meeting held on March 13 by the Dade County (Miami) Research Foundation.

On April 21, the Massachusetts Federation of Taxpayers held its nineteenth annual luncheon meeting. Topics discussed included pressing national and international issues and Massachusetts' problems.

The Fourth Annual City Managers' School sponsored by the Bureau of Government Research and University Extension of the University of Kansas was held at the university April 25-28.

Research Pamphlets and Articles

Annexation

Analysis of Annexation in Michigan Together With a Comparison of Annexation in Other States. By Robert E. Fryer. Ann Arbor, University of Michigan, Institute of Public Administration, Bureau of Government, 1951. 58 pp. $2. (Apply to University of Michigan Press.)

Building Codes

The City Building Code. By Edgar G. Shelton and Armour T. Granger. Knoxville, University of Tennessee, Division of University Extension, Municipal Technical Advisory Service, *Tennessee Town & City,* March 1951. 4 pp.

Child Welfare

Aid to Needy Children Program of the State of California. Report of the Senate Interim Committee on State and Local Taxation. Sacramento, California State Printing Office, 1951. 84 pp.

Day Nurseries and Day Care Centers. Toronto 5, Bureau of Municipal Research, *Civic Affairs,* March 16, 1951. 2 pp.

Civil Defense

Civil Defense 1951. Lawrence, University of Kansas, Bureau of Government Research, *Your Government,* February 15, 1951. 4 pp.

Federal Civil Defense Act Restricts Grants-in-Aid. Philadelphia, Bureau of Municipal Research, *Citizens' Business,* March 5, 1951. 3 pp.

Civil Service

Civil Service in the Louisiana Local Units of Government. By Emmett Asseff and R. B. Highsaw. Baton Rouge, Louisiana State University, Bureau of Government Research, 1951. 23 pp.

County Government

Reference Guide for County Government Law. A Compilation of The Statutes Concerning Counties, County Boards, County Funds, and County Officers, Their Powers, Duties, Salaries and Fees with Statutory Citations, Adjudicated Cases and Attorney Generals' Opinions Indexed for Ready Reference. By Maurice W. Scott. Springfield, Taxpayers' Federation of Illinois, 1950. 245 pp.

Debt

The Bonded Indebtedness of the Commonwealth of Massachusetts, January 1, 1951. Boston 8, Massachusetts Federation of Taxpayers Associations, 1951. 14 pp. Tables.

Scanning Last Year's Debt Picture. Boston 8, Municipal Research Bureau, *Bulletin,* March 8, 1951. 2 pp.

Education

Who Cares About the Schools? (Reorganization of Dade County school system called for.) By John F. Willmott. (Talk to Miami Branch, American Association of University Women, March 26, 1951.) Miami 32, Dade County Research Foundation, 1951. 7 pp.

Elections and Voting

Registration of Voters in Louisiana. By Alden L. Powell and Emmett Asseff. Baton Rouge, Louisiana State University, Bureau of Government Research, 1951. 19 pp.

Housing

Residential Mortgage and Construction Financing in Hagerstown, Maryland. College Park, University of Maryland, College of Business and Public Administration, Bureau of Business and Economic Research, *Studies in Business and Economics,* March 1951. 33 pp. Tables.

Immigration

Babel in Kansas. Lawrence, University of Kansas, Bureau of Government Research, *Your Government,* March 15, 1951. 4 pp.

In-service Training

A Report of the Second Annual County Clerks School February 8-9, 1951. (A complete manual of materials and discussions presented at the school—60 in attendance.) Lawrence, University of Kansas, Bureau of Government Research, 1951. 41 pp.

Insurance Regulation

State Regulation of Insurance. By Margaret Rohrer. Berkeley 4, University of California, Bureau of Public Administration, 1951. 49 pp. Tables. $1.

Legislation

Law Making in Connecticut. An Explanation of the Procedure Followed in Enacting Bills into Law. Storrs, University of Connecticut, Institute of Public Service, 1951. 5 pp.

Pensions

More Pension Tampering. Hartford 3, Governmental Research Institute, *Taxpayers' Business,* April 1951. 2 pp.

New Jersey's Case Study in Public Pension Problems. By Steven E. Schanes. New York 20, Governmental Research Association, *GRA Reporter,* March-April 1951. 2 pp.

Police

One-man Police Cars. (Recommended by Griffenhagen Survey.) Schenectady 5, New York, Bureau of Municipal Research, *Research Brevities,* March 22, 1951. 4 pp.

One-man Versus Two-man Police Patrol Cars. (Each has its place.) Philadelphia 4, University of Pennsylvania, Associated Institutes of Government of Pennsylvania Universities, March 1951. 3 pp.

Political Behavior

Research in the Political Process. By Oliver Garceau. Washington, D. C., American Political Science Association, *American Political Science Review,* March 1951. 17 pp.

Political Parties and Leadership

Research on Political Parties and Leadership: Political Activity of American Citizens, by Julian L. Woodward and Elmo Roper; **Interviewing Southern Politicians,** by Alexander Heard; **Certain Personality Factors of State Legislators in South Carolina,** by John B. McConaughy; **The Study of Political Leadership,** by Lester G. Seligman; **Public Opinion Research—An Opportunity for Political Parties,** by Frederick C. Irion. Washington, D. C., American Political Science Association, *American Political Science Review,* December 1950. 52 pp. (Apply the Association, 1785 Massachusetts Avenue, Washington, D. C.)

Political Science

The Immediate Future of Research Policy and Method in Political Science. By Harold D. Lasswell. Washington, D. C., American Political Science Association, *American Political Science Review,* March 1951. 10 pp.

Population

Population Growth, 1940-1950. A City Grows and Spreads. Indianapolis, Chamber of Commerce, Bureau of Governmental Research, *It Is Your Business!* March 20, 1951. 4 pp. Charts.

Public Health

Public Health Laws of the City of Pittsburgh. An annotated compilation of the laws, regulations and ordinances of the state of Pennsylvania and the city of Pittsburgh governing the administration of public health in Pittsburgh. (Supplemented by editorial comments incorporating judicial decisions, administrative practice and legislative history. This pioneer effort, which took the staff of the Public Health Law Research Project, directed by H. G. Renschlein, over a year and a half, is at once a working tool for the health department, a basis for the further task of revision of city and state health laws and a striking illustration of the monumental labor required to organize and modernize the whole law of a locality touching a single important aspect of the police power.) Pittsburgh, University of Pittsburgh, School of Law, 1950. 1,038 pp. $5.

Public Safety

Public Safety Departments Are Out of Date. Miami 32, Dade County Research Foundation, *News Letter,* March, 6, 1951. 2 pp.

Public Welfare

The Department of Public Welfare. An Administrative Survey. Honolulu, University of Hawaii, Legislative Reference Bureau, 1951. 79 pp.

Opportunity Exists Now to Reduce Relief Rolls. Providence, Governmental Research Bureau, March 1951. 2 pp. Chart.

Report on the Maryland State Department of Public Welfare. Baltimore 2, State Fiscal Research Bureau, 1951. 63 pp.

What About "General Relief"? By Hugh H. Brown. Los Angeles 14, California Taxpayers' Association, *The Tax Digest,* March 1951. 8 pp. 25 cents.

Recreation

Community Recreation Standards. Providence, Governmental Research Bureau, March 1951. 1 p.

Research

Current Research Projects in Public Administration. Chicago 37, Public Administration Service, 1951. 48 pp. $1.

Legal Research Aids to Local Governments. An address delivered before the Municipal Law Section of the American Bar Association, Regional Meeting, Atlanta, Georgia, March 10, 1951. By Porter C. Greenwood. (Describes services and documents obtainable from many sources, including National Municipal League. Appendix lists 77 organizations, indicating type of help offered.) Knoxville, University of Tennessee, Municipal Technical Advisory Service, *MTAS Report,* 1951. 19 pp.

Social Security

Social Security and A Kentucky Retirement Plan. Frankfort, Legislative Research Commission, 1951. 22 pp.

State Government

Here is Your Indiana Government. 1949-50 Edition. A book of facts . . . dedicated to a better understanding among all Hoosiers of the complex democratic government under which we live. Indianapolis 4, Indiana State Chamber of Commerce, 1949. 104 pp. $1.

State Elections Prior to Admittance into the Union. ("Seven states have elected 'state' officials and legislators prior to their admission to the union.") Honolulu, University of Hawaii, Legislative Reference Bureau, 1951. 46 pp.

State Reorganization

Michigan's Educational Agencies. Target: Red Tape. The Michigan State Highway Department. (Staff Reports Nos. 17-19.) Lansing, Michigan Joint Legislative Committee on Reorganization of State Government, 1951. 37, 35 and 41 pp. respectively.

Organization and Functioning of the State Government. Report to the General Assembly — December 1950. Springfield, Illinois Commission to Study State Government, 1950. 119 pp.

State of Iowa 1950 Report of the Governmental Reorganization Commission to Governor William S. Beardsley for Submission to the Fifty-Fourth General Assembly. Des Moines, the Commission, 1950. 112 pp.

State Reorganization in 1950—Final Progress Report for 1950. A summary of current developments and progress being made by the various agencies studying the organization and operation of their state governments. Chicago 37, Council of State Governments, 1950. 57 pp. $1.

A Synthesis of Governmental Reorganization. By Luther Gulick. (Address before the 1950 GRA Conference, Asbury Park, New Jersey.) New York 20, Governmental Research Association, *GRA Reporter,* January-February, 1951. 6 pp.

Taxation and Finance

The ABC's of Indiana State Finances as of January 1950. A 15-Minute Appraisal of over $200,000,000 Worth of Indiana State Government—How Your Tax Money is Raised and Spent. Prepared for the Busy Citizen Who Wants Also to Be an Informed Citizen. Indianapolis 4, Indiana State Chamber of Commerce, 1950. 36 pp. Charts, tables.

Better State Government. An Integrated Finance Department for the State of Connecticut. Hartford 3, Connecticut Public Expenditure Council, *CPEC Special Bulletin,* March 1, 1951. 4 pp.

Causes of City Tax Collection Headache. Houston 2, Tax Research Association of Houston and Harris County *TRA Journal Newsletter,* March 1951. 2 pp.

The Local Beer Tax: An Administrative Guide. By Anders O. Hustvedt and Porter C. Greenwood. Knoxville, University of Tennessee, Division of University Extension, Municipal Technical Advisory Service, *Technical Bulletin,* March 1951. 26 pp.

Milwaukee's Five Major Taxing Bodies Met the $8,300,000 Budget Increase for 1951. Milwaukee 2, Citizens' Governmental Research Bureau, *Bulletin,* March 1, 1951. 2 pp.

Newark City Budget, 1951. How Changes Affect the Tax Rate. Newark 2, Bureau of Municipal Research, *Memo,* March 16, 1951. 2 pp.

Reducible Areas in State and Local Expenditures. (World War II experience suggested as guide.) By Jesse D. Winzenried. New York 20, Tax Foundation, *Tax Review,* February 1951. 6 pp.

State Revenues from New Mexico's Petroleum Industry. By Charles C. Loveless, Jr. Santa Fe, Taxpayers' Association of New Mexico, *New Mexico Tax Bulletin,* March 1951. 4 pp.

State Supervision of Local Finance in Louisiana. By Emmett Asseff, R. B. Highsaw and C. E. Looper. Baton Rouge, Louisiana State University, Bureau of Government Research, 1951. 73 pp.

Tax Limitation

Effect of 6% Tax Limitation on Tax Supported Agencies of Multnomah County and Portland. Portland, Oregon, City Club, *City Club Bulletin,* March 30, 1951. 12 pp.

Tolls

Highway Financing by the Toll System. By John F. McCarty. Berkeley, University of California, Bureau of Public Administration, 1951. $1.

Unemployment

Unemployment Compensation in Michigan Under Centralization and Decentralized Administration. By James F. Barie. Ann Arbor, University of Michigan, Institute of Public Administration, Bureau of Government, *Papers in Public Administration No. 6,* A Series of Graduate Students' Reports, 1950. 15 pp. Tables.

Zoos

Report on Portland Municipal Zoo. Portland, Oregon, City Club, *City Club Bulletin,* March 23, 1951. 9 pp.

Books in Review

Some Principles of Judicial Administration. By Arthur T. Vanderbilt. San Francisco, California State Bar Association, 1950. 24 pages.

This remarkable lecture to the State Bar of California provides vivid and authoritative comment on the state of the machinery of American justice. Justice Vanderbilt came to it fresh from high achievement in streamlining justice in New Jersey under its new constitution and covers many aspects of the unfinished business to which the bar should rally.

He opposes efforts to make free legal aid a governmental function.

He deplores the fabulous bulk of our statutes which in 1949 aggregated 267,777 pages, and the appalling mass of administrative law largely unpublished and inaccessible behind bureaucratic defenses.

A national poll of 1939, which indicated that 28 per cent of the people did not believe their local judges were honest, requires that we "abolish the partisan elective system that prevails in 36 states and adopt some method of selecting judges that eliminates politics," and to adopt and live up to the American Bar Association Canons of Judicial Ethics.

We should clear up the traffic ticket fixing, which is important as a vast new phenomenon disgraceful to the law, affecting no less than 10,750,000 defendants who got into traffic courts in 1949 plus vast additional numbers who got their tickets fixed. On this issue in New Jersey, in the first quarter of 1949, there were 607 tickets unanswered in court after the reform in Newark, as compared with 14,529 for a like period in 1948. In one court year one citizen out of every eight in New Jersey has been summoned to appear for some traffic violation.

Selection of the jury panels should be taken out of political hands; judges should open court promptly and get on with the trial; court congestion should be relieved by flexibility in assigning trial judges. The pre-trial conference has already proved invaluable in clearing dockets. Use of referees should be limited. Judges should decide cases promptly and not postpone decisions or the preparation of opinions. They should have more freedom as in England to manage the trial, to keep it from becoming a sporting event, and the courts rather than the legislature should make the rules of procedure. Appeal courts which practice rotation in the writing of opinions result in one-judge opinions.

Justice Vanderbilt calls for a simple system of three courts, competent judges, well chosen juries, high-minded lawyers, flexible procedures in the interests of the merits rather than technicalities, prompt trial within a month after completion of pre-trial procedures and one appeal as of right within three months—a combination which no single state can now exhibit.

R.S.C.

Public Opinion and Propaganda. By Frederick C. Irion. New York, Thomas Y. Crowell Company, 1950. xvi, 782 pp.

This, curiously, wears the same title as Leonard D. Doob's good book (reviewed in these pages November 1949), and is even more voluminous with its 782 pages. Liberal quotations contribute considerably to the bulk and help to make this something of an encyclopedia on the subject. Consequently a test well sunk into any subject listed in the index of this volume is likely to bring up a big collection of other men's opinions and a spacious array of facts colored with confident and incisive comment, whether the topic be puritanism, Freudian psychology or opinion polls.

R.S.C.

Additional Books and Pamphlets

(See also Researcher's Digest and other departments)

Assessors

Proceedings 1950 Training Course for Municipal Assessors. Sponsored by the Assessors' Section of the League of Wisconsin Municipalities. Madison 3, The League, 1951. 147 pp.

Civil Service

Cincinnati's Civil Service Presents the 1950 Review. 41st Synopsis of Activities. Cincinnati, Department of Personnel and Civil Service Commission, 1951. 18 pp.

Sample Questions for Civil Service Examinations. Albany, New York State Department of Civil Service, 1951. 36 pp. 25 cents.

Veterans' Rights in Civil Service Examinations. Albany, New York State Department of Civil Service, 1950. 8 pp.

Education

The Cincinnati Public Schools. A Vast Community Enterprise. Annual Report. Cincinnati 2, Office of the Superintendent, 1950. 43 pp. Illus.

Education Through Television: A City's Priceless Opportunity. By David L. Lawrence. Washington 6, D. C., United States Conference of Mayors, *United States Municipal News*, April 15, 1951. 3 pp.

Highways

Effective Administration in State-City Highway Activity. Criteria of Sound Administration. A Policy on State-City Relationships. By Norman Hebden. New Haven, Connecticut, Yale Bureau of Highway Traffic, 1951. 107 pp. $2.

Major Highway Plan (Part I). Norfolk, Virginia, City Planning Commission, 1950. 63 pp. Maps.

Housing

Housing Statistics 1949-50. London, Institute of Municipal Treasurers and Accountants, 1951. 71 pp.

Construction and Equipment of the Home. By the American Public Health Association, Committee on the Hygiene of Housing. Chicago 37, Public Administration Service, 1951. 77 pp. $2.50.

Labor

Labor in the American Economy. Edited by Gordon S. Watkins. Philadelphia, The American Academy of Political and Social Science, *The Annals*, March 1951. ix, 290 pp. $2.

Libraries

Library Service for All. Report of the Governor's Committee on Library Aid 1950. Albany, New York State Library, 1951. 103 pp.

A Survey of the Business Records and Procedures of the Racine Public Library. By Arthur Yabroff. Racine, Wisconsin, Public Library, 1950. 31 pp. $2.

Parking

Parking. A 1951 Guide Post to Municipal Action. By Ben Solomon. Chicago 37, American Municipal Association, 1951. 20 pp. $1.

Special or Benefit Assessments for Parking Facilities. By David R. Levin and Conya Hardy. Washington, D. C., Urban Land Institute, 1951. 8 pp. $1.50.

Planning

American Planning and Civic Annual. A record of recent civic advance in the fields of planning, parks, housing, neighborhood improvement and conservation of natural resources, including addresses delivered at the National Citizens Conference on Planning for city, state and nation, a feature of the sesquicentennial marking the 150th anniversary of the occupation of the federal city as the seat of the national government, held at Washington, D. C., May 12-17, 1950, and reports made at the 30th annual meeting of the National Conference on State Parks, held in Texas, October 5-11, 1950. Edited by Harlean James. Washington, D. C., American Planning and Civic Association, 1951. 192 pp. $2.

Regional Planning and Development. Report of meeting on the need for a program of education, research and service in regional planning sponsored jointly by the Chapel Hill Department of City and Regional Planning and the Institute for Research in Social Science of the University of North Carolina, November 18-19, 1950. Chapel Hill, North Carolina, the Department, 1951. 82 pp.

Ports

The Port of New York Authority. Thirtieth Annual Report, for the Year Ended December 31, 1950. New York 11, The Authority, 1951. 198 pp. Illus.

Public Employment

City Employment in 1950. Washington 25, D. C., Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, 1951. 44 pp.

Registration

Registration and Purgation Laws of Kentucky. A compilation of the sections of the Kentucky constitution which establish qualifications for voting and a reprint of Chapter 117 of the Kentucky Revised Statutes. Frankfort, Kentucky Legislative Research Commission, 1951. iv, 53 pp.

Taxation and Finance

Clinton (Tennessee) Capital Budget —A Public Works Timetable. Nashville 3, Tennessee State Planning Commission, 1951. 40 pp.

Important Municipal Bond Offerings by Dealers in 1950. New York 4, *The Bond Buyer,* 1951. 162 pp.

Long-term Capital Improvement Program State of Maryland. Biennial Revision. Baltimore 2, Maryland State Planning Commission, 1951. 289 pp. 25 cents.

Proposed Federal Taxation of Municipal Bonds. By David L. Lawrence. (Statement before the House Ways and Means Committee, Washington, D. C., February 26, 1951.) Washington, United States Conference of Mayors, *United States Municipal News,* March 1, 1951. 8 pp.

Recommended Policies for Public Finance Officers. A Statement by the Executive Board. Chicago 37, Municipal Finance Officers Association, 1950. 2 pp.

Selecting New Municipal Revenue Sources. By Robert H. Blundred. Chicago 37, American Municipal Association, 1951. 12 pp. 50 cents.

Services and Costs: 1950. A Report on Your Illinois State Government: Where the Money Came From and What It Bought. Springfield, Department of Finance, 1951. 61 pp.

Traffic Safety

Operation Safety. Program Kits on Traffic Safety Promotion. Theme for June: **Speed Control.** Theme for July: **Vacation Driving.** Chicago 11, National Safety Council, 1951. Variously paged.

Turn Controls in Urban Traffic. Saugatuck, Connecticut, The Eno Foundation for Highway Traffic Control, 1951. 90 pp.

Water Pollution

Water Pollution in the United States. A report on the polluted condition of our waters and what is needed to restore their quality. Washington, D. C., Federal Security Agency, Public Health Service, 1951. 35 cents. (Apply U. S. Government Printing Office, Washington, D. C.)

Editor-Expert Has Varied Career

When Elwyn A. Mauck won his Ph. D. from Columbia University in 1937 (along with a Phi Beta Kappa key), he knew just what he was going to do: be an authority on the problems and ailments of county government, "the dark continent of American politics."

And he did, too, before becoming editor of the NATIONAL MUNICIPAL REVIEW's "County and Township" department in 1940, but since then his fast-moving career has carried him to important teaching posts in half a dozen universities, war work in Washington as chief of the Reports and Awards Division of the Office of Civilian Defense and as chief of the organization and methods division of the War Assets Administration for the Nashville region (in which one recommendation was abolition of his own job) and finally to his present work of reorganizing state government departments for greater efficiency and economy.

Working for the REVIEW is only one of Mauck's several unpaid jobs. He is national secretary-treasurer of Pi Sigma Alpha, political science honorary society; is active in the American Political Science Association and the American Society for Public Administration, having served as president of the Maryland chapter of the latter organization; writes the annual article on county government for *The American Year Book* in addition to articles on several other subjects for publications including the *Bulletin of the Atomic Scientists.*

It takes three and one-half inches of fine type in *Who's Who* to cover the high points of Mauck's busy life, including the fact that he now makes his living as director of the Maryland State Fiscal Research Bureau but omitting such significant things as his service as part-time lecturer in political science at Johns Hopkins University and his recent appointment as staff director of the Maryland Commission on State Administrative Organization.

COMMITTEE PLAN CONFERENCE

(Continued from page 289)

Calvin S. Skinner, executive director, Cincinnati Bureau of Governmental Research; Joseph Turner, director, Convention and Visitors' Bureau; Mrs. Darrah D. Wunder, executive secretary, Cincinnati League of Women Voters; Mrs. Robert Gorman, chairman, Cincinnati Rent Advisory Board; Mrs. Claude M. Lotspeich, League of Women Voters; Raymond F. McCoy, director, Xavier University Graduate School; Mrs. Albert D. Cash, member of the board, City Charter Committee; Mrs. William H. Hessler, member, City Planning Commission; Joseph A. Hall, executive secretary, The Urban League; Mrs. Fred Cole, Constitution Committee, League of Women Voters of Ohio.

The Netherland Plaza Hotel has been chosen for Conference headquarters.

Former Convict 'Exposes' League

Charles H. McGlue, like many other politicians, doesn't like the National Municipal League one bit. About the League, he says:

"It is a slick organization, fostered and furthered by some slick, high-pressure salesmen, the kind that could sell refrigerators to the Eskimos, gold bricks to the rustics, the Brooklyn Bridge to New York visitors, or foreign-made merchandise to unemployed Americans."

Lest League members misconstrue this as an intended compliment, it should be pointed out that it is part of his signed article in which he views the League with alarm and fears it is part of a plot, along with local and state civic organizations, "to put over this POLITICAL REVOLUTION right here in Massachusetts."

Mr. McGlue demonstrated his regard for the truth and his apparent ignorance of the Soviet Union's obvious disapproval of any kind of open election by starting his peroration with a discussion of the methods of communism and then dubbing the proportional representation system of voting the "Please Russia" system.

He finishes his contribution to public discussion and enlightenment with these words:

"So you good citizens of Massachusetts, if you want to entrust your democracy and your democratic way of life in the hands of political opportunists and buccaneers, it is OK with me. But at least do not at a later date say that you did not know that the gun was loaded when you were knocked flat by misrepresentations, distortions, half-truths and carom-shots, mostly to the left, and I do mean, left."

Editor's Note: When a civic group in Boston circulated petitions to bring Plan "E" (the council-manager plan with P. R.) to a vote several years ago, the Communist party opposed it. McGlue and his politician friends also opposed it and, through trickery, kept the question from being submitted to the people.

Despite the efforts of McGlue *et al* to smother the democratic process, Boston adopted a new charter law two years ago which goes into effect next January. It cuts the city council from 22 to 9 and provides for a run-off election i no candidate for mayor receives a majority vote. P.S.: Curley has never received a majority.

Concerning Mr. McGlue, *Time* magazine wrote several years ago, afte Mayor Curley returned from serving prison sentence: "Two weeks later Jin Curley found a job for another ex convict. This time it was a ruddy amiable lawyer (once suspended named Charles H. McGlue, who ha been a Curley campaign manager, stat Democratic chairman and head of th state Ballot Law Commission, whic irons out ballot disputes. In 1939, McGlue had been convicted of federal income tax evasion, spent five months i jail. Curley decided that McGlue wa just the man to be assistant chief of th city's licensing division (at a mode $4,000)."

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NEWS for League Members

Toledo Given Award Certificate

A certificate designating Toledo one of the "All American Cities of 1950" was presented May 22 to Mayor Ollie Czelusta at the seventeenth annual meeting of the Toledo Municipal League.

The presentation was made on behalf of the National Municipal League by Allen H. Seed, Jr., director of field services.

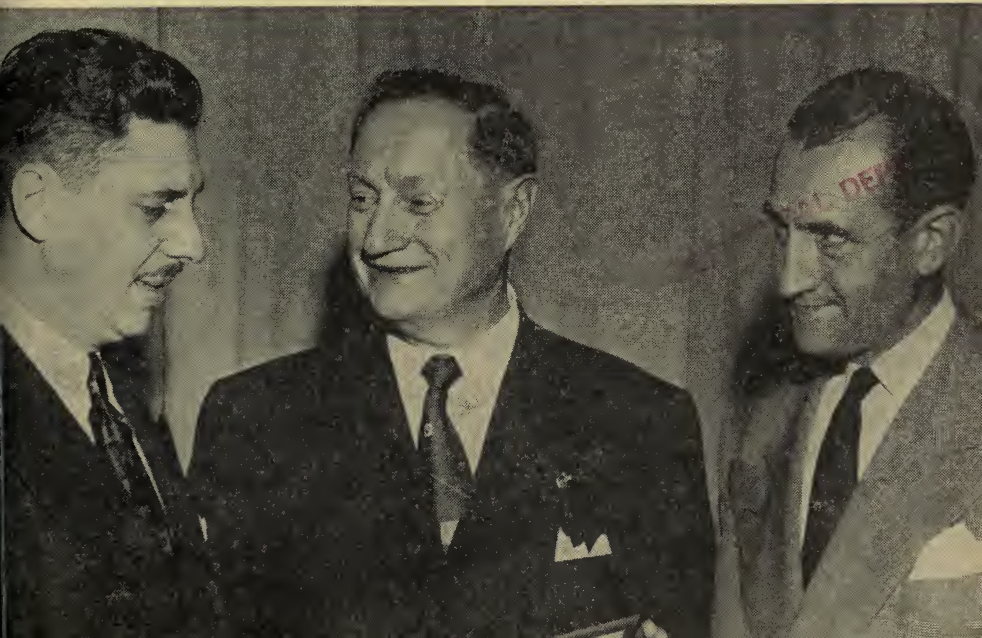
Mr. Seed told the meeting that the NML's jury of experts at the National Conference on Government last November in Buffalo had included Toledo among the eleven cities honored because of intelligent citizen support of the local income tax which had rescued the city from dangerous financial difficulties.

He pointed out that the tax had permitted a necessary program of capital improvements, freed the city of debt and provided "an outstanding example of progressive financial management in a metropolitan community."

Mayor Czelusta, in accepting the certificate on behalf of the city, described the improvement of public services since Toledo adopted the council-manager form of government fifteen years ago when Mr. Seed was executive secretary of the Toledo City Manager League.

Other places which will receive similar certificates are: Cincinnati, Hartford, Kansas City (Missouri), Montclair (New Jersey), Montgomery County (Maryland), New Orleans, Phoenix, Portland (Maine), Richmond (Virginia), and Youngstown (Ohio).

Left to right: Ronald E. Gregg, Executive Secretary, Toledo Municipal League; Mayor Ollie Czelusta of Toledo; Allen H. Seed, Jr., Director of Field Services, National Municipal League.



Faulkner Heads Nominating Committee

Because of the impending retirement of Henry Bruère from the League presidency as well as from active business life, this year's nominating committee again faces the problem of proposing a candidate at the annual meeting in November.

Suggestions have been invited by Bayard H. Faulkner, vice president of the Seaboard Oil Company and chairman of the New Jersey Commission on Local Government, who has accepted the chairmanship of the nominating committee.

"The committee seeks someone who has distinguished himself not only in private life but also in unselfish civic service," Mr. Faulkner said.

"He should be a man in the tradition of the League's former presidents — James C. Carter, Charles J. Bonaparte, William Dudley Foulke, Lawson Purdy, Charles Evans Hughes, Henry M. Waite, Frank L. Polk, Richard S. Childs, Murray Seasongood, Harold W. Dodds, C. A. Dykstra, John G. Winant and Charles Edison."

In addition to Mr. Faulkner, members of the nominating committee are: Frederick L. Bird, director of municipal research, Dun & Bradstreet; William Collins, president, Walter Kidde Constructors; Herbert Emmerich, director, Public Administration Clearing House; and Carl H. Pforzheimer, president, Carl H. Pforzheimer Company.

The committee also will make nominations for first and second vice president, regional and honorary vice presidents, and for ten vacancies in the Council to replace the following, whose terms will expire at the end of 1951:

Frederick L. Bird, New York; Albert D. Cash, Cincinnati; L. P. Cookingham, Kansas City, Missouri; James A. Cunningham, Chicago; Arnold Frye, New York; Mrs. Siegel W. Judd, Grand Rapids, Michigan; Mrs. Virgil Loeb, St. Louis; Mrs. Thomas H. Mahony, Boston; Walter M. Phillips, Philadelphia; and Henry L. Shattuck, Boston.

Bayard H. Faulkner

The committee will hold a series of meetings during the next several months and issue a report, either in the REVIEW or by mail to members, at least 30 days prior to the annual meeting, where additional nominations to fill vacancies may be made.

The election will be held at the meeting of League members the afternoon of Monday, November 26, at the Netherland Plaza Hotel, Cincinnati, in connection with the National Conference on Government.

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Editorial Comment

More Work for an Angry People

THE editorial "What Can an Angry People Do?" in the May NATIONAL MUNICIPAL REVIEW[1] laid out a comprehensive long range program of action for citizens anxious to exterminate politico-criminal alliances. Since then the eagerly awaited report of the Kefauver Committee has appeared.

Although the theme of the report is that "the crisis of law enforcement . . . is basically a state and local crisis," its concrete suggestions as to what each state and community should do have not been very fully reported in most of the newspapers. Consequently, excerpts from the Kefauver report, including seven broad recommendations for state and local action, are printed in this issue (see page 354).

Considering that the mandate of the committee required it to concentrate on possible federal action, its suggestions regarding state and local government are remarkably penetrating and comprehensive. They include a number of the "cures" suggested in "What Can an Angry People Do?" In the nature of the case they concentrated on more or less immediate and short range rather than on some of the long range cures that must be effected in order to eradicate the basic causes of the scandal that has been uncovered.

They do, however, put a good deal of emphasis on the necessity for pretty fundamental reforms in county government and on the difficulty of securing responsible and competent law enforcement in a metropolitan area that is cut up into many small and illogical governmental units.[2]

On one important matter the Kefauver committee apparently did not see the possibility and the need for drastic action by federal officials. "The federal government can do little about the influence which gangsters and racketeering elements exert upon local political organizations." As was pointed out in "What Can an Angry People Do?" the tieup between state and local politics through national party organizations gives federal appointing authorities, specifically the president and members of the United States Senate, as well as politically appointed federal enforcement officers, a tremendous influence upon local political organizations.

Consequently, the elimination of the spoils system in the Internal Revenue Bureau, the Department of Justice and other federal appointments should be one of the most important objectives of federal action to break up politico-criminal alliances. We repeat, "there is not the slightest reason why the president or any member of Congress should have political jobs to give out that would be of the slightest interest to a local political organization."

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[1] Reprints available at 10 cents each, 75 cents for 10, $5 for 100.

[2] See also "Escape to the Suburbs," editorial, the REVIEW, April 1951, page 184.

Spare That Rod

THE initiative and the referendum have been a handy "stick behind the door" for citizens frustrated by unresponsive or irresponsible state and local legislatures. Everyone would agree that the referendum is a must on revisions or amendments of state constitutions and local charters. The romantic notion that direct legislation might provide the equivalent of the town meeting as a source of ordinary legislation in a modern state or city has, however, been belied by experience. Neither the initiative nor the petition referendum on ordinary state or local legislation is worth bothering with except as a method of by-passing or reining in a balky legislature or city council, and in rare instances of getting a formal expression of public opinion on a major question of policy.

The natural limitations on the usefulness of direct legislation tend to highlight the misuse of it. The article by Edward F. Dow, "Portland Limits Initiative" (page 347), calls attention to an all too common misuse of the initiative and to one possible method of curbing it. As Professor Dow points out, salaries, and sometimes pensions, of particular classes of public employees, especially policemen and firemen, are often determined by popular vote. In many cases the petition is circulated by the employees themselves or by their next of kin and best friends to the accompaniment of "arguments" that are hardly better than outright blackmail.

Frequently the proposals are in themselves meritorious, but they are not necessarily so. In any event, it is impossible to deal properly with the salaries, hours or other conditions of employment of one class of public employees apart from all other employees of the same government. In modern practice this involves a complicated procedure for classifying and rating jobs and assigning pay scales that are commensurate with one another and with the total needs and financial capacity of the government.

No one would claim that this sort of thing could be worked out in a true town meeting, much less by voluntary petitions followed by a ballyhoo campaign and popular vote. A modern classification and pay scale cannot even be developed by a hard working municipal legislative body. It is essentially an administrative matter—one that must be worked out objectively by experts within broad policy limits set by the governing body or legislature.

This is the basis of the action taken by the city of Portland, Maine, and sustained by the State Supreme Court, to exempt such matters from the application of the initiative, on the ground that they are essentially administrative rather than legislative in character. This Portland precedent is worth serious consideration in other cities and states, especially where, as in New Jersey, virtually the only use of the local initiative has been to vote on special questions for policemen and firemen.

Professor Dow mentions a slightly different abuse of direct legislation in the defeat by an insignificant referendum vote of a zoning amendment directly affecting only a very few people in Bangor. A zoning ordinance is an important legislative or policy-making act. But like a pay plan it is impossible to develop a proper and consistent zoning structure in a mass meeting or even in a council meeting. It must be developed through the administrative process. Experience has shown that it is hard enough for a city council to refrain from lousing up a zoning ordinance by making repeated exceptions. It is preposterous to expect a majority of the people of a whole city to come to the polls and vote advisedly from time to time on minor zoning amendments.

Regrettably, people almost never vote as heavily even on major public questions as on personalities running for office. This fact has led some states to provide that a measure on which a given percentage of the voters fails to register opinions shall be defeated. This turns the indifferent voters willy nilly into "no" voters.

Thus, the will of a minority of the voters who know and care enough to vote on a question may prevail over that of the majority of such voters. This reduces "majority rule" to a dangerous absurdity by converting it into government by the politically inert. Questions that are not of sufficient general interest or importance to make it reasonable to accept the verdict of a majority of the people who take the trouble to vote on them had better be determined by the method of representative rather than of direct democracy.

It would be too bad to have to throw the direct legislation stick once and for all into the wood box. But if it is to be kept steps need to be taken to keep it from becoming an "attractive nuisance" constantly tempting pressure groups and small minorities to play ducks and drakes with public funds and community-wide interests. The limits as well as the proper uses of the initiative and referendum need to be better defined and understood.

Responsible citizens should, of course, resist improper proposals for the use of the initiative and the referendum even when they may seem to be in their own special interests. The Portland experiment may, however, point to the possibility of better legal definition of the proper scope of direct legislation which can prolong its useful life by depriving it of some of its capacity for mischief.

The *Model State Constitution* puts other specific limitations on the initiative, forbidding its use as a means of making appropriations or of naming any person as an administrator of any agency to be established by the proposed act. These limitations are in line with the Portland precedent and equally applicable to the local initiative.

Of course, the best and surest way to keep direct legislation in its place is to have representative and responsive state and local legislatures. This means reapportionment in most states and some cities and perhaps a wider use of the recall.

Portland Limits Initiative

Voters and court approve keeping administrative matters such as tax levies, wages and hours in hands of officials.

By **EDWARD F. DOW***

THE government of Portland, Maine, has won a decisive victory in its effort to remove strictly administrative matters from the province of initiative and referendum procedures. An ordinance passed by the city council last fall eliminates appropriations, tax levies and the wages and hours of city employees from direct control by the voters. The ordinance has not only been approved at the polls but has also been upheld by the Maine Supreme Court.

Initiative and referendum provisions appear frequently in municipal charters and ordinances, placed there as a defense of the common man against arbitrary acts or neglect on the part of representative government. As a "gun behind the door," direct legislation is intended to supplement, not to displace, the work of local legislatures and administrators. There is always the danger, however, that irresponsible pressure groups may abuse their direct legislative privileges if allowed to do so by the ignorance or apathy of the public.

The initiative and referendum are means of *direct legislation* and were never intended as means of *direct administration.* Because of the breadth or indefiniteness of municipal legislative powers, however, or the breadth or lack of clarity in the enabling legislation, the initiative and referendum may be used in matters not properly legislative in nature. Thus, when four Michigan communities voted November 7, 1950, on proposals to reduce the work week of firemen, they were being asked to decide questions which may well be within the scope of direct legislation as defined by Michigan law but which, nevertheless, are administrative in character. Similar occurrences in New Jersey, New York and other states raise the question as to whether the problem may not be more widespread and significant than is generally realized.

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In all direct legislation there is the possibility that minority legislation will result—perhaps that is one of the chances we take with the democratic process. When we add the further complication that arises when the public is asked to decide on matters of a technical and detailed nature, beyond its competence or interests, it seems time to reexamine the procedure. Will it be possible to save the principles of direct legislation while spelling out a workable distinction between matters which are administrative, and therefore should not be subject to

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*Dr. Dow is professor of government and head of the Department of History and Government at the University of Maine. Co-author of *City Manager Government in Portland, Maine,* Dr. Dow is the initiator and director of his university's course in public management, many graduates of which have become city managers.

popular vote, and those which involve broader questions of policy?[1]

Problems involving the initiative and referendum have arisen recently in Maine.

A zoning amendment enacted by the city council of Bangor was subjected to referendum and defeated on February 5, 1951, by a small fraction of the voters—the "no" vote equalled 3.4 per cent of the registered voters. When the council determines that a change in zoning regulations is beneficial to the city, shall a small number of citizens in the area directly affected be allowed to prevent the change? The average voter does not know or care about the issue.

Use of Initiative

From 1923 to 1950 the initiative procedure provided by the Portland city charter was begun twelve times but reached the election stage only four times—1926, 1938, 1939 and 1941. All four issues dealt with zoning and all were approved by the voters. Two of the proposals which failed to get on the ballot concerned firemen. In 1948 a petition asked the council to call an election on the question of increasing the number of full-time firemen on Peaks Island. The corporation counsel advised the council that this was an administrative question. In 1949 the firemen asked for a reduction in the work week and again the law officer ruled that the problem was administrative and therefore not a proper subject for the initiative. The firemen did not take the question to court.

Members of the Portland police force petitioned the city manager to include a 20 per cent raise in patrolmen's base pay in his 1950 budget. The manager firmly refused. The following month the police sought to affiliate with the American Federation of Labor but were told that police rules and regulations enacted by the city council in 1933 forbade affiliation with any organization outside the department. Organization attempts were abandoned but the local Police Benefit Association presented a new wage demand, this time for a 10 per cent raise. The manager again refused to recommend the proposed increase and gave his reasons in detail (January 1950). Thereupon the Police Benefit Association initiated a wages and hours ordinance increasing the minimum pay and setting maximum hours of work. The corporation counsel ruled that the ordinance dealt with administrative matters under control of the manager and council and advised the council not to call an election.

Through its attorney the association asked the Maine Supreme Court to issue a writ of mandamus ordering the city council to call an election. The case (*Anderson et al.* vs. *Colley et al.*) was heard at the March 1950 term where a unanimous court denied the writ of mandamus, deciding that the fixing of police pay was not subject to direct legislation.

The court's action was not based on any abstruse theory concerning the separation of powers doctrine but on a specific clause in the city charter (article VI, section 5) which states that the salaries of patrolmen are "fixed by the city manager, subject to approval by the city council." The proposed ordinance would have set minimum pay and thus in effect would have amended the charter, and the voters might have altered a document enacted by the state legislature and not legally subject to change by the voters or the city council. Maine is not a home rule state; city charters are adopted as special acts of the legislature.

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[1] The author would welcome comments on the problem discussed in this article. What phases are evident in your state? What has been done to remedy or clarify the situation either by law or court decision?

New Procedure Adopted

The Portland charter (article III, section 10) provided that direct legislation could not be amended or repealed except by vote of the people, hence giving a condition of permanence to initiated measures which might seriously interfere with the legislative and administrative powers of the city. Any pressure group imposing its will through initiated legislation might cause serious financial difficulties, unbalancing the budget and even endangering the credit of the city. The Anderson case did not prevent other fiscal matters from being initiated as it covered only the salaries of police patrolmen. The Portland charter provided that the initiative could be used on "any proposed ordinance, order or resolve." Presumably any exceptions to this broad terminology would have to be found in the charter, as was done in the Anderson case. Corporation Counsel Shur's argument in that case summed up the dangers of the existing situation when he said in part:

> It is equally impractical, if not impossible, for the people at large to have or digest the information, data and facts which are necessarily incident and essential to the forming of a clear, accurate and fair judgment upon the subject matter of wages as they affect not only the particular men involved but also in the larger sense as they affect such matters as wages of all other employees, the tax rate, capital improvements, municipal services, statutory obligations, all of which go into the making of the financial structure of a city. The wages of police officers are not in and of themselves a thing apart. The problems involved in managing a large city, in which exist ever pressing needs relating to schools, health, public safety, adequate roads, welfare, sewers and housing, are intricate enough without having some group concerned only with its own interest, interfere with the over-all watch-like precision that is so necessary in administering the affairs of a city.

How could Portland avoid the danger of future public interference in administrative matters? A charter amendment would require legislative action. The city solicitor suggested that an easier method would be to enact an ordinance setting up entirely new procedures, on the theory that the existing charter provisions were unconstitutional. Although this point was ignored by the Supreme Court, Mr. Shur had already argued in the Anderson case that the charter provisions were in conflict with the Maine constitution (article XXXI, section 21), which says:

> The city council of any city may establish the initiative and referendum for the electors of such city in regard to its municipal affairs, provided that the ordinance establishing and providing the method of exercis-

> ing such initiative and referendum shall not take effect until ratified by vote of a majority of the electors of said city, voting thereon at a municipal election.

The city council of Portland had never established the initiative and referendum by ordinance; the charter provision existed by virtue of special legislation which failed to comply with these requirements of the constitution. On these assumptions an initiative and referendum ordinance was introduced in the council on October 16, 1950, passed by the council and submitted to and approved by the voters of Portland at the regular municipal election, December 4, 1950. It became effective January 3, 1951.

Ordinance Provisions

The ordinance provides protection against the danger of interference in certain types of administrative matters by the following language: "After passage and approval of this ordinance as provided herein, neither this ordinance nor ordinances dealing with appropriations, tax levy, or with wages and hours of city employees shall be subject to the initiative and referendum provisions herein established."

Another provision of the new ordinance allows the council to repeal or amend an initiated or referred ordinance after five years, without popular vote; meanwhile the measure may be repealed or amended by direct legislation. Under the charter there was no possibility of council amendment or repeal, as direct legislation could not be altered except by another vote of the people.

Bitter legal battles were staged by the police over the new ordinance. The first move, made in November 1950, was a request for an injunction to prevent the ordinance from being placed on the ballot. The Supreme Court of Maine denied this. The second move, begun at the same time, sought to have the city ordinance declared unconstitutional. This likewise failed; the Supreme Court denied relief on technical grounds.[2] Finally, the police sought to compel the Portland city council to place on the ballot a proposed initiative and referendum ordinance more favorable to their cause. The court again refused to agree, holding that mandamus would not be issued if to no avail; the police ordinance would be void, if accepted by the voters, as in conflict with the city ordinance adopted under provisions of the state constitution.[3]

The Portland city government is at least momentarily victorious in its effort to remove administrative matters from the province of direct legislation. Must every municipality lose the battle unless it can get ordinance or charter provisions setting up specific limitations on the subject matter available for direct legislative action? Constitutional or statutory limitations would appear to be preferable.

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[2] *Attorney General vs. Frost et als* and *McLaughlin et als vs. Colley et als,* opinion of the Supreme Judicial Court of Maine, week of April 23, 1951. Undated office copy of decision furnished the author by the court.

[3] *Ibid.*

Have I Kept The Faith?

Retired industrialist, looking back on his omissions as a citizen, challenges today's businessmen to give leadership.

By COLBY M. CHESTER*

TODAY I am speaking to you as one citizen to another—deliberately and, I hope, pointedly so. Some of you may be no little surprised at this, because during the last twenty years or more most of us in public utterance speak as one businessman to another.

But now current events help show the error of this customary way. In the past I seem to have been neglectful of an extremely important part of my heritage as an American. To be sure, I worked at business citizenship and all that the term seemed to imply at the time. But today it is clear there was, all along, too much emphasis on business and not enough on citizenship.

My years, of course, have helped make today's conclusion easier for me than it might be for most of you. Officially, you see, my condition is known as retired. Retirement had two effects. It gave me a whole set of new jobs and interests. And it had the special virtue of making me wonder whether I had unheedingly allowed my business interests to keep a padlock on my lips.

Anyway, deep within me now is the feeling that I have been emancipated and stand before you as a free American. As a citizen I sit in judgment on myself, the businessman—a man who has sat where you are sitting today. Have I kept the faith that was instilled into me during the early, formative years?

For too many years, I can see now, I simply left many of the concerns of citizenship to others. More than a few of these others, of course, were professional citizens. But the warning in that thought was engulfed by the ever-present concerns of business.

Oh, it's all right for businessmen to speak quietly in their churches, on subjects appropriate there. Or they're privileged to talk about their hobbies—provided, of course, that these in no way impinge upon controversial subjects. I know well that many able, thinking businessmen sense the padlock on their lips.

You know that confusion now reigns in this land of ours. You know that most people are in a stew—a state of agitating worry—over the goings-on in governmental and other public life.

All decent people are fed up with open robbery and graft by king-pin characters of what was once considered the underworld. This form of piracy is perverting the minds of many young Americans and hopelessly discouraging millions of others who show signs of begetting a nation of skeptics. The bad men of the land are aborting the very teachings of our churches and schools.

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*Mr. Chester, honorary chairman of General Foods Corporation, began his career as a lawyer associated with Charles Evans Hughes and in other firms before becoming a prominent industrialist. He is director of various banks and corporations and has been a leading figure for years in Red Cross and other activities. This article is part of an address delivered by Mr. Chester before the Bridgeport, Connecticut, Chamber of Commerce on May 28, 1951.

In a community where I have resided, it came to light that the town treasurer was short in his account. He had done some private speculating with town funds, in an amount that wasn't hay. But you'd think it was hay, the way the local taxpaying businessmen side-stepped due action against the town official. To be sure, the man came to trial, got a six-months jail term and was confined—in a hotel.

A Padlock on His Lips

Some of us had turned out to be poor citizens. We groaned privately, said little or nothing publicly about a criminal practice, for fear our words might backfire and affect business. We stayed out of local politics, to the injury of our own souls and our democratic form of government. We just left the dirty work to those who had preempted it. Thereby, we encouraged dirty work. If we had deliberately tried to, we couldn't have rendered our country a greater disservice.

"It isn't safe for a businessman to talk politics." There's your padlock. His lips are sealed from force of habit; he retreats at the mere thought of expressing openly forthright opinion on issues of national, and even local, citizenship.

You will note that I said "citizenship" where I might just as well have said "politics." There are two reasons for this switch of terms: One, despite my feeling of emancipation I still tend to retreat at thought of the old taboo. And, two, the more all of us think and act in terms of our citizenship, the sooner we will be able to right the wrongs that exist in the low strata of local and national politics.

There is a saving total of leadership lying dormant in the ranks of American businessmen. What am I getting at? Do I mean to say that you, and other businessmen like you, must renounce considerations of business in favor of politics—or citizenship? No, I certainly do not suggest that you neglect business.

We are in agreement, I am sure, that business has provided the lifeblood of our country and made it great and powerful. Our power is homeland power. That is our greatest edge over our present foreign enemies as well as some of our allies. Our business enterprise is at once the despair of our enemies and our own hope for peace and universal happiness.

It is my belief, further, that American business, as such, is today basically as honorable, as socially minded, as conscious of and as worthy of, its great responsibility as any group of citizens in this or any other land. In the course of their accomplishment, our businessmen have written a social philosophy. No other group or country in the world has written a fairer, more workable philosophy.

No, the fault that I have been implying all along is not with businessmen as a group. The fault is more with businessmen as individuals. One comes upon it when he asks himself, "Have I kept the faith?"

As individuals, in our pursuit of new products and ever increasing production and profits, we have become materialistic to a point that causes Henry Cabot Lodge to say:

> I wonder whether in recent years we have unwittingly come to accept the totalitarian concept that the end justifies the means, a concept that is fundamentally and completely antagonistic to a true domestic society. Democracy is, I believe, more likely to be destroyed by the perversion of, or our abandonment of, its true moral principles than by armed attack from Russia.

Principles vs. Angles

As businessmen we have tried to carry our heads high, but we have been none too successful even in that. We could not be. For, with the padlocks on our lips and all but driven underground by false fears, we lost much in morality and self-respect. There is no surer sign of that than some of the phrasings coined in the past decade or two. Once we said, "That man has principles and integrity; he is a man of conviction," to express our highest approbation. Now we say, "Oh, that fellow is smart; he knows all the angles."

Well, angles are no token of spiritual depth. They cannot indefinitely stand off the autocracy that menaces our way of life from both without and within our shores.

I do not recall that anyone ever said Abraham Lincoln knew "all the angles." We came to admire him for his principles and the courage with which he voiced his convictions. One of these he put this way: "If destruction be our lot, we must ourselves be its author and finisher. As a nation of free men we must live through all time or die by suicide."

It was Lincoln's depth of spirit, not his knowledge of angles, that held our nation together. The general bewilderment of the 1860s did not bewilder him.

It is only within our century that bewilderment has become world wide. In the bewilderment of the 1950s we need clear-minded, unselfish leadership as mankind has never before needed it.

God give us men. A time like this demands
Strong minds, great hearts, true faith and ready hands!
Men whom the lust of office does not kill,
Men whom the spoils of office cannot buy,
Men who possess opinions and a will,
Men who love honor, men who cannot lie.

Holland's words may be old stuff to cynics. They never have voiced so great a need as they do now.

No, I do not mean that businessmen should neglect business in favor of citizenship. That isn't necessary. But I do have faith and hope that you and other businessmen will find ways to practice both business and citizenship on a par. In fact, the way to better business is through better citizenship.

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Meanwhile, I pray that you give due thought to producing the kind of political leadership you now produce for business. Many businessmen have shown themselves to be men of integrity and foresight and conviction—in business. Opinion surveys have shown that people

(Continued on page 390)

Crime Up to States and Cities

Kefauver committee makes seven broad suggestions for effective action against politico-criminal alliances.*

ANY program for controlling organized crime must take into account the fundamental nature of our governmental system. The enforcement of the criminal law is primarily a state and local responsibility. While channels of interstate communication and interstate commerce may be used by organized criminal gangs and syndicates, their activities are in large measure violations of local criminal statutes.

The crisis of law enforcement which has been uncovered by the [Kefauver] committee is basically a state and a local crisis. The federal government does not have responsibility for the widespread gambling and vice conditions it has found in such places as the Miami area; the parishes outside of New Orleans; the Covington-Newport areas of Kentucky; Bergen County, New Jersey; several counties in California and Illinois; and Saratoga, New York. The responsibility is basically one that must be shared by local and state agencies of law enforcement as well as by the citizens of the various communities who tolerated such conditions. As J. Edgar Hoover pointed out in his statement to this committee, "The federal government can never be a satisfactory substitute for local self-government in the enforcement field."

The federal government, moreover, can do relatively little to assist local citizens and officials in the removal of local law enforcement officials who have accepted money from gangsters and racketeers or who have actually participated in criminal operations. The federal government can do little about the influence which gangsters and racketeering elements exert upon local political organizations. The federal government can do even less about the inefficiency and ineffectiveness of local law enforcement agencies. Nor can the federal government correct the diffusion of responsibility and the "buck-passing" which take place between independent law enforcement agencies operating in the same county or in the same metropolitan area. Finally, the federal government can do nothing to correct the misguided leniency of state and local judges who impose small fines or short jail sentences in racketeering situations.

The breakdown in law enforcement is not entirely due to corruption of law enforcement officials or to the use of political influence to paralyze law enforcement processes. Much of the responsibility must be placed upon the present organization of law enforcement agencies. In metropolitan communities like Cook County, Illinois; Los Angeles County, California; or Bergen County, New

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*This article is made up of excerpts from the recently issued Kefauver report on crime conditions in the United States, i.e., *Third Interim Report of the Special Committee to Investigate Organized Crime in Interstate Commerce.* U. S. Senate Report 307, 82nd Congress, First Session, 1951. 195 pages.

Jersey, there is a congeries of independent local police forces covering the county. In addition, a sheriff's office with wide law enforcement responsibilities and the state police with a wide jurisdiction to enforce state laws may also operate within the county.

There is no centralized direction or control and no centralized responsibility for seeing that a single uniform law enforcement policy is applied over the entire geographic area of a county. The situation lends itself to buck-passing and evasion of responsibility which can only inure to the benefit of gangsters and racketeers. It makes it possible for hoodlums to find those cities and towns where law enforcement is lax and to concentrate their operations there.

While the federal police and prosecuting agencies cannot be substituted for state and local law enforcement in dealing with organized crime, the federal government still has a major and vital responsibility in this field. The federal government must provide leadership and guidance in the struggle against organized crime, for the criminal gangs and syndicates have nation-wide ramifications. It should establish additional techniques to provide maximum coordination in law enforcement agencies to insure complete efficiency. It must help work out techniques for securing better interstate cooperation in dealing with crime. In addition, the federal government is under certain positive obligations to use powers presently available to it against organized criminal gangs. It is the responsibility of the federal government to see that the channels of interstate commerce, transportation, communication and the United States mails are not used to facilitate the operations of organized criminal gangs and syndicates. It is up to the federal government to see that gangsters and racketeers are stripped of as much of their ill-gotten gains as possible through vigorous enforcement of the income tax laws.

Task of States, Localities

In order that state and local law enforcement machinery and procedures be strengthened and become more effective in dealing with organized crime, the committee makes the following suggestions of a broad nature.

I. A committee might well be appointed in each state to make a thorough-going investigation of the problem of organized crime.

The fact that so many of the conditions which breed organized crime are beyond the reach of federal authority makes it absolutely vital that the various states institute sweeping inquiries into organized criminal conditions within their borders. The able reports and recommendations of the special crime study commissions appointed by Governor Warren in California indicate how effective such inquiries can be in formulating state and local policies in dealing with organized crime. Noteworthy state action has been taken in Ohio and Illinois by Governors Lausche and Stevenson. It should be noted that the disclosures resulting from our hearings in New York prompted the appointment by Governor Dewey of a five-man crime commission to investigate and act against racketeers and "the links between organized crime and units of state government in New York State." The action of these and of other governors should be emulated in other States.

II. Grand jury investigations could well be instituted in every community in which wide open gambling and racketeering conditions exist, so that local responsibility for such conditions can be fixed and determined.

The grand jury is the traditional organ of law enforcement charged with the responsibility of uncovering corruption in government and misfeasance and nonfeasance in office of public officials. Under adequate leadership grand juries can do a great deal to help local communities clean house. Steps should be taken in each state so that grand jury attention can be focused upon local conditions that contribute to organized crime. In order for grand jury inquiries to be effective, they must be freed from such hampering restrictions as are found in the Illinois laws which limit the terms of grand juries to 30 days.[1]

Surveys Suggested

III. It might be advantageous for each state to institute a survey of its law enforcement agencies with a view toward bringing about greater cooperation between agencies, greater centralization of responsibility for lax enforcement of the criminal law and greater efficiency.

The committee has been impressed by the failure of independent local units of law enforcement to work together harmoniously to eliminate gambling and racketeering conditions from their communities. In metropolitan areas there usually are large numbers of independent city, town and village police forces, which work together or refuse to cooperate, as they please. The sheriff of the county operates independently of other law enforcement agencies and frequently pursues law enforcement policies which are diametrically opposed to theirs. The district attorney, or the state's attorney, sometimes works with and sometimes against both the police and the sheriff. Exactly who is responsible for what in the law enforcement field is frequently a matter of conjecture and dispute. The very organization of law enforcement agencies in local communities makes it difficult to fix responsibility for widespread violations of the criminal law.

The committee cannot find the answers to the problems which local organization of law enforcement presents with the data presently available. The patterns of local law enforcement are deeply embedded in the constitutions and laws of the several states. They were evolved at a time when conditions of life were much simpler and when crime conditions were not as complex as they are today. They require thorough overhauling and a thorough reexamination in the light of what is required to combat present-day syndicated and organized crime. The several states cannot hope to control jet-plane criminality by the horse-and-buggy methods evolved in the early nineteenth century.

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[1] A bill enacted by the 1951 Illinois legislature changes this to a total of 90 days for grand juries in Cook County. See the REVIEW, May 1951, page 267. Editor.

Problems to Consider

Any survey of state and local law enforcement agencies must consider such problems as:

1. The combination of small independent local police forces into larger regional units which will be adequately staffed and equipped to make criminal investigations and to deal with organized crime,
2. The elimination of the law enforcement responsibilities of the sheriff's office,
3. The more adequate policing of rural areas by state police units,
4. The closer integration of local police forces and local police activities with the work and efforts of state police units,
5. The provision of better methods of recruiting and training local and state police officials,
6. The provision of higher standards of pay for persons engaged in local law enforcement work,
7. The elimination of the traditional coroner's office and substitution of adequately staffed and equipped medical examiners' offices,
8. A clearer definition of the function and the responsibilities of the local prosecutor in connection with the investigation of criminal cases,
9. The steps necessary to secure greater stability of tenure and greater professionalization in the local prosecutor's office,
10. The provision of a greater degree of centralized control of the work of local prosecutors, either through the attorney general or the governor's office,
11. The tightening of legal provisions concerning the removal of lax and faithless law enforcement officials, who fail to carry out their sworn duties,
12. More law enforcement officials should be brought under civil service regulations; in some places these regulations should be revised in order to facilitate the separation from the service of corrupt and/or inefficient enforcement officials.

Surveys of state law enforcement agencies which come up with answers to such problems will make vital contributions to the improvement of methods of dealing with organized crime.

Special Racket Squads

IV. Organization of rackets and special purpose squads in each state with sufficient manpower and authority to make investigations and arrests in connection with organized criminal activities would be helpful. Such squads are particularly desirable on both the state and local levels in connection with the suppression of narcotics traffic.

State surveys, which would provide data for fundamental changes in law enforcement organizations, will take a long time. In the meantime the state governments must take the initiative in dealing with the immediate problems presented by organized crime.

The need for state law enforcement activity is particularly acute in the suppression of the illicit sale and distribution of narcotics. Racket squads would also be very valuable in other fields of criminal activity in which organized criminal gangs are presently engaged. Where local enforcement breaks down in connection with gambling operations, for example, conditions can be materially improved by state police squads acting under the direct authority of a vigorous governor.

V. Each state would do well to analyze the provisions of its criminal law and its sentencing practices so as to make certain that deterrent sentences are imposed upon offenders engaged in criminal activities connected with organized crime.

Organized criminal activities cannot be controlled by the imposition of small fines. Yet this is the normal technique for dealing with such racketeering activities as bookmaking and the numbers, or policy, game. This has absolutely no deterrent effect upon key individuals who control the rackets or upon the small fry who are normally brought before our courts. The fine is looked upon merely as an expense of doing business and is usually paid by the banker of the policy game or the backer of the bookmaker. When subordinates in the racket understand that they are exposing themselves to prison sentences and that their employers cannot absorb penalties imposed upon them, they will be less likely to engage in illegal activities. Similarly, more drastic penalties appear to be indicated in connection with the violation of state narcotics laws. It is the considered opinion of the Federal Bureau of Narcotics that drug peddlers can only be controlled by drastic penalties.

VI. Each state should consider legislation making it possible to deprive any establishment of its license which permits gambling games or gambling operations on its premises.

Local and state licenses are required from many different types of establishments—hotels, night clubs, taverns, restaurants, candy stores, etc. Racketeers frequently use such establishments as locations for slot machines, punchboards and other gambling games or conduct other types of gambling operations, such as bookmaking or the collection of policy numbers on these premises. In Minnesota, Wisconsin and Iowa, statutes have been enacted which make it possible to strip such establishments of their license to do business if they are permitting gambling operations to be conducted on their premises.

A Citizens Commission

VII. A citizen crime commission charged with the duty of observing the activities of local law enforcement agencies and with the duty of observing and reporting on local crime conditions would be helpful in each large community.

Public apathy has in large measure been responsible for many of the conditions disclosed by the committee. This apathy is due in large part to a lack of knowledge of crime conditions on the part of the citizens living in the cities visited by the committee. Even where some knowledge was present, the leadership to do something about malodorous crime conditions was frequently lacking. The function of a local crime commission is to provide both knowledge and guidance. Its task is to expose pitilessly the racketeers who grow fat on crime and their allies in law enforcement and in political organizations. Local crime commissions have contributed considerably to more effective methods dealing with crime in such cities as Chicago and Miami and have pointed the way to the kind of public service that such organizations can render. The committee notes with approval the organization of the Greater New York Crime Committee in New York City. Similar organizations should be set up in every metropolitan area.

The evidence of corruption and connivance with organized crime in state and local government is present in four different forms:

(1) Direct bribe or protection payments are made to law enforcement officials, so that they will not interfere with specific criminal activities;

(2) Political influence and pressure of important officials or political leaders is used to protect criminal activities or further the interests of criminal gangs;

(3) Law enforcement officials are found in the possession of unusual and unexplained wealth;

(4) Law enforcement officials participate directly in the business of organized crime.

At the local level, the committee received evidence of corruption of law enforcement officers and connivance with criminal gangs in every city in which it held hearings.

There was considerable evidence before the committee concerning contributions to political campaigns by gamblers and gangsters. For example, [William] Molasky contributed $2,500 to the gubernatorial campaign in Missouri in the hope that he would be given the right to name a member of the St. Louis Police Board. When he was unable to do so he claimed to have been double-crossed. Pat Noonan, an associate of the mobsters in the Binaggio gang, did considerable political work in the campaign to elect Governor Smith. Much of his expenses were paid by persons involved in violations of the gambling laws. The fact that Emilio Georgetti, "the Gambling King of San Mateo County [California]", worked "like hell" for the election of Sheriff McGrath and "accumulated a little money for the campaign," did not hurt him in his gambling operations.

Informed Public Must Act

The active participation of an informed public is essential to the correction of the conditions which the committee's investigation has shown to exist throughout the country. The committee has emphasized time and again that organized crime cannot exist without political protection. It is the responsibility of

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News in Review

City, State and Nation . . . . *Edited by H. M. Olmsted*

Three States Act on Home Rule

Rhode Island, Connecticut, Illinois 'Liberate' Cities

THREE states recently took steps to permit their cities to choose for themselves the type of government under which they will work. In Rhode Island a constitutional convention recommended, and the voters passed, a self-executing constitutional provision for home rule. The Connecticut legislature adopted a home rule law applicable to all its cities, towns and boroughs. And the Illinois legislature extended the option of adopting the council-manager plan to all cities of 500,000 and under. (See stories which follow.)

Rhode Island Has 'Quickie' Constitution Convention

Rhode Island voters on June 28 approved six of eight amendments submitted by a constitutional convention. One, providing home rule for cities and towns, passed overwhelmingly, 48,429 to 7,983. Approved also were permanent registration, permission, for tax-exempt veterans to vote in financial town meetings, state borrowing in anticipation of tax collections, repeal of state poll tax and condemnation of land for parking facilities. Defeated were judicial tenure and pay increases for legislators.

In almost startling succession Rhode Islanders have seen the governor and the legislature call for a constitutional convention, the people ratify the call and elect delegates, the convention meet in a sometimes hectic two-day session, and the people vote on proposed amendments—all in little more than two months.

Incidentally the convention, which was the second such in 109 years, was thoroughly covered by radio (broadcast and rebroadcast—but no television).

The immediate cause for the convention had been to reconcile two conflicting constitutional amendments, dealing with registration of voters, adopted at the last election. The Rhode Island Supreme Court, in an advisory opinion on April 11, held that the two amendments were contradictory. When it appeared that a constitutional convention was the necessary means of solving this problem it was deemed possible and desirable to include other topics upon which the agreement of leaders of the Democratic and Republican parties could be obtained.

The legislature enacted a bill authorizing the governor to call a special election to pass on the question of holding a convention for consideration of specified topics and to elect delegates. The bill was approved on April 24. The election was held on May 25. The convention met on June 1 and adjourned somewhat tumultuously at 5:14 A.M. on Sunday, June 3. The special election for ratification of amendments was set for June 28.

Leaders of the two parties arranged that the 200 delegates, to be nominated by petition, would be shared between them; each party caused 100 to be nominated and there were no independent candidates.

Aside from the registration problem a leading topic was municipal home rule. Governor Dennis J. Roberts showed special interest in this and on May 31 announced that he had obtained bipartisan support for a self-executing home rule amendment. Until then it had been believed that agreement could be had merely on a proposal to grant power to the legislature to allow municipalities to adopt charters in accordance with general laws.

The amendment approved by the convention would give every city and town power to adopt and amend its charter and to enact and amend local laws relating to its property, affairs and government, consistent with the constitution. Upon petition of 15 per cent of the voters an election would be held on the question of having a commission frame a charter—the members of the commission to be determined at the same election. A charter drafted by the commission would be submitted to the voters for ratification, by a majority of those voting, at a general election. Charter amendments could be proposed by city or town governing bodies, for ratification at general or special elections.

The amendment would not enlarge municipal power to tax or borrow. The legislature would have power to act in relation to the property, affairs and government of cities and towns only by general laws applying alike to all cities and towns and not affecting their form of government, or by laws that become effective only by local referendum.

Amendments Submitted

The convention finally approved eight amendment proposals, listed below: The convention vote on each is given.

1. To provide home rule for cities and towns (170 to 0).

2. To provide permanent registration of voters (167 to 1). Because of divergent views of party leaders this amendment goes into much detail. While voters once registered need not do so again unless they move, or do not vote at least once in five years, a census of registered voters is prescribed, every general election year, and provision is also made as to identification of voters challenged at the polls.

3. To enable tax-exempt veterans to vote in financial town meetings (163 to 0). A similar amendment adopted last November created a legal conflict with the permanent registration amendment adopted at that time.

4. To permit the state to borrow in anticipation of tax collections (168 to 0).

5. To increase the compensation for legislators from present annual maximum of $300 to $1,500—both plus mileage (154 to 18). A more generous proposal was defeated at the polls last November.

6. To provide tenure of office for Supreme and Superior Court justices, with mandatory retirement at 70, on full pension if they have served ten years (143 to 20).

7. To repeal the $1 state poll tax (172 to 0). This tax is not a qualification for voting; it yields little revenue.

8. To enable municipalities to condemn land for off-street parking facilities (122 to 44).

The most controversial topic considered by the convention was a proposal to permit condemnation of private real estate for purposes of urban redevelopment, a subject in which the city of Providence is deeply interested—it is already attempting a limited amount of redevelopment. The proposal was urged by Democratic Governor Roberts and Mayor Reynolds of Providence and was unrelentingly opposed by Republican State Chairman William J. Thompson. It was this subject that caused the convention to remain in session long past Saturday midnight, with debate, efforts at compromise and votes on various amendments to the proposal.

The final vote was 72 in opposition and 94 in favor—not enough for adoption which would have required 101 votes.

NOTE: The editor is largely indebted for information on the foregoing to Robert M. Goodrich, director, and Robert P. Bolan, staff member, of the Rhode Island Public Expenditure Council.

Connecticut Municipalities Get Home Rule Law

The Connecticut legislature has passed a bill providing: "Any town, city or borough, whether chartered or not, . . . shall have the power to make, amend, add to or replace its charter or amend any other special act so far as such special act relates to the powers concerning the government of such town, city or borough, and may provide for the consolidation of town, city or borough governments."

The act provides for a referendum within the local unit on such changes by either a two-thirds vote of the local legislative body or a petition signed by a certain percentage of voters. This would range from 5 per cent for cities of over 100,000 population to 25 per cent in towns under 3,000.

At least 51 per cent of the registered voters must participate in the referendum; a majority of those voting will then be sufficient to authorize the charter change. If consolidation of local units is involved, there must be a 51 per cent participation of registered voters in each of the units concerned.

Illinois Cities Granted Optional Manager Law

Just before adjournment, the Illinois legislature passed a measure extending the option of adopting the council-manager plan to all cities of 500,000 or less. Previously only cities of 5,000 and under were empowered to adopt the plan. Now only Chicago cannot come under the act.

The vote in the House in May was 90 to 19; the Senate passed the legislation unanimously on June 21 but with several amendments in which the House concurred on June 25. Several crippling amendments added to the bill while it was before the Senate were voted down.

Since the act is part of the governor's program, and he is therefore expected to sign the measure, the action brings to a successful conclusion a struggle which began more than 30 years ago.

Council-Manager Plan Developments

San Bruno (12,409) adopted the council manager plan in May.

Cedar City, Utah, (6,106) has also adopted the plan.

On June 25 voters of **North St. Paul, Minnesota,** (4,227) adopted the state's optional council-manager charter for villages.

At an election held June 7, voters of **Augusta, Kansas,** (4,466) gave the city council power to hire a city manager. The vote was 237 to 227.

At a special election on May 17, **Florence, Colorado,** (2,765) adopted the council-manager plan by a vote of 237 to 53.

At the annual town meeting in **Hermon, Maine,** an article proposing the manager form of government was defeated 81 to 53.

In **Charlestown** and **Plymouth, New Hampshire,** committees of five were appointed at the town meetings to investigate the manager plan.

In **Holderness, New Hampshire,** a town of about 750, the manager plan is under discussion, with likelihood that it will be presented to the town meeting in March 1952.

A plan is under consideration for **New Hampshire** towns such as **Lee** and **Madbury** to form a union of towns with one manager and a joint policy committee composed of selectmen from both towns.

In **Quincy, Massachusetts,** Plan E—city manager under a proportional representation council—which was adopted in 1947, is under attack by an embryo Plan A association led by Leo E. Mullin, Jr., son of the former city auditor. Petitions have been filed for a vote in November on abolishing Plan E in favor of Plan A—mayor with council of nine elected at large.

A decision rendered by the Massachusetts Supreme Judicial Court invalidates the 1949 vote in **Gloucester** and **Somerville** in favor of Plan E. Both cities adopted the plan by large majorities and expected to begin operations under it in January 1952.[1] The Gloucester Home Owners' League has started circulation of petitions to place the council-manager plan on the ballot again in December.

The **Massachusetts** House of Representatives has voted down the council-manager plan for **Arlington.** The bill setting forth the plan has been criticized by manager opponents and also by manager advocates who assert that too little authority is proposed for the manager.

The Citizens' Plan E Association has secured over 8,000 signatures to its petition, filed June 7, to place the question of adopting the council-manager plan on the fall ballot in **Lynn, Massachusetts.** The proposed plan includes a council of seven elected at large. P. R. is no longer available for new adoptions.

A bill permitting an election this year in **Swampscott, Massachusetts,** on the question of adopting the town manager plan has been signed by Governor Dever.

Consideration of the council-manager plan has been urged on the Governor's Charter Commission for **Pawtucket, Rhode Island,** by the Citizens League of Pawtucket.

The **Connecticut** legislature failed to enact a bill which would have provided a council-manager charter for **Waterbury** before its recent adjournment.

In **Jamestown, New York,** Samuel A. Carlson, who served many terms as mayor and is now "mayor emeritus," advocates the council-manager plan for his city. He proposes a council of nine members with each voter privileged to vote for not more than six, thus insuring minority representation. Each voter would also designate one council member for mayor.

In **Hoboken, New Jersey,** various groups, including the Citizens Committee for Charter Revision, the Citizens League and the League of Women Voters, have circulated petitions calling for a special election on adopting the council-manager plan. An effort of the present city commission to call a referendum in November on appointment of a charter study commission has been denounced as a scheme to delay a vote on the manager plan.

The charter commission recently elected in **Montclair, New Jersey,** has recommended the council-manager plan in place of the present commission government. Montclair will therefore vote on adoption of one of the state's new optional manager charters at the November 6 election.

Albemarle, North Carolina, on May 8 defeated the council-manager plan by a vote of 1,733 to 1,132. The vote was on the state's optional manager charter, as amended for Albemarle by special act.

In **Savannah, Georgia,** the Joint Committee for Council-Manager Government has circulated petitions to force a referendum.

The **Florida** legislature has passed a bill providing a referendum on the council-manager plan in **Hialeah** at the city's September 11 election. The bill was opposed by the city council but supported by the county delegation to the legislature. The question to be submitted is: "Shall the charter of the city of Hialeah provide for a manager plan of government?" If passed by the voters, the council must appoint a five-man charter board, which will have 90 days in which to draft a new charter.

A revised charter for **Surfside, Florida,** strengthening the position of the city manager, has been submitted to the legislature for ratification by the voters.

Features of the manager plan were explained to the **Mount Vernon, Ohio,** Chamber of Commerce recently by Professor Harvey Walker of Ohio State University. He asserted that Mount Vernon is of ideal size for the plan.

In **Owensboro, Kentucky,** several groups are advocating a change from the commission to the council-manager plan. A petition has been filed with the county judge.

The **Mankato, Minnesota,** charter commission voted unanimously on April 30 in favor of the council-manager plan.

The **Oklahoma** legislature has adopted a bill reducing from 2,000 to 1,000 the population required of a municipality before it may adopt council-manager government. The bill was drafted by Charles F. Spencer, former mayor of Ada and president of East Central State College. A town of 1,000 or more people can now vote to become a city under either one of the two previously existing optional forms of city government—the council-manager form or mayor-council form. A town or city in Oklahoma is still required under the constitution to have at least 2,000 people if it drafts and adopts a home rule charter. The principal aim in reducing the population requirement was to enable some of the small municipalities in the state which have their own water and electric utilities to adopt a more efficient form of municipal government.

The town of **Crescent, Oklahoma,** with a population of about 1,500, is already taking steps to adopt the manager plan, under the new law.

The manager plan is under consideration by the Chamber of Commerce of **Hallettsville, Texas.**

The **Eureka, California,** Chamber of Commerce has petitioned the city council to have a council-manager charter prepared for submission to the voters. The chamber offers to assist in the task.

Los Angeles Provides for Administrative Officer

At a general election on May 29 six charter amendments were approved by the voters, including one providing for a city administrative officer.[1] The latter is to be successor to the director of the Bureau of Budget and Efficiency but will have additional powers.

Minneapolis Reduces Council by Half

On June 12 the voters of Minneapolis approved a charter amendment reducing the size of the city council from 26 to 13. It was approved by 69 per cent of those voting at the election; a minimum of 60 per cent was required. Thirteen members for the present 26-member council were elected at the same time. The term of council members (designated aldermen) is reduced from four to two years. The smaller council provision takes effect July 1, 1953. The present unequal wards remain.

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[1] See the REVIEW, May 1951, page 267.

All Connecticut Towns to Use Voting Machines

The Connecticut legislature has enacted a law requiring all towns to use voting machines by July 1, 1952. Heretofore such requirement applied to towns with populations over 10,000.

Ohio Cities Can Pay Association Dues

In a test case brought by the city commission (council) of Dayton the Ohio Supreme Court has held that the city can properly use public funds to pay dues to the Municipal Finance Officers Association. Such payments to that organization and to the Ohio Association of Municipalities have long been disallowed by the state auditor.

The Dayton city commission had authorized membership in the finance group and appropriated $486.22 for annual dues. The city treasurer refused payment on the ground that the city charter does not authorize such expenditures. The matter went to the Supreme Court, which held that the home rule powers under which the city operates are broad enough not to require specific authorization in the charter for such payments, and that the judgment of the commission that the payment is beneficial to the city city was adequate.

Alaskan Cities Score Legislative Successes

The League of Alaskan Cities, organized in August 1950, had sixteen proposals before the territorial legislature at its recent session. Thirteen of these were actually introduced, eleven passed both houses and ten of the latter became law upon approval by the governor, as reported in *Western City*.

The three most important measures enacted are stated to be a law easing city annexation requirements, a clarification of tax provisions permitting levies up to 30 mills if voted by the council, and the addition of a permissive two-year term for city councilmen to the present choices of one-year and three-year terms.

Arizona Cities Set Study Program

At the spring meeting of the Arizona Municipal League at Safford, Arizona, where Mayor Nicholas Udall of Phoenix decried the lack of municipal home rule in Arizona and emphasized the need of constitutional provisions to insure it, the executive committee of the league was directed to institute a study of the home rule problem, with the goal of local self-government.

Other topics for which studies were authorized are:

Simplification of the Arizona code so as to designate clearly laws applicable to city and town government;

Holding city elections in November, instead of in May as at present, new officials to assume office on January 1. By taking office in January officials would gain six months' experience before having to prepare the annual budget;

Drafting of legislation to permit transfer of surplus funds from one city department to another in need of funds. Such transfers must now be authorized by the State Tax Commission;

Requiring telephone and telegraph companies to obtain franchises in the communities where they operate.

Rhode Island to Have Administration Department

The legislature of Rhode Island has enacted a law to coordinate finance, personnel and other service functions of the state under a new Department of Administration.

According to the Civil Service Assembly *Newsletter*, this department will include a Division of Personnel Administration headed by a personnel administrator, who will be in the classified service. He will establish and administer, under the direction of the department head, a classification plan, a pay plan and rules and regulations for the classified service, and a pay plan for unclassified employees. In place of the Civil Service Commission the act creates a three-member Personnel Appeal Board, not more than two members of which may be of the same political party.

Michigan Establishes Director of Elections

The Michigan legislature has enacted a law providing for a state director of elections and a Bureau of Elections in the office of the secretary of state.

This was the chief recommendation in a staff report on *State Election Administration* to the Joint Legislative Committee on Reorganization of State Government, prepared by Professor James W. Miller of Michigan State College. The report listed several important administrative tasks for such a bureau: (1) assistance to the 1,834 local election authorities to enable them to handle their work more effectively; (2) gathering information as a basis for rules, regulations and instructions for local election authorities; (3) assembling election data to aid the legislature when considering proposed election law additions or changes; (4) codification of the various election laws.

A meager budget of $7,000 has been provided by the legislature for the new bureau.

California Congressional Redistricting Investigated

Spurred by an increase in its allotment of members to the national House of Representatives from 23 to 30, because of the large increase in population shown by the 1950 census, California has been accorded a new arrangement of districts by its legislature. Charges of gross inequalities and gerrymandering by the Republican-controlled legislature, however, have brought on an investigation by a judiciary subcommittee of the national House.

The new apportionment follows the California constitutional provision that congressional districts shall be formed of state assembly districts. Critics complain, however, that unnecessary inequalities have been produced: for example, the eighteenth district has a population of some 270,000 while the nineteenth has 452,000. It has also been testified before the subcommittee that Democratic assembly districts have been merged with stronger Republican territory.

A bill in line with President Truman's recommendations,[1] introduced in the national House by Emanuel Celler, chairman of the judiciary committee, would allow no more than 15 per cent deviation from the average per district; candidates from non-conforming districts would be barred from the House.

Ohio Redistricting Leaves Wide Discrepancies

The legislature of Ohio has revised the congressional districts in that state, which receives one additional representative in Congress on the basis of the 1950 census, making a total of 23. This is the first revision in 38 years.

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[1] See the REVIEW, February 1951, page 92.

The old 22nd district, largely including the city of Cleveland, had grown to be the largest congressional district in the nation, with 908,000 population. The fifth Ohio district has had less than 167,000 population. This great inequality has been reduced in the reapportionment but wide differences still exist. The largest district as newly constituted has 545,312 (including Dayton, Hamilton and the rest of the two counties involved) and the smallest has 224,268 (the tenth, comprising eight counties in southern Ohio). This is a ratio of about two to one.

As reported in the *New York Times* for June 4, fourteen of the new districts are considered Republican, eight Democratic and one is evenly divided between the parties as to congressional elections. One Democratic district is stated to have only a 600 vote advantage.

Minnesota Authorizes Merit System Extension

Under an act passed at the last session of the Minnesota legislature any second, third or fourth class city, village or borough may establish a merit system by ordinance approved by a majority of the voters at a general or special election, according to the *Newsletter* of the Civil Service Assembly.

A bill to modify the absolute system of veterans' preference in Minnesota by setting up a point preference system was defeated.

Hoover Commission Created in New Mexico

The 1951 New Mexico legislature established a "little Hoover commission" to study the state government and recommend improvements.

The lawmakers also created a legislative reference bureau.

New Mexico to Vote on 'Missouri' Court Plan

If New Mexico voters at a special election in September approve a constitutional amendment passed by the legislature in March, that state will be the second to adopt the Missouri or American Bar Association plan for selection of judges. Court vacancies would be filled by the governor from a list nominated by a commission composed of the chief justice and the state bar commissioners. To serve for a further term a judge would stand alone for election on his record; if he is rejected, the vacancy would be filled by nomination and appointment.

Efforts of the Utah bar to obtain a similar system resulted this year in a law providing for nonpartisan election of judges. Appointive plans were pending in Nevada and West Virginia when their legislatures adjourned in March, according to the American Judicature Society.

Effects of Ohio's New Ballot Form

In 1949, by adoption of an initiative constitutional amendment, Ohio shifted from the party column type of ballot, with a party circle at the head in which an "x" mark voted the whole column, to the Massachusetts type used in seventeen other states whereby candidates with party labels are grouped under the office without any party circle elsewhere on the ballot. This required the Ohio voters, with long ballots running as high as 56 offices, to make as many as 56 separate marks on each ballot.

The Ohio public, having voted for the amendment, seems to have proceeded uncomplainingly to mark ballots the new way. But, as was to be expected, there was more split ticket voting and also an increased disposition to get tired of following the party label down the long ballot leaving minor offices unmarked altogether.

In the Cuyahoga County (Cleveland) results, the state's most populous county provides a measure of the falling off in the vote for minor offices. The Cuyahoga ballot presented 23 candidates from each party for state legislators as well as the state offices and U. S. senator. In 1946 the lowest Democratic candidate for the legislature got 136,000 votes to the gubernatorial candidate's 237,000, 223,000 to the latter's 304,000 in 1948, whereas in 1950, with the new ballot, the low candidate with 155,000 lagged much further behind the gubernatorial candidate's 338,000.

In the Republican party the corresponding lag of the bottom legislator behind the top man was 165,000 versus 212,000 in 1946, 163,000 versus 203,000 in 1948 but, with the easily split and easily partially voted new ballot of 1950, 127,000 versus 262,000 for Senator Taft who ran far ahead of his ticket, or versus 212,000 for the next best. Thus, by a mere ballot form in this sensitive area of voter behavior, the voting for the lowest legislator, compared with that for the party's best performer, had formerly been artifically sustained by influence of the party circle to 58 per cent, 73 per cent, 78 per cent and 80 per cent but dropped to 46 per cent and 47 per cent when the party circle was removed.[1]

It was widely alleged before the amendment was adopted that it would help the candidacy of Senator Taft at the 1950 election since the new ballot made it just as easy for the followers of the popular Governor Lausche, Democrat, to split their votes in favor of Taft, but the effect is scarcely measurable by reason of many special factors in the 1950 contest, including the extreme weakness of Taft's opponent. Senator Taft himself says, "If I were to guess, I would think that the new ballot was responsible for something between 100,000 and 200,000 of my total majority of 430,000." The state totals were: Taft 1,642,000, Ferguson 1,212,000. R. S. C.

Puerto Rico to Have Constitution Convention

By an overwhelming vote on June 4 the citizens of Puerto Rico favored the calling of a convention to draft a constitution. This was made possible by a 1950 act of Congress authorizing the island's legislature to call such a convention. It specified that the resultant document should provide for a republican form of government and include a bill of rights. It would be subject to approval by a local referendum and by Congress.

Puerto Rico now elects its governor and legislature, but can achieve more complete self-government under the prospective constitution.

Two State Authorities Created to Build Schools

At least two states have created special school building authorities this year, the Council of State Governments reports.

In Georgia the legislature established a seven-member school building agency with broad powers to finance and construct self-liquidating projects. It is empowered to apply revenue bond financing principles to the secondary and grade school building problem. The revenue bonds issued by the authority will be amortized from rentals paid by city and county school boards for use of the facilities.

Indiana enacted a law providing for the creation of a school building authority to erect school houses and lease them to local communities. Composed of the governor, secretary of state, auditor, treasurer and state superintendent of public construction, the agency is empowered to buy, lease and hold school sites and buildings and to finance new school buildings by issuance of revenue bonds.

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[1] From data assembled by Ray W. Bronez, Western Reserve University.

County and Township . . . . *Edited by Elwyn A. Mauck*

Santa Clara County Manager Plan Okayed

Legislature Approves 1950 Charter; 1948 Document Void

PROPONENTS of the county manager plan for Santa Clara County, California, after a struggle lasting several years, have at long last achieved their goal. The 1951 legislature approved the new council-manager charter adopted on November 7 last by the overwhelming vote of 46,220 to 17,322.[1]

Meanwhile, the California Supreme Court, in a four-to-three decision, has invalidated the Santa Clara County manager charter adopted at the polls in 1948 but the subject of court action ever since. The majority decision held that the typographical errors in publication of the charter[2] before election were sufficient to invalidate the election on the grounds that the requirements for pre-election publication had not been met. The minority opinion called the published error "a slight transposition in three out of seventy-one sections of the charter . . . the effect, if any, . . . would have been to incline such electors to vote against rather than in favor of the adoption." Proponents have the right to ask for a rehearing but in light of the favorable legislative action on the 1950 charter, it is improbable they will do so.

There are indications, according to newspaper reports, that opponents may challenge the legality of the 1950 charter under which the county will begin operations shortly. The technicality they have discovered to date is a stenographic error omitting the sheriff as an appointive officer. The intent of the charter was to change this office from elective to appointive. Opponents are urging the board of supervisors to refuse to enact a resolution putting the charter into effect, thus inviting a mandamous action in which the technical error can be adjudicated.

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[1] See the REVIEW, December 1950, page 567.

[2] See the REVIEW, January 1950, page 42.

California Counties, Cities Continue Conflict over Revenue

Two major proposals in the 1951 California state legislature have brought the cities and counties of the state into violent conflict. The first of these is a bill sponsored by the League of California Cities requiring that the urban unincorporated areas pay the cost of the municipal type services they are receiving at the expense of the county general fund.[1] The League of Cities claims this practice in effect means that municipalities are subsidizing their county residents who live in urbanized but unincorporated areas. The County Supervisors Association has gone on record against the proposals and has succeeded in stopping legislative action upon them to the present moment.

The second major issue is a proposal to levy a local sales tax throughout the state. At the present time California has a 3 per cent sales tax and 33 cities have a 1 per cent tax. Other cities have a 1/2 per cent tax. Hence it was proposed that the counties be enabled to tax at 1 per cent in unincorporated areas and 1/2 per cent in municipalities, but with a ceiling on the sales tax of 4 per cent. This would require the 33 cities to reduce their sales tax and, with the remaining cities, they would be under a 1/2 of 1 per cent ceiling. The League of California Cities entered into negotiations with the counties to increase the cities' share to 3/4 of 1 per cent, but no agreement could be reached and the entire proposal has been abandoned.

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[1] See the REVIEW, January 1951, page 44.

Nebraska Studies County Government

As a result of a legislative resolution adopted two years ago the Nebraska Legislative Council has submitted a report on the reorganization of county government to the state legislature. After an analysis of the characteristics of Nebraska counties, their forms of government and proposed changes in the past, the council made twelve major recommendations. They are:

1. Each county should be permitted to exercise home rule in selecting its own form of government, including adoption of the manager plan, commission type or the single executive type found in many cities of Nebraska;
2. The five-mill constitutional tax limit upon counties should be removed;
3. Permit all counties to choose a three-member, five-member or seven-member board of commissioners, thus eliminating the confusion resulting from difference of terminology in counties having townships and those that do not;
4. The county as a whole should be considered as a unit for road purposes;
5. Repeal all statutory provisions fixing the salaries of county officers and employees and give such jurisdiction to the respective county boards;
6. Permit counties by popular vote to abolish the office of county surveyor;
7. Provide for the creation of a county highway planning board in each county;
8. Make uniform the laws regarding the removal of county officers;
9. Require that all county officers collecting or receiving county funds shall deposit such funds within 48 hours;
10. Require the county clerk to publish a summary of the state auditor's report pertaining to irregularities in county government, including recommendations for corrections and improvements;
11. Where townships are retained, provide that township funds be deposited within 48 hours after receipt, that annual statements be filed, that the township's account may be audited by the county board, and that the state auditor shall examine the township's financial statement with the county clerk and investigate irregularities;
12. The constitution to be amended in such manner as to permit county boards to consolidate county offices wherever such consolidation is deemed necessary or desirable.

Tennessee Counties Sponsor Training Courses

Tennessee counties recently inaugurated a series of refresher and entrance training courses for their officials in conjunction with two regional meetings of county judges in Knoxville and Kingsport. The one-day courses were designed to acquaint officials with up-to-date financial practices in the administration of county government. The meetings served also as training courses for newly elected officials, orienting them in their new duties and responsibilities. The meetings were the first of this type to be held in Tennessee and were among the first to be held in the entire south.

Three talks occupied the morning sessions and an open forum was held in the afternoon, at which those attending were urged to participate in the discussion. The officials were encouraged to bring out any information concerning local or unusual problems

(Continued on page 374)

Proportional Representation . . *Edited by George H. Hallett, Jr. and Wm. Redin Woodward*

(This department is successor to the Proportional Representation Review)

Ohio Supreme Court Upholds P. R.

Massachusetts Highest Court Bars Spread of Hare System

THE Supreme Court of Ohio on June 20 unanimously upheld the right of Cincinnati voters to choose their city council by the Hare system of proportional representation. In a decision *per curiam* (i.e., the opinion being participated in by the entire bench) the court's seven judges declared Cincinnati's P. R. form of election to be consistent with the provisions of the constitutional amendment adopted in 1949 requiring use of the so-called Massachusetts or office type ballot for state elections generally.

The court also reaffirmed the right, previously upheld in *Reutener* vs. *Cleveland, 107 O. S. 117, 1923,* of municipalities to adopt by home rule charter methods of electing their city officials different from those provided in the statutes or constitution.

The decision terminated a series of legal maneuvers by which opponents of P. R. over a period of seven months had tried to outlaw the use of the system in next November's city election. Earlier the Hamilton County Court of Common Pleas rejected a petition to this end and the secretary of state on advice of the attorney general declined to act.[1]

The defense of P. R. throughout the proceedings was conducted by Ed F. Alexander, special assistant to Cincinnati's city solicitor and one of the original sponsors of Cincinnati's council-manager—P. R. charter in 1924, and by Attorneys Robert P. Goldman, George E. Fee and Morison R. Waite. Messrs. Goldman, Fee and Waite, serving without compensation, had been requested to take part in the defense by the Cincinnati City Charter Committee.

In a statement hailing the decision, the executive committee of the City Charter Committee noted that P. R. now has been supported by the voters of Cincinnati six times and by the Ohio courts four times. "Voters," said the committee, "approved P. R. in 1924, 1926, 1936, 1939, 1947 and again in 1949 when they voted for the readoption of the basic P. R. provisions along with minor amendments dealing with details of the ballot. The Ohio courts have upheld P. R. in two Cleveland cases, in the lower court hearing earlier this year and now in the current suit."

FOREST FRANK, *Executive Director*
Cincinnati City Charter Committee

The Supreme Judicial Court of Massachusetts ruled on June 1 that the 1949 legislation[1] repealing the proportional representation feature of the "Plan E" optional charter law prevented Massachusetts cities from thereafter adopting the council-manager form of charter with P. R. The opinion stated this was the case even though all necessary steps to place the question on the ballot of any city had been taken prior to the effective date of the repeal legislation.

The decision held that the city of Gloucester must conduct its next election under its old charter even though Plan E was adopted on December 6, 1949, by a vote of 5,454 to 2,307. The decision has the effect also of requiring Somerville's old charter to be continued in spite of a referendum vote against it and in favor of Plan E. It sustains the action of the city clerk of Chelsea in preventing a referendum on Plan E although petitions were duly filed before the amending legislation took effect.

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[1] See the REVIEW, February 1951, page 103; May 1951, page 273; June 1951, page 324.

[1] See the REVIEW, September 1949, page 409; October 1949, page 461.

In ruling that the old charter was still in force in Gloucester and Somerville, rather than the council-manager plan without the P. R. feature, the court pointed out that the referendum question as submitted to the voters contained express reference to proportional representation. "No one can rightly say the voters would have approved Plan E in its truncated form without that feature," stated Justice Raymond S. Wilkins, giving the opinion of the court.

Commenting on an error in wording in the legislature's 1949 act (Chapter 661), removing P. R. from the state's Plan E optional council-manager charter—a "boner" which it was thought might invalidate the act—the court said:

"Sections 93 and 116, the two sections mentioned by number in Statutes 1949, Chapter 661, section 1, do not deal with proportional representation. That feature of Plan E is provided by section 115. Obviously, therefore, there is a gross error somewhere in Chapter 661. A careful reading of Chapter 661 as a whole, including its title, makes clear that the object of the legislation was the elimination of proportional representation as a feature of Plan E in favor of ordinary plurality voting in the case of all cities voting to adopt that plan after the effective date of the act. . . . The result is that Statutes 1949, Chapter 661, is not void for vagueness and uncertainty, but brought about the repeal" of P. R. "as a part of Plan E for all cities voting after Chapter 661 took effect."

Ireland Holds First P. R. Election as Republic

The Irish general election on May 30, held by P.R., again left the Fianna Fail (Soldiers of Destiny) party and its veteran leader Eamon de Valera short of a majority, this time with 69 of the 147 seats in the Dail Eireann (parliament). However, five independents decided to support Mr. de Valera and gave him the necessary majority to supplant Prime Minister John Costello who had headed a coalition government since the election of 1948.[1]

Though holding office by virtue of independent support, Mr. de Valera appointed a one-party cabinet including most of the ministers who had held office with him during his long ascendancy before the 1948 election.

This was the first general election since Eire formally became a republic in 1949. As in previous elections a P. R. system based on the single transferable vote (Hare system), employing districts each returning several members, was used.

Prime Minister Costello's party, Fine Gael (United Ireland), the largest of the coalition parties, appears to have maintained its position, whereas Clann Na Poblachta (Republican party), which made its first appearance in considerable force at the last election, led by Sean MacBride, who served as foreign minister under the coalition, lost considerable ground in the recent election. Health Minister Dr. Noel Browne, who resigned from Clann Na Poblachta and the government over his failure to get backing for a public health plan, contested the election as an independent, denounced both Costello and MacBride and secured reelection.

This election saw not only Costello

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[1] See the REVIEW, March 1948, page 169.

IRISH GENERAL ELECTIONS, June 1, 1951

Party	Votes Cast	Percentage of Votes	Seats Won	Percentage of Seats
Fianna Fail	617,570	46.3	68[a]	47.5
Fine Gael	342,844	25.7	40	27.4
Labor	152,231	11.4	16	11.0
Clan na Poblachta	54,210	4.1	2	1.4
Farmer	38,872	2.9	6	4.1
Others	128,529	9.6	14	9.6
	1,334,256		146[a]	

[a] These figures do not include the seat of the speaker, a member of Fianna Fail, which was uncontested.

and de Valera returned to the Dail to lead their parties but also their respective sons, Major Vivian de Valera and Declan Costello, from different districts of the city of Dublin.

The results are summarized in the accompanying table.

Gibraltar and Zanzibar Adopt Hare System

The Hare system of proportional representation, substantially the only form used in English-speaking countries, has been adopted for the election of the five popularly chosen members of the recently instituted Legislative Council in Gibraltar[1] and for the election of representatives of the Indian community of the island of Zanzibar. Both places are British dependencies established as stepping-stones for the far-flung British Commonwealth of Nations.

The suggestion of P. R. for Gibraltar came from the governor, following which the Proportional Representation Society was consulted in London by the Colonial Office, which then approved the proposal. The society's secretary spent two months in Gibraltar, acting in an advisory capacity. When the election was held on November 8, 1950, only 1.5 per cent of the ballots were invalid, despite the fact that 7 per cent of those voting were illiterate.

The adoption of P. R. for representation of the Indian community in Zanzibar was designed to enable Hindus and Moslems to vote together with assurance that each will be fairly represented whatever the division of the vote. At present the Arab community votes separately but the Proportional Representation Society has recommended to the government of Zanzibar that all of Zanzibar be established as a single P. R. constituency in which Arabs, Hindus, Moslems and others would vote together by the single transferable vote (Hare) system.

Coalitions Win in Local Italian Elections

On May 26 and June 3 and 10 provincial and municipal elections were held in Italy under a system of representation providing some minority representation without purporting to do so on a proportional basis. Italy uses a party list system of proportional representation for national elections but local election laws, although a party list ballot is used, provide that the party or coalition list obtaining the most votes, even though that be less than a majority, is entitled to at least two-thirds of the seats to be filled and more if it obtains more than two-thirds of the votes.

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[1] Two additional members of the Legislative Council are appointed by the governor and three are ex officio.

In the municipal elections held on May 26 under this system, involving cities and towns in 28 northern provinces, the votes of the Christian Democrats and their allies were less than in the national elections of 1948 and more than in the local elections of 1947, but this group wrested control of 755 cities and towns from the Communist bloc, including the important cities of Genoa, Venice and Milan. The success of this group, which now dominates 2,340 of the 2,735 cities and towns in the area, is attributed in large part to better organization of party and coalition effort since 1947, including the presentation of four-party joint lists to oppose the Communist bloc.

In spite of the trend to joint lists, an independent minor party of suspected fascist leanings made gains, obtaining as much as 12.8 per cent of the vote in the semi-autonomous province of Sicily, as compared with 3 per cent in 1948. Gains in a similar proportion were made in northern Italy from a much smaller starting level.

COUNTY AND TOWNSHIP

(Continued from page 370)

in county government. The exchange of information by the officials was one of the major accomplishments of the meetings.

The Knoxville meeting was attended by 25 officials, representing eleven east Tennessee counties, including judges, clerks, trustees, a county manager, a county auditor and a county attorney. At the Kingsport meeting, six counties were represented by twelve officials, including judges, clerks and trustees.

The planning for the meetings began in March 1950, when the County Judges Association approached the Bureau of Public Administration of the University of Tennessee in regard to conducting a series of county finance officers meetings. It was proposed that these meetings be of the same type and extend the same aid to county officers as has been extended to municipal officials through the Tennessee Municipal Finance Officers Association. A resolution was adopted by the County Judges Association providing for the two experimental meetings. If the outcome of these two trial meetings warrant it, additional finance officers meetings will be scheduled.

Consider Four-year Terms for County Officials

Several proposed constitutional amendments have been introduced in the 1951 Texas and Wisconsin state legislatures to increase the terms of county officers from two to four years.

City-County Cooperation Proposed for Dallas

A constitutional amendment has been introduced in the Texas state legislature permitting Dallas County and the city of Dallas to establish a joint hospital.

Taxation and Finance • • • • *Edited by Wade S. Smith*

Richmond Prospers with Performance Budget

Official Describes City's Progress under New System

EDITOR'S NOTE.—Current interest in the so-called performance type budget, popularized by the Hoover commission in its recommendations regarding the federal budgetary system, renders especially interesting the following remarks of Vice Mayor ROBERT A. WILSON, of Richmond, Virginia, in his introduction in the council of that city's second annual performance budget. Richmond is among the first to utilize a budget process and document of its type.

ONE of the most substantial parts of the new Richmond council-manager charter is that chapter having to do with budget making and budget control. The report of the charter commission which accompanied its proposals had this to say in part:

"One of the weakest features of the present charter is the inadequacy of the provisions dealing with budgeting. A well prepared and carefully administered budget is the heart of any enterprise whether private or public. Because of this, special care was devoted to the preparation of the budget provisions of the new charter."

In the light of our experience in Richmond during the past three years, it properly can be said that our budget system is the very heart of our managerial government—the chief organ through which we achieve effective and efficient municipal administration.

How, except through effective budget planning and control, could this government in these times of spiraling costs, when other governments are increasing tax burdens and incurring deficits or both, how could we conclude two fiscal years in succession with over a million dollars in surplus?

Of course, our successful experience is further evidence favoring modern municipal budgeting practices. In the past few years, thanks to the efforts and observations of professional public administrators, research organizations, both public and private, and our institutions of higher learning, we have come to know that a budget is not a financial statement but rather a financial plan. It is not an inventory, it is a plan of doing business. It is not static, it is organic. In its truest and broadest sense, the budget and budgeting controls, as represented by the work plan and allotment provisions of our charter, are the very essence of municipal operation and management as well as municipal finance.

Section 6.04 of the charter requires that "the general fund budget shall be prepared in accordance with accepted principles of municipal accounting and budgetary procedures." It does not detail the specific character of the budget except that it states: "Estimates shall be in detail showing receipts by sources and expenditures by operating units, character and object." And while we may ascribe to the charter its proper credit for our gains in administering the city's financial affairs, we should not overlook the credit due the administration and particularly the budget director for the installation of the performance type budget under which we operate.

In a report to Congress in February 1949, the Hoover commission on organization of the executive branch of the government commented:

"We recommend that the whole budgetary concept of the federal government should be refashioned by the adoption of a budget based upon functions, activities and projects: this we designate as a performance budget. Such an approach would focus attention upon the general character and relative importance of the work to be done, or upon the service to be rendered, rather than upon the things to be acquired, such as personal services, supplies, equipment and so on. These latter objects are, after all, only the means to an end. The all important thing in budgeting is the work or service to be accomplished, and what that work or service will cost."

That is what we have done in Richmond. The first budget which this unicameral council adopted was a detailed listing of what items the city bought to perform its many functions. It said nothing about the functions themselves. Among its 216 objects of expenditure were included such items as forage, electric repairs and shovel hire. Now we as responsible leaders of this government, and our citizens as purchasers of municipal services, are not interested in how many shovels we hire but in how many shovelsful of material are moved, for what purpose and at what cost.

Questions on the Budget

Council should be concerned with these questions on the budget:

1. Does it meet the needs of the community adequately or as adequately as available finances will permit?

2. Does it provide proper balance between various activities, especially as between more essential and less essential services?

3. Are there work programs which assure adequate results and proper standards of service?

4. Is the budget sound and realistic? Does it estimate revenues properly? Does it contain necessary funds for all expenditures as well as emergency funds?

5. Is it economical, not in terms of dollar slashing but on the basis of what the dollar is buying?

Our performance type budget attempts to answer these questions.

Now in some jurisdictions and in some few quarters there is still favored the process of making each detailed item of expenditure a part of the appropriation ordinance. One of these types is the so-called line budget. Under it each detailed item becomes a control item and is unchangeable except by council action. For instance, referring again to our shovel hire, if we adopted a budget which provided the funds for the hiring of 24 shovels and it later became evident that we needed funds for 30, council would have to adopt an ordinance amending the budget to hire a half-dozen shovels!

At first blush that seems amusing but, if you consider what actually would take place under such a system, it is far from humorous. The net result would be to remove from the manager the power to supervise and allocate expenditures properly within the range allowed by the charter, thereby throttling administrative initiative and discretion and control. With council actually determining every individual expenditure item, we would in effect abandon the manager system and adopt a major principle of the commission government, that of the legislative branch assuming administrative powers, a practice which has long been regarded as inefficient, ineffective and outmoded.

A performance budget such as we have neither lessens the control of council as contemplated by the charter nor denies it any of the minutest details of expenditures. Section 6.16 authorizes the manager to transfer unencumbered balances in any general fund or utility appropriation from one classification of expenditure to another in the same department. The manager in his budget message stated that "detailed personnel and expense schedules will be available as supporting information during the council hearings." This information, to meet any such requests, has been and is continuously available.

We should take pride in this demonstrated progress not only because it enables us to operate our government more effectively but also because it is rapidly being recognized for its merit in this country and abroad.

New York Probes Tax Frauds

A New York grand jury began late in May to receive evidence from New York County's District Attorney Frank S. Hogan, culminating a three-months investigation by the prosecutor's staff of evidence of fraudulent applications for reductions in assessed valuations. It was charged that reductions had been accomplished by connivance between city tax assessors and property owners or tax consultants and attorneys acting as representatives for realty.

The grand jury hearings are expected to last six months or more. Already one tax assessor, who refused to sign a waiver of immunity when summoned before the grand jury, has been dismissed from the city tax department under a provision of the charter requiring city employees to sign such waivers or forfeit their positions.

Saginaw Adopts City Income Tax

Saginaw, Michigan, has amended its charter to provide for a 1 per cent tax on income and net business profits. A court test is said to be planned so that the legality of the levy may be determined prior to January 1, 1952, the effective date of the amendment.

The tax will apply to earned income of Saginaw residents, while non-residents will be taxed on that part of their income earned in the city, with resident and non-resident businesses similarly treated. The plan will be effective for a ten-year period.

Estimates of the yield from the tax run to about $1,600,000. Proceeds will be distributed as follows: first, an amount equivalent to the yield of $3 per $1,000 of assessed valuation to go to the city general fund and be used to reduce property taxes; second, to meet the service charge on sewage disposal debt, now requiring about 2.25 mills in the tax rate; and third, the balance to be used for public improvements. Over the ten years, about eight million dollars is estimated to become available for improvements.

New Jersey Provides for School Audits

New Jersey, pioneer in requiring audits of the finances of municipalities and counties, recently became the 33rd state to require periodic audits of the accounts of local school districts. The audits must be made by certified public accountants or registered municipal accountants with special qualifications in school law and accounting as set by the State Board of Public Accountants.

Pressure for enactment of the school audit law arose following a survey by the New Jersey State Chamber of Commerce revealing that two-thirds of the school districts had never had a professional audit and that their expenditures totaled more than $60,000,000 annually. The chamber was supported in its efforts by the Federated District Boards of Education of New Jersey and the New Jersey Association of School Business Officials.

Alvin A. Burger, *Director*
New Jersey State
Chamber of Commerce

Citizen Action . . . . . . *Edited by Elsie S. Parker*

Voters Seek Effective Control of Parties

New York Committee Report Makes Proposals for Action

THE special Committee on Party Organization, set up by the New York Citizens Union some eighteen months ago, has now made its report,[1] which recommends a comprehensive plan for democratic controls over party organization and nominations in New York City.[2] The committee is made up of 27 members, chosen for their representative character and familiarity with the operations of local government. On it are representatives of the Republican, Democratic and Liberal parties as well as several political scientists. Dr. Josephine M. Pisani, assistant professor of political science at Queens College, is chairman.

The proposals, which the Citizens Union is putting forward now for discussion and for eventual introduction into the 1952 legislature, include:

1. Abolition of huge county committees of mass meeting proportions and substitution, for matters of county-wide concern, of county committees consisting of one leader and one co-leader for each Assembly district. These would correspond roughly in size to the present county executive committees.

2. Direct election at the primaries of the leader and co-leader for each district. The leader and co-leader would also serve as state committeemen, as in the Democratic party in Brooklyn.

3. Weighted votes in the county committees, proportioned to the party's votes for governor in the districts.

4. Abolition of ex-officio votes on committees, which tend to give a disproportionate margin of control to the county leader by whom the ex officio members are appointed.

5. Creation of a city committee for each party, consisting of the leaders and co-leaders from all the Assembly districts in the city.

6. A changed plan of party primaries for the election of party committeemen and the nomination of party candidates for public office. The appropriate party committee would designate official party candidates for the primaries by certificate before the usual petition period, after which there would be an opportunity for the party members to contest the official designation by petition. At present the official candidates are often designated by petition or substitution so late that there is no time for a contest to be organized if the choices are unsatisfactory to the rank and file.

7. Official designations for areas smaller than the county by Assembly district committees, consisting of two party members elected at the primaries from each election district.

8. Abolition of judicial conventions within the city and the nomination of party candidates for judicial office at the primaries after official designations by the appropriate party committees and an opportunity to contest by petition.

The report and its proposals are confined to New York City, though they could easily be adapted for use throughout the state.

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[1] *Party Organization in New York City. A Report and Proposal for Legislative Action,* Citizens Union, *Searchlight,* New York City, May 1951, eight pages.

[2] For a description of present conditions, based on the fact that parties make their own rules, see "How Tammany Holds Power," by Justin N. Feldman, the REVIEW, July 1950, page 330.

Those familiar with the National Municipal League's new *Model Direct Primary Election System* will find in this report some desirable supplementary solutions which fill out the details of the *Model* with New York's bulky bailiwick in mind. The Citizens Union accepts all the principles of the League's *Model* except its limitations on fusion tickets without the permission of party managers, such fusion being sometimes important in New York City with its four local parties. R. S. C.

Civic Awards

The Savannah Junior Chamber of Commerce was named "most outstanding local organization of the year in the state," at the April convention of the Georgia Junior Chamber of Commerce, because of its campaign to secure a favorable advisory vote on the council-manager plan for the city.

Twenty-five leading citizens, among them City Club President John A. Lapp, have been appointed to serve on this year's Jury of Awards of the Chicago Rotary Club. From candidates nominated by the Merit Awards Commission of the Rotary Club, the jury will select the person to receive the Chicago Merit Award "for outstanding service either in the Chicago metropolitan area, within the United States or in international affairs."

A "Citation of Merit" has been awarded by the Citizens Union of New York City to the Brooklyn *Eagle*, a daily newspaper, for "outstanding public service" in uncovering gambler-police alliances in Brooklyn.

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A New Municipal League?

According to the *Seattle Municipal News* of the Seattle Municipal League, Mayor Joe R. Baxter of Renton, Washington, has suggested formation of a Renton Municipal League. "I am convinced," said the mayor, "after experience both as a councilman and as a mayor, that such a group would be of invaluable help in our community."

"We believe that Mayor Baxter has made a sound suggestion," says the *News*. "Certainly a city of over 16,000 persons—and a city which is still growing rapidly—should draw on the talents of its citizens. Several other Washington cities have municipal leagues, including Tacoma, Spokane, Port Angeles and Kirkland."

* * *

New Adult Education Group

The Adult Education Association of the United States of America held its founding conference at Columbus, Ohio, May 13-15. The new association merges not only the American Association for Adult Education and the Department of Adult Education of the National Education Association but also representatives of most of the significant programs in adult education in all areas. President of the association is Professor Howard Y. McClusky of the University of Michigan. Professor Robertson Sillars of Western Reserve University, editor of *Adult Education*, is administrative secretary. The association will maintain headquarters in Washington, Cleveland and Chicago.

Kansas City

* * *

On the Air

The Citizens Union of New York City broadcast over WMCA five evenings a week for four months, conducting a program labelled "The Killers." "This is not," says the union's publication, *Across from City Hall*, "as the title might lead you to believe, a gangster program but one about the dangers of automobiles. The last seven minutes are devoted to a discussion by our chairman, Milton M. Bergerman, of a solution to the court delays and heartaches which invariably follow accidents which cause injuries. The solution is a system of automatic compensation along the lines of workmen's compensation."

A good government program is being broadcast every Monday night in Worcester, Massachusetts, under the auspices of the Citizens' Plan "E" Association. Sample topics include "Worcester's Refuse Problem" and "Home Rule."

* * *

100 Per Cent Registered

The Little Rock, Arkansas, Rotary Club won the race for 100 per cent permanent registration of its members and their "Rotary Anns." The club had challenged other service and luncheon clubs to race for a 100 per cent registration. The Civitan Club was first to report that its membership had thus registered but the Rotarians were first to sign up their corresponding wives' organization.

* * *

Reporting on Council

Having made a "recommended" rating at election time for all five members of the city council, the East Detroit Civic League has felt "a grave responsibility for reporting thoroughly and factually as to their conduct in office. A recommended rating by no means carries with it a blind endorsement of all actions and policies perpetrated by the candidates so rated," said *Civic News*, the league's publication. "His actions and policies must stand or fall on their own merit." The Civic League is the only organization in East Detroit with observers present at all council meetings. It strongly criticizes certain actions by the council, termed "surprise moves," which it considers arbitrary and unwarranted.

* * *

Police Survey

The Toledo Municipal League has begun a survey of the city's police division emphasizing administration, police needs and strength, and costs. This study continues the league's administrative review begun many months ago, covering the finance department, street division, municipal garage, airport, water and sewer divisions.

* * *

Women in Civic Affairs

Action, organ of the League of Women Voters of the United States, reports several new state leagues in the offing. Idaho, North and South Carolina and Alabama will become new state leagues in the near future. Utah, Nevada and Mississippi are building local groups and working toward that end.

Of the twelve prizes awarded by the American Heritage Foundation in its nonpartisan competition to get out the vote last November, four went to Leagues of Women Voters—Schenectady (New York), Cuyahoga County (Ohio), New York City and Boston. The national league was one of eight groups receiving special citations for "meritorious achievement in getting out the vote."

The Inter-group Council for Women as Public Policy Makers in Milwaukee, composed of some seventeen women's civic, church and business groups, has announced its 1951 activities as follows: (1) To assist public officials appoint qualified women to the 28 Milwaukee city and county honorary boards and commissions which are of vital concern to women; (2) To continue to circulate a standard questionnaire among women to build up the reserve list of women qualified to serve on such boards; (3) To conduct panel discussions explaining the importance of having women share in civic affairs through membership on the honorary policy-making boards and commissions of our local government; (4) To serve as a clearing house on civil defense needs. Two delegates are appointed by each of the affiliated groups to serve as members of the intergroup council.

* * *

Citizen Group Hears Truman

President Truman, in his address before the Sixth National Conference on Citizenship, held in Washington May 16-20, stated that: "If citizens know the facts, and let their elected representatives know that they want the national interest put above every political interest and every special interest, then there won't be any question about keeping our nation strong and secure. This is one of the most important things that the conference can do."

Senator Estes Kefauver declared that, "The original sin of apathy and indifference on the part of most Americans is at the ballot box. Public opinion is always a great force in a democracy, but the real, active control that the sovereign people have over their government is through the exercise of their franchise."

Group sessions held discussions on "A Citizen's Responsibility for Freedom at Home," "A Citizen's Responsibility for Freedom Abroad," and "Freedom and Citizenship Activities."

The sessions concluded on Sunday, the 20th, with celebrations of "I Am an American" Day.

* * *

Other Recent Conferences

A Chicago Civic Assembly, planned by the Chicago City Club on the occasion of its 48th anniversary May 19, explored the major areas of Chicago's civic life in seven morning round tables on juvenile delinquency, education, mental hygiene, local transportation, housing, local government organization and human relations. The discussions were followed by a luncheon addressed by civic leaders.

"Crime, Corruption and the Community" was the headline for the annual meeting and dinner of the Citizens Union of New York City on May 7. Speakers included Ambassador to Argentina Spruille Braden, who is chairman of the New York City Anti-Crime Committee; Samuel S. Leibowitz, Judge of the Kings County (Brooklyn) Court; Miles F. McDonald, district attorney of Kings County; and Senator Alexander Wiley, a member of the Kefauver Committee. Masters of Ceremonies were Tex McCrary and Jinx Falkenberg McCrary, radio and television commentators.

The first statewide conference of the Massachusetts Council-Manager Association was held at Clark University, Worcester, on May 19. The Citizens Plan E Association of Worcester was co-sponsor. Subjects included the role of civic associations under the council-manager plan, duties of city managers, the manager's role in the small community, public school programs on good government and labor's stake in council-manager government.

The New York State Citizens' Council held its Seventh Annual Institute of Community Leadership at Sharon Springs, New York, May 30-June 2. "Facing Today's Community Problems through Citizen Participation" was the topic; its objectives:

"To help you work more effectively at the job of building a stronger, healthier, happier, more prosperous, more secure community;

"To develop two-way communications between you and your government;

"To relate what you do in your own community to fateful decisions being made in the world;

"To look ahead at what we might do in New York State to provide more adequate, more effective service to communities."

When New Industry Comes to Town

Growth Has Its Headaches as Well as Its Benefits

THE defense boom and decentralization have stimulated studies of the causes and effects of the location of new industrial and business establishments.

Here are three recent reports from different areas:

Location Factors in Establishing New Manufacturing Firms in Maryland. Maryland State Planning Commission, Baltimore, 1951. 37 pages with tables;

Industrial Land Use in Burlington County, New Jersey, by Gerald Breese. Bureau of Urban Research, Princeton University, 1951. 89 pages with tables and maps. $1.75;

Collateral Problems Likely to Result from Location of a Steel Mill in Connecticut. Committee on Community Adjustment Problems, Hartford, 1951. 62 pages with maps and charts.

The Maryland study is based on a questionnaire returned by 118 firms. The findings indicate the following factors to be of most consequence in order of importance: labor, market, available factory buildings, location of production materials, personal reasons, transportation facilities and distribution facilities. The eighth most important factor was "living conditions," which embraces housing, education, recreation, shopping, religious and social life, health and professional services. Water was eleventh, laws and regulation sixteenth, and tax structure next to climate which was twentieth and last on the list. This compares with a 1937 study by the Metropolitan Life Insurance Company which placed living conditions tenth and taxes twelfth on a list of sixteen.

The study of the Burlington County area is based on "a survey and analysis of selected factors affecting existing and potential industrial location along major transportation routes in the New Jersey area between Trenton and Camden." It should be useful alike to industrial scouts and to people in the area interested in industrial development. It points out that while "studies for the country as a whole indicate that taxation is declining in relative importance as a determinant of industrial location," New Jersey's peculiar "tax climate" is such that it would be wise to give immediate attention to it. In like manner, the report calls upon the public authorities in the area to bring their zoning, building regulations and planning activities up to date and to coordinate them more effectively as among the many political units involved.

Both the New Jersey and the Maryland reports point out that new industry is not necessarily an unmixed blessing. Aside from the necessity of avoiding destructive competition for labor and resources there is the question of the ability of the community to meet the need for additional public facilities, services and regulation resulting from new population and other changes.

This question is the special subject of the report to Governor John Davis Lodge of Connecticut by the Committee on Community Adjustment Problems headed by Professor E. E. Schattschneider of Wesleyan University. The report is based upon a fast but fairly extensive investigation in which the committee's secretary, Richard H. Martin, director of the State Water Commission, carried a major load. The committee found that a new million ton per year steel mill and its satellite factories would, if established, bring 12,000 people to the New London area within five or ten years. Since the area already has "a deficit of public and semi-public facilities," the committee made findings and recommendations with respect to water supplies, water pollution, air pollution, noise, public health, recreation, schools, highways, police and fire protection, municipal finances and planning and zoning.

The report sets a pattern for future studies of the probable impact of extensive industrial development in an area not previously geared politically and economically to dealing with large scale industry and a rapid population increase. It does not oppose such expansion but indicates that it would entail grave risks unless preceded by vigorous cooperative planning and action by state, local and perhaps federal authorities. The problem is rendered particularly difficult because of the multiplicity of small local governments likely to be involved and because economic and social problems would extend far beyond the municipality or municipalities whose tax coffers were enriched directly by the mill.

Bureau Reports

The following organizations have recently issued reports: Nevada Taxpayers Association, "Twenty-Ninth Annual Report," *Nevada Tax Review,* April 1951; Toronto Bureau of Municipal Research, *Thirty-Seventh Annual Report, 1951*; Civic Research Council of Flint (Michigan), in a letter to the members presents "highlights of the activities during the first five months of 1951"; Syracuse Governmental Research Bureau, *6 Cases of Effective Governmental Research,* highlights of "two years of intensive research bureau activity."

Bureau Notes

The Wyoming Taxpayers Association has issued a "Budget Calendar for Fiscal 1952 for Governmental Units" to keep local budget officials informed.

The work and accomplishments of the Pennsylvania Economy League are discussed in "How to Houseclean a State," by Beverly Smith, Washington editor of the *Saturday Evening Post,* in the April 14 issue of that publication. It is available in reprint form.

In an address before the Milwaukee Board of Realtors on May 29 Norman N. Gill, director of the Milwaukee Citizens' Governmental Research Bureau, discussed the "Progress Report on the City's Administrative Survey." Copies of Mr. Gill's speech are available through the bureau.

* * *

New Research Group

A new citizens' research group, the Public Affairs Research Council of Louisiana, has been organized with offices in Baton Rouge. Robert W. French is executive director, Edward J. Steimel is director of public information, and Kimbrough Owen, formerly director of research with the Louisiana State Law Institute, is director of research.

* * *

Strictly Personal

Homer E. Scace, formerly of the Institute of Public Administration (New York) is now director of the Department of Governmental Affairs of the Empire State Association of Commerce in Albany.

Research Pamphlets and Articles

Accounting

Manual of Accounts for Tennessee Municipalities. By W. Harold Read and William R. Snodgrass. Knoxville, University of Tennessee, Municipal Technical Advisory Service in cooperation with the Tennessee Municipal League, 1951. 85 pp.

Administrative Officials

Selection and Tenure of Municipal Administrative Officials. Results of a Survey of 416 Cities and Villages. Madison 3, League of Wisconsin Municipalities, *The Municipality,* April 1951. 3 pp.

Budgets

Analysis of the Proposed City of Houston 1951 Budget. Houston, Tax Research Association of Houston and Harris County, 1951. 13 pp.

Capital Budget for 1951-52. Buffalo's 1951-52 Budget. Buffalo's Budget. Buffalo 2, Municipal Research Bureau, *Just a Moment,* May 3, 10, 17, 1951. 4 pp. each.

The Mayor's Budget. Detroit 26, Bureau of Governmental Research, *Budget Backgrounds—2,* April 23, 1951. 2 pp.

The New York City Budget and Management Improvement. By Harold Riegelman. New York 17, Citizens Budget Commission, 1951. 50 pp.

Pay Increases, Civilian Defense and Child Welfare Costs Raise Budget. San Francisco, Bureau of Governmental Research, May 4, 1951. 1 p.

Performance Budgeting in Connecticut. By Robert Ralston, Jr. New York 20, Governmental Research Association, *GRA Reporter,* March-April 1951. 3 pp.

The State Budget System of Arkansas. By Henry M. Alexander. Fayetteville, University of Arkansas, Institute of Science and Technology, 1951. 42 pp.

Statement on the Expense Budget. Statement on the Education and Library Budgets for 1951-1952. By George H. Hallett, Jr. New York 7, Citizens Union, 1951. 7 and 6 pp. respectively.

City Councils

Councilmen in the Cities and Towns of Iowa. By Russell M. Ross. Burlington, League of Iowa Municipalities, *Monthly Magazine,* March 1951. 2 pp.

City Officials

The Appointment of City Officials. Sixth Quadrennial Issue. ("Data to which the mayor should give careful attention in making" top appointments.) Baltimore 2, Commission on Governmental Efficiency and Economy, *Your Tax Dollar,* May 1951. 11 pp.

City Trusts

Managing City's Trusts. System Set Up in 1869 to Administer City's Trusts Has Functioned Very Efficiently. Philadelphia 7, Bureau of Municipal Research, *Citizens' Business,* May 21, 1951. 3 pp.

Council-Manager Government

City Costs under the Manager Plan. (Shows general operating costs lower in first year.) Des Moines, Taxpayers Association, *Civic Flashes,* April 30, 1951. 1 p.

A Factual Analysis of the Administration Organization of Council-Manager Cities in Michigan. By Robert E. Beck and Dale W. Bulemore. Ann Arbor, University of Michigan, Institute of Public Administration, Bureau of Government, *Papers in Public Administration No. 6,* A Series of Graduate Students' Reports, 1950. 33 pp. Tables.

County Government

County Government in Tennessee As I See It. By C. Howard Bozeman. Knoxville, University of Tennessee, Bureau of Public Administration, *Tennessee Government,* March-April 1951. 3 pp.

Debt

The City's New Loans Proposals—Part 1. The City's New Loans Proposals—Part 2, **The Commission's Position Regarding Each Loan.** "Study of the facts has convinced this

Commission that the May 8th vote on the proposed loans should be: For Schools, Port, Highway, Off-street Parking, Incinerator, Fire and Conduits," ($44,500,000); "Against Public Buildings, Street Lights and Traffic Signals," ($5,000,000). Baltimore 2, Commission on Governmental Efficiency and Economy, *Your Tax Dollar,* April 23 and 25, 1951. 4 and 7 pp. respectively.

San Francisco's Bonded Debt. San Francisco, Bureau of Governmental Research, April 11, 1951. 2 pp.

Education

Board of Education Budget. Detroit 26, Bureau of Governmental Research, *Budget Backgrounds*—3, April 30, 1951. 2 pp.

Comparison of Amounts Spent by State Governments for Schools—1950. Per Cent of Population Attending Schools and Per Cent of Total Income Spent for Education. Salt Lake City, Utah Foundation, *Research Brief,* May 1951. 2 pp. each.

Financing Public Schools in Utah. Salt Lake City 1, Utah Foundation, *Research Report,* May 1951. 6 pp.

A Guidebook of the County Superintendent of Education. By Robert Baker Highsaw and Harold Stanley Thames. University, University of Mississippi, Bureau of Public Administration, 1951. 58 pp.

$300 Million State School Aid. Use of Building Fund Reported. By Shelby F. Harper. Los Angeles 14, California Taxpayers' Association, *The Tax Digest,* April 1951. 8 pp. Tables. 25 cents.

Watchful Waiting. The School Districts Look to Harrisburg. Pittsburgh 22, Pennsylvania Economy League, Western Division, *P. E. L. Newsletter,* May 1951. 8 pp.

Employment

A Report on the Economy, Labor Force, Employment and Unemployment Compensation. Charleston, West Virginia Department of Employment Security, 1951. 42 pp. Charts.

Federal-Local Relations

Municipalities Face Federal Controls. Waterbury 2, Connecticut, Taxpayers' Association, *Governmental Briefs,* April 14, 1951. 2 pp.

Fire Insurance

Fire Insurance Coverage in Washington School Districts. (With comparative data on state insurance funds in nine states.) By George D. Smith. Seattle, University of Washington, Bureau of Governmental Research and Services, 1951. 65 pp. $1.50.

Home Rule

Preserve Home Rule. State Legislature Should Not Whittle Away City's Newly Won Home Rule Privileges. Philadelphia, Bureau of Municipal Research, *Citizens' Business,* April 30, 1951. 4 pp.

Legislation

1951 Legislative Review. Denver, Colorado Public Expenditure Council, *Colorado Taxpayer,* March 1951. 8 pp.

Legislative Councils

Report of the Holdover Committee of 1949 to the Twenty-Sixth Legislature of the Territory of Hawaii. (Review of activities and summaries of recommendations on civil service, education, etc.) Honolulu, University of Hawaii, Legislative Reference Bureau, 1951. 69 pp.

Public Library
Kansas Cit

Management

Blueprint for Improvement. Concerning Ways and Means of Increasing Administrative Efficiency and Achieving Administrative Economies. Some Brass Tacks About the Job of an Administrator. (Although prepared primarily for voluntary organizations, these reports are available and may be helpful to municipal administrators.) New York 12, Albert Pleydell Associates, 1950 and 1951. 4 pp. each.

Metropolitan Areas

Are Suburbs Necessary? (A strong statement of the case for annexation.) By Charles Alan Wright. Minneapolis, University of Minnesota, Law Review Foundation, *Minnesota Law Review*, March 1951. 15 pp.

The Borough System of Government for Metropolitan Areas. Report of Subcommittee to Assembly Interim Committee on State and Local Taxation. Sacramento, the Committee, 1951. 80 pp.

Final Report. Committee on Metropolitan Problems. Toronto, Civic Advisory Council, 1951. xiv, 53 pp.

Municipal Government

Greeneville's Government. A Study of the Organization and Administration of the Government of Greeneville, Tennessee. Knoxville, University of Tennessee, Bureau of Public Administration, in cooperation with the Bureau of Research of the College of Business Administration, the Tennessee State Planning Commission and the Tennessee Valley Authority, 1950. 160 pp. Tables.

How Florida Cities Get Their Government. By Hulda Grobman. Gainesville, University of Florida, Public Administration Clearing Service, 1951. 10 pp.

Municipal Incorporation and Organization in Texas. Austin, University of Texas, Institute of Public Affairs, 1951. 31 pp. 75 cents.

Parking Meters

Parking Meter Funds. Sioux City, Iowa, Woodbury County Taxpayers Conference, *Bulletin*, May 18, 1951. 1 p.

Personnel

City Personnel. Providence 3, Rhode Island, Governmental Research Bureau, May 1951. 3 pp.

A Common Sense Personnel Program. By Kenneth O. Warner. Knoxville, University of Tennessee, Division of University Extension, Municipal Technical Advisory Service, *Tennessee Town & City*, April 1951. 4 pp.

For Good Public Administration. A Study of Indiana State Government's Three Employment Policies. Indianapolis 4, Indiana State Chamber of Commerce, 1951. 6 pp.

Public Buildings

Public Building Administration in Utah. Salt Lake City 1, Utah Foundation, *Research Report*, April 1951. 4 pp.

Public Health

Administrative Organization of State Departments of Mental Health. By Dorothee E. Strauss. Ann Arbor, University of Michigan, Institute of Public Administration, Bureau of Government, *Papers in Public Administration No. 6*, A Series of Graduate Students' Reports, 1950. 37 pp. Tables.

City's Health Obligations Need Definition. Providence, Rhode Island, Governmental Research Bureau, April 1951. 2 pp.

Purchasing

Spending Calls for Teamwork or No Stalks for the Elephants! By Albert Pleydell. (Address before Boston Chapter of the National Office Management Association, April 26, 1951.) New York 12, Albert Pleydell Associates, 1951. 5 pp.

Reapportionment

Legislative Reapportionment. (Includes comparative data on other states.) By Margaret Greenfield. Berkeley, University of California, Bureau of Public Administration, 1951. 57 pp. $1.25.

Research

Current Research Projects in Public Administration, 1951. Chicago 37, Public Administration Service, 1951. 48 pp. $1.

Retirement Systems

Accent on Pensions. The League Works with a House Committee. Pittsburgh 22, Pennsylvania Economy League, Western Division, *P. E. L. Newsletter,* April 1951. 4 pp.

How Shall the Cost of Liberalizations in Retirement Systems Be Shared as Between the Public and the Employee? Milwaukee 2, Citizens' Governmental Research Bureau, *Bulletin,* May 22, 1951. 3 pp.

Salaries

City Personnel Costs. Detroit Teachers' Salaries. Detroit 26, Bureau of Governmental Research, *Budget Backgrounds—4 and 5,* May 2 and 7, 1951. 2 pp. each.

$1,200,000 Teachers' Salary Raise Recommended by Harvard Consultant. San Francisco, Bureau of Governmental Research, *Bulletin,* March 27, 1951. 2 pp.

Shall School Board Salaries Be Increased? Miami 32, Dade County Research Foundation, *Newsletter,* May 17, 1951. 3 pp.

Sewers

Buffalo Sewer Authority. Buffalo 2, Municipal Research Bureau, *Just a Moment,* April 19, 1951. 3 pp.

Streets and Highways

Programming Street Maintenance and Improvements. Philadelphia 4, University of Pennsylvania, Associated Institutes of Government of Pennsylvania Universities, *Municipal Administration,* April 1951. 4 pp.

Taxation and Finance

The City Deficit. Schenectady 5, New York, Bureau of Municipal Research, *Research Brevities* April 5, 1951. 5 pp.

Should Indiana Permit Cities and Towns to Levy New Types of Local Taxes? A 1951 Legislative Issue. Indianapolis 4, Indiana State Chamber of Commerce, 1950. 8 pp.

The County Sales Tax and Other Local Revenues. By Eugene C. Lee. Berkeley, University of California, Bureau of Public Administration, 1951. 31 pp. $1.

County Tax Levies. Buffalo 2, Municipal Research Bureau, *Just a Moment,* March 8, 1951. 4 pp.

The Effects of Tax Exemptions. By Francis J. Carr. An Address to the Annual Convention of County Auditors and County Tax Collectors, Oakland, February 14, 1951. Los Angeles 14, California Taxpayers' Association, *The Tax Digest,* May 1951. 7 pp. 25 cents.

Finances, City of Poughkeepsie. Part 1, Summary and Recommendations; Part 2, Revenue and Assessments; Part 3, Expenditures and Debt. Poughkeepsie, Area Development Association, 1950 and 1951. 16, 29 and 32 pp. respectively.

Financing Sewer Construction in a Pennsylvania Municipality. Philadelphia 4, Associated Institutes of Government of Pennsylvania Universities, *Municipal Administration,* May 1951. 3 pp.

Financing the Pension Funds of Chicago's Local Governments. Chicago 2, The Civic Federation, *Bulletin,* March 1951. 7 pp.

General-Fund Receipts. Revenues Reached All-Time High in 1950, with Real Estate Taxes Equaling 40% of Total. Philadelphia 7, Bureau of Municipal Research, *Citizens' Business,* April 16, 1951. 4 pp.

New Jersey's 1951-52 Appropriations Bills. Trenton 8, New Jersey Taxpayers Association, *It's Your Business,* April 1951. 7 pp.

New or Higher Taxes Are Not the Answer to State's Crisis. Tax Dodging Reaches New High. Little Rock, Arkansas Public Expenditure Council, *You and Your Government,* April 1951. 3 pp.

Books in Review

Albuquerque and the City Manager Plan 1917-1948. By Dorothy I. Cline. Albuquerque, University of New Mexico, Department of Government, Division of Research, 1951. vii, 48 pp. 50 cents.

A narrative and analysis of 31 years in New Mexico's largest city under council-manager government without achieving Utopia. According to the study, commission (council) members have commonly refrained from delegating detail to the manager and have encountered no local civic organizations asserting the general interest against pressure groups and personal factions. Two city commissioners over a period of years have exercised strong leadership, usurping "administrative functions by employing and removing city employees. They conferred with and often gave orders to department heads; they negotiated contracts and advised the city manager on administrative practices, personnel matters and city purchases."

The author's conclusions are not supported by many experts in the municipal government field. The experience is opposite to the prevailing trend under the council-manager plan although it is not unique. The remedy is not in reverting to partisan elections, as vaguely suggested, and looking for direction to a smoke-filled party headquarters.

Perhaps what Albuquerque needs is a revival of citizen interest—witness recent events in a city not too far away, Phoenix, Arizona.

Financing Canadian Government. By A. E. Buck. Chicago, Public Administration Service, 1949. xi, 367 pp. $5.

This is a comprehensive and authoritative review, particularly for American consumption, of how our northern neighbor manages its finances, as well as a comparison with our practices, some of which are shown to be inferior.

Much of the volume is devoted to finance on the national level—structure, formulation and adoption of the budget, revenue and expenditure both in wartime and peace—including the depression, audit, debt, controls, etc. But ample attention is paid also to provincial and municipal finance since, says the author, "During recent years it has become increasingly apparent that whatever action is taken in the federal-provincial field vitally affects the finances of all three levels of government—national, provincial and municipal."

The Federal Budget in Brief. Fiscal Year 1952 (July 1, 1951—June 30, 1952). Washington, D. C., Executive Office of the President, Bureau of the Budget, 1951. 42 pp. 20 cents. (Apply Superintendent of Documents, Washington 25, D. C.)

First published a year ago, this is a useful primer, making good use of pictorial statistics. It sets an example for state and local budget officials in the preparation of reports for public consumption.

Additional Books and Pamphlets

(See also Researcher's Digest and other departments)

Automobile Allowances

Allowances for Use of Private Automobiles on Public Business. Chicago 37, Municipal Finance Officers Association of the United States and Canada, 1951. 4 pp. 50 cents.

Defense

Mobilization Planning and the National Security 1950-1960. Problems and Issues. Also Appendices I: **Background of Mobilization World War I to Pearl Harbor; II: Statutes and Executive Orders on Civilian and Industrial Mobilization;** III: **Manpower Planning and Control** (by Howard K. Hyde); IV: **Reorganization of the National Security Resources Board.** By William Y. Elliott. Washington, D. C., Library of Congress, Legislative Reference Service, 1950. 188, 34, 42, 35 and 4 pp. respectively.

Education

Illinois School Problems. Report of the Illinois School Problems Commission to the Governor and General Assembly. Springfield, the Commission, 1951. 168 pp.

Government Textbooks

Introduction to American Government. (Tenth Edition.) By Frederick A. Ogg and P. Orman Ray. New York, Appleton-Century-Crofts, Inc., 1951. viii, 1063 pp. $5.50.

Land Use

Land Planning Pays Off. One Developer's Adventure in the Land Planning Field. By Urban A. Denker. Washington 6, D. C., Urban Land Institute, *Urban Land,* May 1951. 2 pp.

Parking

The San Francisco Parking Authority Reports. San Francisco 2, the Authority, 1951. 6 pp.

Personnel

Training Municipal Employees. By Kenneth O. Warner, Wilfred A. Greene, John McQuilken, etc. Chicago 37, Municipal Finance Officers Association of the United States and Canada, *Municipal Finance,* May 1951, 32 pp. 50 cents.

Public Relations

Public Relations for Public Officials. Selected References. By Eric Carlson. New York 17, Association of Municipal Public Relations Officers, 1951. 14 pp. 50 cents.

Shopping Centers

The Effects of a Proposed Regional Shopping Center upon the Town of Mount Pleasant (New York). By T. T. McCrosky. Washington 6, D. C., Urban Land Institute, *Urban Land,* April 1951. 5 pp.

Smoke Control

Air Pollution and Smoke Prevention Association of America, Proceedings 43d Annual Convention, 1950, Montreal, Canada. St. Joseph, Michigan, John Paul Taylor, 1951. 122 pp. $5.

Social Security

Old Age and Social Security. New York, Bowery Savings Bank, 1951. 24 pp.

Taxation and Finance

An Emergency Tax Program for 1951. A statement on National Policy by the Research and Policy Committee. New York 22, Committee for Economic Development, 1951. 38 pp.

1950 Proceedings of the Forty-third Annual Conference on Taxation at Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania, September 11-14, 1950, and Minutes of the Annual Meeting of the Members of the National Tax Association Held September 14, 1950, and of Meetings of the Executive Committee Held September 10, 11 and 13, 1950. Edited by Ronald B. Welch. Sacramento, National Tax Association, 1951. xix, 557 pp.

Taxes and Spending. A Statement of Views of the Chamber of Commerce of the United States Based on Recommendations to Congress by the Committees on Federal Finance and on Government Expenditures. Washington 6, D. C. the Chamber, 1951. 20 pp.

The Tax Education of Mr. Jones. By Irving S. Olds. (Address before the Chamber of Commerce of the

State of New York.) New York 6, United States Steel Corporation, 1951. 20 pp.

Traffic Safety

The Development of Essential Skills in Meeting Driving Emergencies. By Herbert J. Stack. New York, New York University, Division of General Education, Center for Safety Education, 1951. 11 pp.

Operation Safety. Program Kit on Traffic Safety Promotion. Theme for August 1951, **Signs of Life.** Chicago 11, National Safety Council, 1951. Variously paged.

Water Pollution

Tennessee River Drainage Basin. A Cooperative State-Federal Report on Water Pollution. Washington, D. C., Federal Security Agency, Public Health Service, 1951. 121 pp.

HAVE I KEPT THE FAITH?

(Continued from page 353)

are eager for business leaders' views; people have much respect for businessmen's practical experience and know-how. I see no insurmountable obstacle to a businessman's emergence as an outstanding citizen leader.

There's no reason why the people of the United States should not find in your generation of business people a number of men they will look to as being among the "Fathers of our country."

Don't worry too much whether you are up to uttering imperishable words. Don't be afraid of making mistakes now and then. People will forget your words and forget or forgive your errors in citizenship, but they will remember and honor you for your civic leadership and its reassurance. You and the whole country will gain.

Among you are the thousands upon thousands of civic leaders America needs beyond all else. Upon your individual answers rests the course of history.

Inferior leaders have assumed roles far beyond their due. Many persons without leadership qualifications have become parasitic holders of office. We simply do not have enough able and willing leaders to go around, as yet. If American business is to reap its destiny, now is the time for individuals to come forward.

CRIME UP TO STATES AND CITIES

(Continued from page 359)

the voting public to insure that their representative governments at all levels are made up of men who are not open to corruption or persuasion by criminals and racketeers.

Unless the public expresses an affirmative desire for the elimination of organized criminal operations and official corruption through the continued exercise of the vote, through active participation in the work of such organizations as local and state crime commissions, and through the careful attention to the efficiency and honesty of the men whom they employ to govern them, there can be no real and lasting progress toward the elimination of organized criminal activity in this country.

Ultimately success in the war against crime depends on the uplifting of standards of public and private morality, a rededication to basic spiritual values, which will entail righteous indignation over crime and corruption.

Editors Find Time for Varied Interests

The co-editors of the REVIEW's Proportional Representation department possess between them an impressive technical background in a variety of fields, including mathematics, law, engineering, writing and civic leadership.

George H. Hallett, Jr.

George H. Hallett, Jr., generally recognized as the country's outstanding authority on P. R., earned his Ph.D. in mathematics at the University of Pennsylvania but quickly turned to civic work as assistant secretary and later secretary of the Proportional Representation League.

As secretary of the Citizens Union of the City of New York since 1934, he has played a leading role in many notable civic campaigns such as the fight for New York's charter of 1936 and the abolition of New York's five county governments (which has saved the city many millions of dollars as well as cutting an army of political drones off the public payroll).

It takes more than five inches in *Who's Who in America* to list Dr. Hallett's many activities and accomplishments, which include the drafting of numerous city charters and city and county home rule legislation.

Wm. Redin Woodward, co-editor of the P. R. department since 1946, in private life is a patent attorney in the legal department of the American Telephone and Telegraph Company.

His first interest in P. R. came when, as a senior at Dickinson College, he participated in a model constitutional convention in 1934 which proposed a unicameral legislature to be elected from seven large Pennsylvania districts by P. R.

Although finding time in later years to study mathematics and physics at Heidelberg University, Germany, graduate *magna cum laude* from Harvard Law School and to study chemical and radio engineering at the University of Michigan and at Tufts College on the side while pursuing his career in law, he continued his involvement in civic and election problems.

Wm. Redin Woodward

He worked in the 1940 campaign which won the council-manager plan with P. R. for Cambridge, Massachusetts, served as president of the Plandome Heights (New Jersey) Civic Association, is president of a parent-teacher association and has served as vice chairman of the Young Republican organization of his county.

His home life is enlivened by three children, a wife whose hobby is decorating and firing tiles and by the operation of amateur radio station W2ROY.

Industrialist Issues Civic Challenge

If Colby Mitchell Chester, famed industrialist, had an opportunity to repeat his highly successful career he would find more time for civic affairs, he makes clear in his article on page 351.

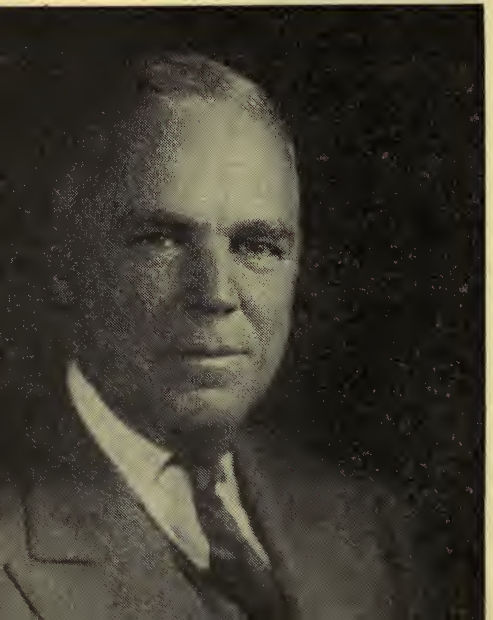
The article, based on an address he made recently before the Bridgeport Chamber of Commerce, is given added point as a challenge to businessmen to accept their responsibilities for civic leadership by the fact that Mr. Chester's own devotion to good causes has been as well known as his leadership in the business world.

Mr. Chester, who is chairman of the board of the New York Chapter of the American Red Cross, served in 1943 as chairman of the Red Cross War Fund of Greater New York and in 1945 as National War Fund chairman. He is a former president of the National Institute of Social Sciences. He has headed committees in Boys' Clubs of America, United China Relief and United Hospital Fund.

He has also been active for years in the National Association of Manufacturers, serving in many capacities including president and chairman of the board.

He left the practice of law for business and, as president of the Postum Cereal Company, led the organization in a program of expansion which merged fifteen other well known food companies and became General Foods Corporation. He was president, chairman of the board and chairman of the executive committee before becoming honorary chairman of General Foods in 1946.

Colby M. Chester



Blind Voting

He had a vision 40 years ago, and still has it. Richard S. Childs, New York businessman and former president of the National Municipal League, for that long has been preaching the gospel of the short ballot, a term which he invented.

The theory of the short ballot is that busy voters can keep track of only a few elected officials at a time. When 40 or 50 offices are to be filled, as is often the case in a sizeable city, most of them will be voted on unintentionally. If no more than five posts were on the ballot, especially if these were for positions in the public eye, the electors could know whom they were voting for. On the traditional long ballot, they can make a personal selection of only a few. For the rest they have to take the politicians' choice, and pretend it is their own. . . .

The short ballot has made important gains during the 40 years of Childs' battle. He hopes for more.—Editorial, Cohoes (New York) *American*.

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NEWS for League Members

Seminar for Ryukyuans

Nine Ryukyuan public officials and bankers visited the League's office August 15 in connection with the Exchange of Persons Program for occupied areas.

The group was one of a number from Japan and Germany which have attended short "seminars" conducted by Richard S. Childs, chairman of the League's executive committee and volunteer staff member, with an assist from Alfred Willoughby and John E. Bebout.

The program, arranged by the Institute of International Education, is designed to show visitors how a democracy operates and the relations of the individual to government. The League has cooperated with the institute in arranging itineraries of various groups.

Because the Ryukyuan economy is based on agriculture and fishing, the visitors spent two of their eight weeks in the U. S. in Maine and Rhode Island in addition to visits to San Francisco, Washington, D. C., Trenton, New Jersey, New York and Chicago.

The visitors appeared to have absorbed a considerable understanding of the underlying principles of the American way of handling problems of government and citizenship. A principal problem, they indicated, was one of federalism and cooperation among the 99 Ryukyuan Islands, of which Okinawa is the largest, with some central authority still to be established and the development of responsible local government not fostered by Japanese imperial rule.

Despite the vast differences between the Ryukyus and the United States, the visitors appeared most interested in a problem which is nearly as puzzling to us as to them: how to reconcile the desire for maximum local autonomy with the fact that some communities simply cannot afford, out of local

(Continued on page 455)

Richard S. Childs conducting discussion with group of Ryukyuan leaders at League office. At left is Alfred Willoughby, Executive Secretary, and at right, John E. Bebout, Assistant Secretary.

All American City
1950 Award
Phoenix, Ariz.

Allen H. Seed, Jr., (left) NML director of field services, presenting All American Cities of 1950 certificate to James A. Smith (center), president of the Phoenix Chamber of Commerce, and Nicholas Udall, mayor of Phoenix.

Phoenix Receives Civic Award

Honored as one of the "All American Cities of 1950," the city of Phoenix, Arizona, received a certificate August 6 from the National Municipal League and the *Minneapolis Sunday Tribune*, joint sponsors of the award.

The presentation was made by Allen H. Seed, Jr., director of field services for the League, at a luncheon attended by leading officials and citizens.

Explaining that the award was made on the basis of progress achieved through intelligent citizen action, Mr. Seed paid tribute to an alert citizenry that first adopted a sound city charter, then chose a city council dedicated to making it work. He warned that only an alert citizenry is a guarantee of good government and expressed the opinion that a current proposal to return to ward election of councilmen would tend to undermine the city's improved government.

In accepting the scroll, Mayor Nicholas Udall commented that he hoped the city council and the citizens of Phoenix would heed Mr. Seed's warning. The council has since consented to run for reelection next November.

"In the final analysis it was the people of Phoenix who were honored at the luncheon sponsored by the Chamber of Commerce," said *The Phoenix Gazette* editorially. "If they hadn't taken decisive action at the polls, the city would still be ruled by the sort of government which since 1914 had averaged one new city manager a year."

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Editorial Comment

State and Local Government Is Big Business

STATE and local governments are spending at least two and a half times as much as the federal government for domestic civil purposes. In other words, they are directly responsible for more than two-thirds of the bill for the internal government of the country.

For the last three years they have spent more than half as much as the federal government's total expenditures, *even including* war- and defense-connected expenditures, which account for at least 80 per cent of the federal budgets.

	Federal Revenues[a]	*State-local Revenues*[b]
1949	$36,801,000,000	$19,814,000,000
1950	36,256,000,000	21,281,000,000
1951	44,438,832,034	22,300,000,000

a. Exclusive of aid to other governments.

b. Including federal aid.

The figures on general revenue expendable by state and local governments do not, however, reflect the full scale of their fiscal activities. For example, "revenue" does not include money borrowed and spent currently for permanent improvements. Since general borrowing by the states in 1950 was about five times the amount spent from revenues for debt retirement, it is apparent that the money actually laid out by state and local governments in recent years has been substantially higher than the figures above.

Moreover, these figures do not reflect the activities of numerous publicly owned enterprises (local utilities, state liquor stores and highway, port and other authorities, for example) nor do they reflect the overall operations and multi-million investment activities of various pension and other trust funds.

State and local expenditures have considerably more than doubled in the last ten years. Already there are at least three billion dollar budgets below the federal level: New York State, New York City and California.

Pennsylvania is spending at the rate of about three-fourths of a billion a year. Chicago's six major governments are edging toward three-fourths of a billion.

Seven out of every 100 employed civilians are on state and local payrolls. At the end of 1950 approximately two-thirds of all civilian government employees and three-fifths of the monthly civilian public payroll were attributable to state and local government. Since the beginning of 1951 the federal government has been hiring additional people in connection with the defense effort but the state and local percentages are only slightly lower as indicated by the following figures on public civilian employment for April 1951:

	Number of Employees	*Monthly Payroll*
Federal	2,385,000	$694,300,000
State and local	4,292,000	950,300,000
Total	6,677,000	$1,644,600,000

Employment in cities alone increased from 1,155,000 in 1946 to 1,311,000 in 1950.

In 1949, state and local governments purchased more than 7 per cent of the national output of goods and services.

It is obvious from these figures that people who want to do something about the cost and quality of government and its economic impact must devote a lot of attention to state and local government.

The damaging effects of bad local government and politics reach to Washington and impair the general welfare and even the common defense in many ways. National politicians and federal officials are for the most part state and local boys graduated to Washington. It is not reasonable to expect them to outclass the *alma maters* that selected and trained them. Yet when state and local governments fail to handle their responsibilities ably and effectively, pressure increases to have the more remote and less controllable federal government step in and take on new activities. When citizens insist on good, honest, economical and effective government in their communities they set the stage for better and less expensive government all the way up the line.

'Youse Guys'

Small fry politicians (and a few big ones) in both parties are saying to each other: "Youse can count on de good people stayin' home 'lection day and den dare won't be no trouble for us guys."

The records show that "dem guys" are right. For example:

Recently the basic law of our state—the Pennsylvania constitution—has been changed by just one out of each ten qualified voters. Candidates have been nominated in a primary by one out of every 24 qualified voters. Party committeemen have been elected by as low as three votes in divisions where there were as many as 800 registered voters.

In the primary election of last September, huge sums of money were borrowed by the city through long term loans by vote of one out of each nineteen qualified electors. With 1,047,000 registered voters in the city of Philadelphia, one loan carried with a majority of 271 votes. The vote was 26,312 for, and 26,041 against. Total: 52,353.

When you consider that some of the good committeemen in both parties can influence as many as 600 votes apiece, you can understand why "youse guys" had better get on the job and get your friends and neighbors interested in studying the issues and keeping a date with the voting machine in your polling place.

Otherwise, "dem guys" will continue to control the outcome of the primaries and the elections.

For further information on how you can nominate candidates for offices to be filled in your neighborhood, call or write the Committee of Seventy.

From *Civic Affairs,* PHILADELPHIA COMMITTEE OF SEVENTY.

Something Politics Needs

Weir of National Steel urges businessmen to lend their talents in public office as way to get good government.

By **ERNEST T. WEIR***

THE great problem of our time is how to arrive at a basis on which we can live in reasonable peace and security with ourselves and with the other nations of the world. Industry will have an important and perhaps a decisive part to play in the solution of that problem—but still only a part. If the men who lead industry—and by that I mean its entire management—content themselves with doing a good industrial job and nothing more, they will fall short—far short—of accepting the full responsibility which is theirs.

This great problem is essentially a political problem. Politics has become the dominant force in our lives. We see that force exerted all the way from the small village and township through the levels of the large cities and counties, the states and the nation. In the great debate over international policy, we have seen that military policy, although it may have been sound from a purely military standpoint, has had to give way before the greater weight of world political considerations—and properly so, because civilian control must always be the ultimate authority in the United States.

Politics today determines what shall be produced and who shall produce it; what shall be consumed and who shall consume it; what we shall eat and wear and finally, on the great issue of war or peace, whether we shall live or die. The politics of today is a far cry from the yesterday that most of us can remember—when the main issue was which man and party should move into the city hall, the county courthouse, the governor's mansion or the White House. The issues of the past were important, of course, but even at the height of partisan emotion we knew that the outcome of elections would not have a noticeable effect at our desks or work benches or in our homes. Those were the days when about the only contact of the average person with the federal government was the post office.

Starting with World War I, however, the force of politics has become so broad in scope and so deep in penetration that now it is a controlling factor in the life of every individual. The comparison between the old politics and the new politics is the comparison between the horse and buggy and the jet plane. Yet far too many businessmen—who apply jet plane thinking to their own businesses and who "beef" about what government is doing to the country—are living in the horse and buggy days so far as their own political awareness and activity are concerned. And, in my opinion, it is a crying shame.

The average businessman has gotten

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*Mr. Weir, chairman of the National Steel Corporation, Pittsburgh, of which he was founder, has long been active in community affairs. He is a director of the Pittsburgh Regional Planning Association and of the Maurice and Laura Falk Foundation and a member of the Allegheny County Civic Club. This article is part of an address by Mr. Weir before the National Association of Purchasing Agents in June.

where he is because he has more than average ability. He has the mental capacity for factual analysis that leads to sound conclusions and right actions. Obviously, his batting average has to be pretty good to keep him moving up—or at least keep him where he is. These talents are exactly the ones that must be applied to political activity if the tremendous power now contained in it is not to become an actual danger to the welfare of the people of this country.

Using Their Talents

Why should businessmen withhold their talents from politics? What is it that makes these men, who are so conscious of their responsibility in their own jobs, think that they can shrug off their political obligations? Many of them do not even vote. And as for any more active participation, the response of the great majority is, "That's not my game; that's for the politician." The truth is, that the average businessman is a political neuter because politics is a strange field to him, because he begrudges the time and effort he would have to give to it and because he has the idea that the public is "anti-business" and thinks the safest thing to do is stay in his shell. And, in my opinion, none of these reasons is valid.

Political influence is influence with people. There is not a single businessman who does not have influence with many people—many more than he thinks. If the great body of American businessmen would take an active interest in politics—starting right in their own communities and their own states—they could be one of the greatest and most constructive forces in the country today. They would bring to politics the factual approach that has become a matter of habit with them in their business life. They would not be likely to become submerged in factionalism.

Their main interest in politics would be to develop practical facts necessary to secure clean and reasonably efficient and economical government. They would endeavor to get into office the kind of men who had the inclination and the ability to produce government of that kind.

I am convinced that the widespread, active and continuing participation of businessmen in the affairs of both political parties would be followed by a marked improvement in the caliber of politics, politicians and government—from the community right on up to the national level. And certainly such an improvement is a sadly needed thing today.

Often we hear the word "politics" used in a disparaging manner. It has become a "bad" word. Actually, there is nothing wrong with politics *per se.* Its simple purpose is to provide the mechanics through which a people can establish an orderly and satisfactory basis of life. Politics' evil reputation arises from confusion between the legitimate purpose of politics and the purposes of politicians. There is a wide difference.

In many cases politicians will take a stand on important matters not because of deep conviction growing out of study and understanding of those matters but simply because they think the position is the one best calculated to bring political advantage to themselves or their party. And such actions are considered as part of the game; they are brushed off as "just politics." In my book they are not "just politics," they are snide politics.

Webster defines "snide" as follows: "spurious, deceptively inferior, tricky, mean, base." This gives a wide assortment of meanings to select from. As for me, I accept all of them as applying to the kind of politics I have been talking about.

No Responsible Leadership

Political leadership is not measuring up to its responsibilities. It has been running behind the public. There is no question that there is widespread disgust among the American people with present politics and political leadership, and with good reason. They see the hopeless waste and inefficiency in government, the continual increase in the cost of government which is rapidly coming to the point where it will be simply impossible for the people to pay for that cost out of their earnings, the hidden cost of government in the form of inflation which is eroding the dollar and threatening actual financial disintegration and, finally, the complacent acceptance of downright immorality in government.

The people are confused because our leadership seems incapable of establishing an understandable and constructive policy for our country. It seems to me that the growing lack of confidence in our present political leadership is the reason why so many Americans fail to vote, even in national elections. This reaction is understandable but it is negative and it establishes conditions that are most favorable for control by small-bore, professional politicians. What is most needed is a greatly expanded interest and active participation in politics—not a retreat from politics.

All over the world there is a glaring disparity between the aspirations of peoples and the actions and policies of their political leaderships. The one thing most wanted by people everywhere is genuine and lasting peace. The thing they dread and hate is the thought of war. We know that is the case here. Certainly, it must be even more true in the case of other countries—including Russia—all of which have directly experienced such terrors of war as we have not.

Yet, despite this universal desire for peace among the peoples of the world, the political leaders of the world's principal countries seem entirely incapable of laying down a peaceful foundation for a working arrangement among nations. In view of this, the only alternative of other countries and our own, apparently, is again to make preparations against the outbreak of general war—preparations dictated by fear, fear of the other fellow's intentions.

The United States, as the world's leading nation, bears a grave responsibility. It should be the world's great champion for peace, and it should be made known as such to all the peoples of the world. And, in saying this, we again come back to the proposition that this cannot happen unless we have political leadership that is capable of thinking and acting in terms of this magnitude.

As it is, we hear too little from our leadership that is positive and constructive. We are told that we must prepare to endure five, ten, twenty years of tension, of expanding government and government costs, of widening government controls, of high taxes, of military service for our youth, of a garrison state economy.

Think what this will mean. It will mean that by the end of twenty years—if it does end then—we will have two whole generations of Americans who have never had the opportunity to know the real America. They will have no experience with the real individual independence that made this country great but, on the contrary, they will accept as an accustomed thing the detailed control over their private lives by a powerful central government.

It is our solemn obligation to see that the America that was given to us is preserved for those who will come after us. The only way it can be lost is through bad political action. By the same token, the only way it can be preserved is through good political action.

I repeat what I have said before because it cannot be overemphasized: The only way that this country can cope with the world situation as it is today is with political leadership that is equal to that situation. The only way we will get political leadership of that standard is through alert and determined political action by the people of this country. Businessmen have a particular responsibility to help bring this about. The capacity for leadership they have demonstrated in building and producing imposes on them the obligation to take the lead in preserving the fundamental conditions that have made it possible to build and produce in the way they have.

In Russia and some other countries industrial management can do a pretty fair technical job. But that is all it can do and it must function strictly within the limits laid down by political leadership. The American businessman does not have to operate under such limits—not yet. On the contrary, he can help establish the limits of political leadership. If he fails to exercise this American birthright, is he not placing on himself voluntarily the limitations which his European counterpart must accept under compulsion? Isn't he inviting the extension of government power?

Hints for Businessmen

Now, there are a number of things that every businessman can do.

He can vote.

He can persuade his family and friends to vote.

He can find out who is really electing his community officials and his congressmen—the better elements or the gamblers, racketeers and professional politicians. If he finds it is the latter, he can join an organization formed to change the condition and if none exists he can take the lead in forming one.

He can keep abreast of important national issues, make up his own mind on them, be outspoken, and help form the public opinion that usually determines what is done about them.

He can follow the actions of his representatives and senators, let them know when he disapproves of what they are doing and—just as important—let them know once in a while when he approves their actions.

He can refrain from seeking for his own business aid from government which increases both the cost and the power of government.

He can influence his community organizations which support the idea of governmental economy in general to support it in particular when it comes to federal spending in that community.

Any businessman who will do these things will be at least ten times as active as the present average. If the general run of businessmen did them, they would become a potent and a constructive influence. I want to say that I am not asking you to do anything that I do not do myself. I have taken a long and active interest in political matters and make no bones about it. I intend to keep on doing so. I have never thought that my position in the business world cancelled either my rights or my obligations as an American citizen.

Weirton Example

So long as his motives are right, the public not only accepts but welcomes the business leader in the political field. The closer he is to the people and the better they know him the more true this is.

For example, Weirton, West Virginia, the home of Weirton Steel Company, became a city just four years ago. It has a population of over 25,000. At the urging of many citizens, Thomas E. Millsop, president of Weirton Steel Company, decided to be a candidate for mayor. Some of his friends told him he was putting himself out on a limb. They thought it unwise and perhaps dangerous for the head of the largest company in the district to run for political office. Well, the people of Weirton did not think so. They elected him by a five to one majority. The city has since been operated on what is probably the most business-like basis of any municipality in the country.[1]

Just a short time ago the primary was held in the second municipal election. Mr. Millsop was again a candidate and he received more than 87 per cent of the total votes cast. The people of Weirton know that he has only one interest in the job and that is to give Weirton the cleanest, most economical government possible. And that is the kind of leadership the people want. The fact that he is the community's biggest businessman has proved no handicap at the polls.

In conclusion, I know others have urged businessmen to take a greater interest in political activity. Probably you have paid very little attention to them. I sincerely hope that that will not be the case on this occasion because in these most serious days—above all others in our history —there is so much at stake. We can only have good government through good politics. And only through good government can we hope for peace in the world. Of course, political activity takes time, takes thought, takes effort. But ask yourself seriously: Do I not owe this obligation to myself, my family, my community and my country?

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[1] Weirton adopted a council-manager charter in 1947.

How to Get a New City Charter

Public relations policy of Philadelphia City Charter Commission pays off in spectacular home rule victory.

By CHARLTON F. CHUTE*

THE members of the Philadelphia Charter Commission began their work two years ago with their friends warning them of the futility of their efforts. Yet nineteen months later the voters, by nearly two to one (65 per cent), adopted the charter they had drafted! Planned public relations was the key to the victory.

A definition of good public relations is that it is a function of two parts: (1) doing the right thing and (2) telling about it. This precisely describes the story of Philadelphia's first home rule charter.

The effort to win public understanding and acceptance started from the day the charter commission was named. Thus the foundation for the formal appeal for public approval was built solidly into the charter itself. It would be fair to rate writing the charter at about 50 per cent of the job and building an attitude favorable toward adoption at about 50 per cent.

Frequently charter commissions have ended their work in failure because they misinterpreted their goal. They thought that writing a charter was 100 per cent of the job and neglected to do those things necessary to secure the document's adoption at the polls.[1]

Charter commissions sometimes make a second mistake in defining their goal. They say, "We are here to write the best possible charter." This can be dangerous business! The goal for most commissions should be, "We are here to write the best possible charter that we think the voters will adopt on election day."

If you say, "This is the attitude of a cynic and it will not lead to Utopia," my reply would be, "A charter commission is justified in writing a Utopian charter when it has voters that will adopt such a charter!"

There is room, however, for a different viewpoint in some communities where the existing charter is a fairly good one. A commission in such circumstances may wish to write the best possible charter, realizing that it may be defeated at the polls but that a subsequent charter along the same lines may be adopted.

Just what voters will be willing to adopt is frequently far from clear in the early stages of a commission's work. The commission members in their talks and methods of operation can and should do a great deal to

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[1] This was true of the St. Louis charter of 1911, which was defeated by the voters. See the REVIEW, October 1914, page 720.

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raise public attitudes on what to include in a charter.

The public relations program used so successfully in winning a new charter for Philadelphia was based on considerable observation of successes and failures in other cities and states, including campaigns for new state constitutions because they are remarkably similar.

The more important background factors in the Philadelphia situation may be classified as either favorable or unfavorable.

Unfavorable Factors:

1. Futility—the belief that government in big cities is corrupt and must remain so.

2. Machine hostility—Philadelphia voters are partisans, not independents. The dominant party organization has retained power for 80 years. It was widely believed the organization would be hostile to a good new charter and that would spell defeat.

3. Philadelphia voters were said to be apathetic, particularly on issues involving good government.

4. It was said that the civic groups would not pull together.

5. Philadelphians do not understand home rule and have had no experience in how to go about getting such a charter.

6. The present charter is a good one and a new charter could not possibly correct the real problem in city government—getting honest officials.

These unfavorable factors were, to a large extent, widely held beliefs without much factual basis.

Favorable Factors:

1. By far the most important was the series of city hall scandals which started in May 1948 with the discovery of an embezzler in the city's purchasing department and the suicide of the head of the amusement tax division, who left a note stating all the men in his unit were guilty of embezzlement. In succeeding months one scandal followed another, more embezzlements were disclosed, several extortionists were convicted and three more suicides occurred.

The earlier events led to creation of the home rule charter commission; the later ones added emphasis and focused public attention on the imperative need for corrective measures. The cumulative effect led many voters of the dominant party to lose faith in their political organization and its leaders, as shown by the party's defeat in November 1949.

Scandals Aid Charter

2. The city hall scandals provided clear evidence of the failure of the existing charter to provide safeguards. For example, the city controller had certain broad auditing powers. A special grand jury, after nearly a year's study, concluded that the operations of the receiver of taxes had not been audited for at least five or six years! Here was a clear breakdown in financial control.

3. The personnel of the charter commission appointed by the mayor and president of city council, following passage of a home rule act for Philadelphia by the state legislature, was of high caliber. All were of fine reputation, of recognized ability and

public spirit and representative of the community.

The strategy of home rule is based on the ultimate appeal to all the voters. In Philadelphia this meant a million people. It calls for full and free discussion, much publicity and education and much public participation. It requires the organized effort of many people of ability, understanding and untiring energy—and it takes time. A charter commission of outstanding citizens, representative of various groups in the community and taking a year or so to write a charter, is a "natural" for a successful public relations program.

For the most part, leaders recruited were present or former officers of groups in the community—civic clubs and associations; vocational, professional, business, religious, political groups; neighborhood clubs, labor unions, and so on. Over 500 such groups were active.[2]

Hearings Are Public

Shortly after the charter commission organized, it held a series of public hearings once a week for about two months in three-hour afternoon sessions. To these meetings were invited representatives of the newspapers and leading civic groups.

It is flattering to a group and its officers to be invited to explain their point of view to the charter commission. Later, if the commission adopts some of the suggestions—as they must do because nearly everything conceivable will be suggested—the groups will take pride in their participation.

But in educating the members of the charter commission, group leaders educate each other! In listening to arguments for opposing points of view they gain a new appreciation of the magnitude of the commission's task and the difficulty of making sound decisions on controversial issues. They become less dogmatic and more inclined to recognize the need for justifiable compromise. As the seats of the chairs grow harder they gain an increased admiration for the ability of commission members to "take" such punishment week after week.

If the newspapers think well enough of some of the comments to carry them in their columns, the authors walk with a new spring in their step. Friends and acquaintances congratulate them on the important role they are playing in civic affairs and the reading public learns that improvements are being suggested at city hall—maybe there is hope after all!

If the political leaders in the community have traditionally received group leaders with disrespect, hostility, or evident insincerity, there is an opportunity for the charter commission to show the value of a good public relations policy.[3]

So far, the leaders of the community were being educated—first, on what was needed in a new charter and, secondly, on the complexities of the job. Meanwhile the charter commission built good will for itself and made friends.

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[2] The success of the Missouri constitution of 1945 was also based on the activity of such groups. See "How to Get a New Constitution," by Charlton F. Chute. The REVIEW, March 1947, page 124.

[3] Such a policy was consciously stated for the Missouri Constitutional Convention in 1945.

The heads of participating groups usually reported back to their membership that they appeared before the commission and presented recommendations. This educated additional people. Frequently committees on the new charter were set up to render further assistance to the commission. The matter was in many instances reported in the group's publication and so still more people learned that a good city charter was in the making—and that the commission was composed of a pretty intelligent group of sincere and hard working people.

One difficulty was that the voters were largely inarticulate in the early stages. This was demonstrated by a letter of the Greater Philadelphia Youth Movement, a group of former presidents of high school student bodies, who had discussed the need for a new city charter. The letter said:

> The question, "What method for selecting a city council would you favor under the new city charter?", was most frequently answered by these replies:
>
> 1. How do they select the council now?
> 2. What do you mean by a "new city charter"?
> 3. I don't know; what do you think?

In this situation recourse was had to the trial balloon technique. If the voters could not state what they wanted, speakers for the commission would formulate a statement of the needs and then let the voters tell where they were wrong.

Many voters expect too much in a new charter or constitution. Some look for action beyond the legal powers of the commission or convention. Others expect perfection. Speakers explained the legal scope of the project and pointed out that the charter could not be a perfect document. Undoubtedly, members of the commission could point to parts of it which they did not favor. The main objective, it was said, was to produce a charter that would be as great an improvement as fifteen outstanding citizens could agree upon.

In the early months of the commission's life, both leading newspapers published articles on the commission and its problems which were most helpful. Reprints were made available. Radio and television broadcasts were given. Local magazines told the story.

Education in Civics

The schools did a splendid job of making the charter a practical project for education in civics.[4] The school children took the problem home. Some asked their parents what they thought should go into a new charter! One political worker announced he was in an embarrassing spot because his ward leader wanted him to help defeat the charter while his son, a schoolboy, wanted him to work for adoption!

When the preliminary draft was released on September 6, 1950, members of the commission stated that, as far as they were concerned, all provisions were tentative and subject to change if changes would bring improvement. Again many public hearings were held, many sound changes were accepted by the commission.

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[4] See "New Type Civic Laboratory," by Harry H. Shapiro. The Review, November 1950, page 501.

By such means the commission built confidence in its work and made an impregnable case against charges of "trying to jam something down the people's throats."

Another advantage of hearings on a preliminary draft was that it forced the opposition to come into the open with its criticisms. If it failed to do so, preferring to wait for the final campaign, it was open to the charge of bad faith in that it was more concerned with the defeat of the charter than in cooperating to draft a good one.

By the time final campaigning began, the opposition found it difficult to organize for lack of outstanding leaders, good arguments and funds. It was thus forced to rely on absurdities and distortions.[5]

Opposition Forestalled

Everything that went into the new charter was carefully scanned to see what aid and comfort it might give the opposition. It was not known who would be in the opposition camp but experience showed that their arguments would not relate to the provisions they disliked but would be based on those provisions from which they thought they could make the most political capital. These provisions usually have a high emotional content—race relations, tax provisions, etc. The most important reason for the defeat of the proposed home rule charter of St. Louis on August, 1, 1950, was the wage tax provision.

Sometimes it is good public relations to insert a few words in a charter, even though they are not necessary from the legal point of view. Here is an example.

In the closing days of the charter commission's work, there was general agreement on the following wording on the jurisdiction of the Civil Service Commission over appeals from employees who had been dismissed or demoted: "Findings and decisions of the commission and any action taken in conformance therewith as a result thereof shall be final and there shall be no further appeal on the merits."

This was attacked by some laymen as denying to an employee "his day in court." The lawyers on the commission were quick to point out that, of course, an employee could appeal to the courts on jurisdictional or procedural ground. While this was true, the proposed charter language did not say so and was sure to be used as an argument against the charter by ignorant or unscrupulous opponents. For this reason there was added, "but there may be an appeal to the courts on jurisdictional or procedural grounds." These words were highly useful from a public relations standpoint, although contributing nothing legally.

It is fortunate that it is not necessary to develop a thorough understanding of a proposed new charter because many voters have neither the training, the time nor the inclination to master its technical provisions. The approach to such people is by means of endorsements by individuals as well as groups.

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[5] The opponents of the 1945 Missouri constitution were so limited in numbers that they couldn't use all the free radio time made available!

Consequently outstanding men in whom the public had confidence were selected as co-chairmen to run the Philadelphia campaign. One was a former judge, a Republican of splendid reputation who had resigned from the Municipal Court only a few months earlier. The other was a prominent and equally highly regarded Democrat, a former U. S. senator. This backing was strengthened by the endorsements of the heads of the Republican and Democratic city committees. It was also pointed out that the members of the charter commission were both Republicans and Democrats, but that in votes within the commission there had never been a division along party lines.

Influence by Endorsement

Members of the commission also helped by endorsement. The chairman was also president of city council and one of the most highly regarded men in city hall. The only woman member was a fluent speaker with a sense of humor, who had been active in women's club and church activities.

Seven were outstanding members of the Philadelphia Bar who were of tremendous importance in both drafting and public relations. Three members were prominent business men. The local head of the American Federation of Labor was invaluable in winning the confidence and support of labor. Two outstanding members representing the Negro community helped effectively among their people. A city councilman contributed his good judgment based on years of political experience.

A charter commission cannot be satisfied with merely writing a new charter. It owes to the public brief statements, in laymen's language, describing problems and the answers it proposes. Such a written statement for the 1917 charter of Boulder, Colorado, was called a *Prefatory Synopsis*. In Missouri, by long tradition, it was called *Address to the People*. In Philadelphia the commission selected what is probably the best title yet, *Report to the Voters*. It was released at the same time the final draft was filed and helped the press and public to interpret the commission's work fairly. This was only one of several printed pieces put out by the commission to explain the charter's highpoints.

The magnitude of the campaign is demonstrated by the more than 600 speeches listed in the speakers' bureau register during its last months. Toward the end there was an average of about 30 speeches per day. Much of the speaking burden was carried by the commission's executive secretary, Edgar B. Cale, and its legislative draftsman, Paul Wolkin, as well as members of the Citizens Charter Committee and of the commission.

Printed publicity materials were produced on a large scale. Some 1,250,000 sample ballots and 600,000 four-page tabloid newspapers with cartoons, called *Charter Express,* were distributed by a professional organization to each householder. Other literature included 150,000 *Philadelphia Charter Observers* distributed through the schools and the Citizens Charter Committee, 100,000 accordion folders, 100,000 *Be Sure To Vote On Charter Day,* 100,000 *Comparisons,* 85,000 *Report to the Voters,* 25,000 *Comments of the Drafting Committee.* The commission realized, of course, what so many public relations specialists have emphasized for years, that there is not one public but many publics variously interested in efficiency, economy, good race relations, more democratic control, better personnel in city hall, greater financial control, better city services, a more representative council, and so on.

Charter Campaign Committee

The heavy work of the campaign was carried on by the Citizens Charter Committee, organized in November 1949 shortly after the charter commission began its work. Starting with members from about 70 organizations, it began the final campaign with 522 cooperating organizations.

Under sponsorship of the Greater Philadelphia Movement, one of the city's newer civic groups, this committee set up a ward and district organization, a speakers' bureau, a publicity organization, and the other campaign activities familiar to every community. It had on its staff four technicians in public relations.

The Chamber of Commerce staged a rally at the historic old Academy of Music and filled it for speeches from business, labor and campaign leaders. The president of the chamber raised $80,000 to finance the campaign.

The Committee of 70, a well known local civic group, held a successful luncheon, the highlights of which were speeches by the titular heads of the Republican and Democratic organizations.

The Pennsylvania Economy League, in addition to supplying the consultant to the charter commission, organized a statement of facts that was distributed by many large companies to their employees and also prepared a series of bulletins analyzing certain aspects of the charter. A story on the Pennsylvania Economy League was carried by the *Saturday Evening Post* in its issue of April 14, 1951, on sale six days before the election. It contained the challenging statement that the vote on April 17 "should indicate whether Philadelphia is really awake or has merely turned over in its sleep."

The Bureau of Municipal Research, in addition to publishing charter information in its weekly bulletin, prepared a booklet analyzing the charter, which was widely distributed. The Citizens Council on City Planning alerted its more than a hundred civic betterment associations to the advantages to be gained.

The two daily newspapers, the *Inquirer* and the *Bulletin*, vigorously endorsed the charter day after day with news items, cartoons and strong editorials, while the *Daily News* covered both sides generally without taking a position. The powerful hammering of the *Inquirer* and the *Bulletin,* each having a circulation of over 600,000 daily, was perhaps the most important single factor in the campaign. Many neighborhood newspapers also helped.

It would be a mistake to assume, however, that vigorous newspaper support alone will result in adoption, as was shown by the defeat of the proposed St. Louis charter in 1950.

The campaign developed three novelties: (1) An editorial on the front page of the *Inquirer* on April 10, one week before the election, printed in blue surrounded by a red border! (2) A daily series of cartoons in comic strip form which the *Bulletin* carried on its editorial page for several weeks. This concerned a mythical Philadelphia family called "The Philbys," who discussed various charter problems within the family circle. (3) An eight-page tabloid newspaper printed for the public schools in an edition of 100,000 and later reprinted for general distribution, called the *Philadelphia Charter Observer.*

The usual last minute campaign of distortion developed but, because of the long and thorough campaign of education, it did not prove fatal.

Public relations is not the whole story. No program of publicity or other public relations techniques can bring a new charter into being unless a real need for a new charter exists.

Checklist for a Good Public Relations Program to Secure a New City Charter

1. Remember that many well written charters have been lost at the polls for lack of a good public relations policy.

2. Start the public relations program of getting understanding and acceptance when the charter commission is selected.

3. Determine from a study of the community, as well as from experience in other well governed cities, just what a new charter should contain.

4. Determine what are the favorable and unfavorable factors for the success of a new charter at the polls.

5. Develop a continuing program to inform the voters about the charter commission and its work by talks, radio and television programs, magazine and newspaper articles and other media. Have reprints available.

6. Encourage the thought that the proposed charter will be a compromise that will not completely satisfy all interests, but that it will be a great improvement over the old document.

7. To the fullest extent possible have charter commission meetings open to the public.

8. Invite and encourage individuals and groups to appear before the charter commission to present suggestions—encouraging participation by all citizen groups is important.

9. Pay special attention to the newspapers and the schools because they can be among the most important factors in success.

10. If possible, release a preliminary draft of the proposed charter for public criticism and comment.

11. Beware of wording charter provisions in such a way as to aid the opposition.

12. Allow a period of from two to six months for the final campaign.

13. After the proposed charter is filed, do not relax on the job of public education, for this is the best insurance against a last-minute campaign of distortion.

14. Secure endorsements of the proposed charter from as many groups and important individuals in the community as possible.

15. The charter commission should print and distribute a brief "Report to the Voters" in laymen's language, explaining the high points of the charter.

16. Realize throughout that your appeal is to many publics interested in efficiency, economy, better personnel, greater financial control, more effective democratic control, improved city services, etc. etc.

Threat to Responsible Rule

Intergovernmental cooperation by fraternities of experts requires stronger controls by lay officials and citizens.[1]

By **JOSEPH E. McLEAN***

THE American citizen lives with a complex of governments and, like the business or public administrator, he must face the problem of "span of control." How many agents can he ride herd on at once? If he has too many governments, agencies or officials reporting directly to him, he finds it difficult to keep abreast of policies and programs. If many basic decisions and policies are formulated by officials remote from the electorate, representing different levels of government, the citizen finds his task extraordinarily complicated.

Moreover, the citizen's governments—federal, state, county, municipal, school and special district—are constantly cooperating or, more precisely, parts of these governments are cooperating with their specialized counterparts in other governments. This cooperation may be healthy if conducted within a framework of responsible government; it may be unhealthy and frustrating to the citizen if conducted on a collusive basis between functional specialists at different levels of government.

These specialists are responsible ultimately—in theory at least—to the citizen. But the lines of responsibility get long and thin and tend to become tangled with one another. For example, Local Road Engineer Specialist X is indirectly responsible to Mr. Citizen through the mayor and council; State Highway Engineer Specialist Y is indirectly responsible to Mr. Citizen through a governor and legislature; and Federal Public Roads Engineer Specialist Z is indirectly responsible to Mr. Citizen through a chain of officials including at least a bureau chief, a member of the president's cabinet, the president and the Congress. Specialists X, Y and Z are well-meaning public servants; they are competent and have a sense of mission; they speak the same language and possess the power of specialized knowledge; they think they know—and sometimes they do know—what is best for Mr. Citizen;

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[1] This article is based in part upon the panel discussion of "Governments Working Together," a group session of the annual National Conference on Government of the National Municipal League, Buffalo, November 22, 1950. The participants included: Joseph E. McLean, Princeton University, presiding; W. Brooke Graves, Library of Congress; Edward W. Weidner, Michigan State College; Edward Overman, University of Virginia; Brevard E. Crihfield, Council of State Governments; Richard M. Ganong, Federal Security Agency; Lewis B. Sims, Federal Security Agency, who acted as recorder for the session; Lawrence Pelletier, Bowdoin College; Paul K. Morris, U. S. Bureau of the Budget; Miss M. L. Ferguson, Toronto Civic Advisory Council; Joseph L. Borda, National Association of Manufacturers.

and they work together as a fraternity to see that he gets it.

On the other hand, the so-called "generalists" to whom they report—the mayor and council, governor and legislators, president and congressmen, and some top administrators—lack their specialized knowledge of highway engineering, although they may know more about some other specialties—health, education, finance, etc.—and they almost certainly know more about what Mr. Citizen wants. Nevertheless, these generalists do not get together as frequently as the specialists within a particular field, and their talents and energies must be spread thin over a wide range of problems and activities. It is consequently becoming increasingly difficult for the citizen's elected agents to stay "on top" of all the highly trained experts whom it is their duty to keep in line as servants, not masters, of the people.

Citizen and Specialists

Mr. Citizen—who should be a generalist of sorts himself—knows little of the activities of the various fraternities of specialists. The average citizen has been given some formal education about American government, but this education has tended to give him a picture of layer-cake government with federal, state, county and municipal governments, each rather distinct and independent of the other, operating in its well defined sphere. The citizen carries this stereotype in his mind when he enters the voting booth to elect state or county officials or whatever. Although the professional student of government now takes for granted the new functional or "cooperative" federalism, the citizen is still adjusted to the outmoded concept of layer-cake government.

This lag in citizen adjustment has given professional administrators of special functions even more independence of effective citizen control than they might otherwise have and at the same time has given distinct advantages to professionally guided pressure groups whose activities, when allied with those of the professional administrators, may, despite the best of intentions, run counter to the general public interest.

An essential point about the new federalism is that intergovernmental relations, as a term, has become largely outmoded. The essential relations are human—interpersonal and intraprofessional rather than legalistic or intergovernmental. Understanding of this fact is essential to an understanding of the "modern" federal system and to citizen control of it.

The long-term trends of grants-in-aid and the growth of new government functions reflect the inadequacy of the simple federalism of 1789 to cope with the problems created by industrialization, urbanization and a changing technology. The great changes wrought by the industrial revolution called for a reallocation of old and new functions and a redistribution of constitutional powers. Lacking a clear-cut answer to this need, the grant-in-aid has been a common expedient. It enables a higher—federal or state—government to finance programs carried out by governments lower in the hierarchy. Without any change in the constitutional distribution of power, it gives Congress a share in determining certain policies for state and local governments.

Consequently, the growth of federal grants-in-aid is one good measure of the change that has taken place in our federalism. The president's budget submitted to Congress in January 1951 included an analysis of federal expenditures for aid to state and local governments. The total estimate for the current fiscal year is $2,800,000,000—6 per cent of total federal expenditures and 12 per cent of state-local revenues. When one remembers that some four-fifths of the federal budget is devoted to military and related international expenditures, the 6 per cent figure assumes a new significance in our domestic operations.

Changing Concepts

The grant-in-aid system has been a fundamental factor in the shift from a competitive to a cooperative conception of federalism. Under the cooperative conception, as E. S. Corwin has said: "The national government and the states are regarded as mutually complementary parts of a single governmental mechanism all of whose powers are intended to realize the current purposes of government according to their applicability to the problem at hand."

Underlying this conception of federalism is the implication that national self-government is compatible with local self-government and that we are basically one people.

There can be little doubt that cooperation within the separate intergovernmental fraternities of public health, education, highways and other fields has brought many advances both in programs and in standards of service and administrative practice. Such functional cooperation may have been necessary to counteract inevitable tendencies toward parochialism, isolationism and an exaggerated emphasis upon home rule or states' rights. Functionalism, also, may have been justified as attuned to the social strategy of an era in which our nation seemed to have inexhaustible resources, when apparently we could afford anything we wanted and we didn't have to balance one desirable service against another.

Functionalism, however, has a negative tendency—a tendency, as Roscoe Martin has stated, to intensify the schismatic aspects of our society.[2] The development of increasingly powerful and discrete fraternities in health, welfare, education, highways, etc., has created new headaches for the generalist in government—whether he be the citizen, the politician or the general administrator. All too frequently, the loyalty of the specialist is primarily to the function rather than to a general responsible authority; the administrators of one fraternity, coupled with the special clients they serve, form a combination whose special interests may be then served at the expense of the general public interest. These groups:

> Tend to include, in some way, the beneficiaries of the service, the officers and employees in the services

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[2] See "Therefore Is the Name . . . Babel," by Roscoe C. Martin. The Review, February 1951, page 70.

> and the professional or reform group that wishes to see the service improved or expanded. These groups, variously organized on national, regional and state lines, tend to become functional principalities that rival, to some extent, the states and other geographically defined units of government. Many of them have national organizations in which the national, state and local officials concerned are united for frequent consultation and for protecting the autonomy, separateness and financial support of the function they administer.[3]

Frequently the specialists—in education, welfare or whatnot—are motivated by a desire to be free from politics and also to be free from the necessity of competing with other interest-combinations for a cut of the revenue pie.[4] Whatever the motive, one result is a strengthening of particularistic tendencies in society. Hence the paradox that cooperation among specialists within government may have a divisive, not to say disintegrating, effect on government as a whole and on society. More intergovernmental cooperation of this kind takes us farther away from desirable unity in national aims and effort.

Has there been too much cooperation, at least of the wrong kind? Should there be less cooperation and more conflict? Examples of possibly undesirable cooperation have been offered: (1) Officials may sometimes try to pass the buck (state officials in dealing with local units may claim that the federal government requires certain things); (2) Officials from different levels of government devoted to a particular service often cooperate so well that the over-all officials are left with much legal responsibility and little or no power to act (state budget officials worry about this and discuss it at the annual sessions of their association); (3) Functional cooperation sometimes results in a failure to scrutinize properly (the mutual admiration among the experts is so great as to preclude a genuinely critical approach).

Is Conflict Desirable?

On the other hand, conflict may sometimes be desirable. It has been stated, for example, that conflict produced desirable changes in federal aid programs for municipal airports and housing. Political conflict may also be desirable, that is, it may be desirable for one party to be in control of the national administration and another party in control of some state governments. Such political conflict may introduce a healthful critical influence in the formulation and execution of policies involving intergovernmental relations. In this connection, one should raise the question: Do nonpartisan elections (elections without benefit of national parties) at the local level contribute further to healthy conflict and to healthy cooperation by tending to base intergovernmental relations on the common denominator of the public interest rather than party or group interest?

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[3] Remarks of William Anderson at a round table on intergovernmental relations, American Political Science Association, December 30, 1948, at Chicago.

[4] See Victor Jones, *Metropolitan Government* (1942), page 334 *et seq.* This tendency is evident in any attempt to redefine jurisdictional boundaries.

These questions point to the urgent need to readjust our political and governmental concepts, practices and organizations so as to make responsible government, efficiency and the new federalism compatible. Since the generalists in our system appear to be in a relatively weak position as against the entrenched specialists, an obvious answer is to strengthen general government, state legislatures and chief executives particularly. This answer is frequently suggested by governors who would increase the responsibility of state governments for the administration of all federal grants-in-aid including those being funnelled to local governments. This, according to the governors, would eliminate the present by-passing of the states, and would substitute genuine intergovernmental relations for the present interpersonal and intraprofessional relations.

State Responsibility

The acceptability of this solution, however, hinges upon the answer to another question: Is state government representative and responsible enough to handle the problem of functionalism? Theoretically, if the states were organized for responsible and representative government, the problem could quickly be reduced to size because the states would be strong enough to check or moderate the results of the direct chain of loyalty that runs from the specialist in Washington to his counterpart in Squeedunk and back.

There are indications, however, that state and local governments are not at present eligible for the full responsibility they claim, whether or not extensive federal participation or aid is involved. Lewis B. Sims, for example, has pointed to one of the major inequities in the system of state grants for health purposes:

> Within any one state the crucial problem is the large city or cities. The state health department tends to limit the amount of state aid going to the large urban centers. The larger places generally have long established services, and they tend to spend more per capita than the smaller places, but the principle of doing less for these units that do more is not one that we should promote.

Urban representatives contend that the rural domination of state legislatures, the inequities in property assessment practices and the general nature of state tax and spending structures result in discrimination against urban centers and force them to deal directly with the federal government. Nevertheless, when the basic question of rural domination of state legislatures was directed to a representative of a state viewpoint, the answer was, "Leave that to the U. S. Conference of Mayors."

Before we put our trust in state government responsibility, certain changes are needed to insure responsible and representative government: We should make legislatures more representative; we should make executives more responsible; we should cut down on more or less independent or overlapping authorities, agencies and, in the case of local government, special districts.

Further necessary changes can be suggested: Improve staff arrangements for both the chief executive and the legislature at state and local levels so that they may have information to match that of the specialist; improve the flow of public information from the responsible generalist offices of government; and provide for greater participation by citizens in such crucial operations as planning and budget-making. We need more genuine governmental public relations and less departmental and functional press agentry. And we need not less citizen participation in education, welfare and other functions but a great deal more citizen participation in over-all government.

Citizens' Role

Some communities have demonstrated that volunteer citizens and citizen committees can play a creative role in budget-making long before the formal public hearing stage when it is often too late to do more than register protests. And local planners have long since learned that their efforts are likely to be futile without the kind of citizen understanding and acceptance that can be generated only through genuine participation. State and even federal government might learn from these local experiments involving citizens in such over-all and integrating activities of government. Thus the tendency of citizens to see government in terms of pet functions or departments can, to a degree, be corrected by increasing the number of citizens who become actively concerned with government as a whole.

In addition, consideration might be given to the relation of local elections to state and national elections. Should all local elections be on a nonpartisan basis? Should they be separated from the state and national party battles so that citizens who are inhibited by the requirements of vertical partisanship can be more active and effective politically and so that local government can play its own role free of entangling party alliances?

Another line of attack is through citizen organization. We need to develop more and stronger general purpose organizations as distinct from partisan and special interest pressure groups. The generalist citizen and the generalist civic group are essential to support the activities of the generalist legislators and administrators.

A final area in which progress is wanting is cooperation *per se*.

Officials in a single functional area cooperate readily with their colleagues on other levels of government. The great need is to break down the barriers between different professional or functional groups and between the specialists and generalists. This observation applies with equal weight to the subject of central-field relations in the federal service where again functional loyalties tend to override the general interest. The need for trained generalists or for specialists with broad horizons characterizes every level of government.

Functionalism may have been the proper social strategy in the past—necessary to the raising of standards in many service areas. With mounting evidence of the inadequacy of the restraining and integrating influence of general and responsible

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government, however, and with the diminution of our resources, the time has arrived for an over-all appraisal of what effect functionalism is having on our whole governmental structure and a further appraisal of our basic assumptions concerning popular control of government. The citizen votes on a horizontal area basis—although political parties are organized on a vertical basis; but an increasing proportion of governmental policies and programs is being determined in large part by functional specialists organized on a vertical basis and remote from popular control.

Intergovernmental Commission

The comprehensive study of Minnesota's intergovernmental relations under the supervision of William Anderson and Edward W. Weidner should prove most helpful in a preliminary appraisal of this problem. The studies of the Council of State Governments and of individual scholars will also be of material assistance. What is needed, however, is a comprehensive nation-wide effort that will incorporate the research activities of students and civic groups. The keystone of such an effort would be a commission on intergovernmental relations such as that proposed in Congress by Senator Robert Hendrickson and others. Such a commission could take a long view of the historical development of federalism, of the current practices of our government and of possible ways of reconciling functionalism with general, responsible government. Into such a comprehensive, national effort could be fitted the research activities of state and local governmental research groups and of national organizations such as the National Municipal League, the constituent organizations of the Public Administration Clearing House and others.

Through such a commission, through the continuation of such devices as the Pacific Coast Board of Intergovernmental Relations, and through the growing efforts to develop generalist administrators and general purpose citizen organizations, we may make more rapid progress in developing healthful conflict and cooperation and in diminishing functional collusion and parochialism.

Without some such over-all appraisal, followed by appropriate action, we may all agree with Roy V. Peel's concluding remark in his provocative *State Government Today*: "But the outlook for really intelligent effective action in the whole domain of government is not promising."[5]

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[5] University of New Mexico Press, 1948. Page 153.

News in Review

City, State and Nation . . . . *Edited by H. M. Olmsted*

Midwest Floods Inspire Cooperation

Rehabilitation Spurred by Governments and Citizens

THE rampaging Missouri River and its tributaries have provided an example of the capacity of citizens and their governments to cooperate in meeting emergencies and bringing order out of chaos—at least on a short-time basis. The July flood is claimed to be the costliest in the nation's history. It reached its greatest fury on the 13th when the usually placid Kansas (Kaw) River, swollen by 40 days of rain, poured a huge volume of muddy water into the Missouri River and submerged three industrial districts in Kansas City, Kansas, and adjacent areas of Kansas City, Missouri, across the river. The damage to cities and farms, caused by these two rivers and at the same time by other tributaries, is estimated to have exceeded three billion dollars, in Kansas, Missouri, Oklahoma and Illinois.

Local, state and federal government agencies went into action to reduce the potential danger and damage and to clean up, restore and rebuild. Private citizens and citizen organizations aided the process in many ways.

A large meeting was held in Kansas City, Missouri, to coordinate the efforts of government and the individual citizen. An over-all citizens committee worked with the many government agencies that rushed to meet the relief situation. Disrupted municipal functions began to be restored shortly after the flood crisis, and a month later rehabilitation and rebuilding, governmental, industrial and other, were well under way.

In addition to governmental activities, industrial revival was aided by non-profit corporations organized by the big contractors, the CIO and the AFL with city and army engineer supervision.

A paradox of the situation was that because of too much water the people of Kansas City, Missouri, could not get enough water. The Turkey Creek pumping station was flooded, cutting the water supply in half. Sewage pumps there and elsewhere were also put out of service. Hence, although much more of the Kansas City, Kansas, area was flooded, many more people on the Missouri side suffered temporary inconvenience, which City Manager L. P. Cookingham and his aids strove to keep to a minimum. The garbage disposal plant was also flooded.

Temporary housing problems were acute in both cities, and large-scale permanent housing is being planned along with broader replanning of affected districts, including Armorndale, in Kansas, and the Southwest Boulevard section of the Missouri city, where fires fed by spreading oil cleared an area of twenty acres.

The main residential and commercial areas of both cities are on high land and escaped the flood waters.

In the week following the flood, Congress voted $25,000,000 for relief, and increased attention was given to long term comprehensive flood control measures. Missouri and Kansas congressmen solidly urged at least the upstream storage reservoirs recommended by the army engineers to supplement the levees. Revived interest has been shown in the Missouri Valley Authority concept, similar to the TVA, for integrated control and development of the vast Missouri valley with the objectives not only of flood control but also of soil conservation, navigation, electric power for industrial development, reforestation, irrigation, etc.

Manager's Flood Bulletin

Correlation of activities within the city government of Kansas City, Missouri, was exemplified and aided by a daily flood bulletin put out by City Manager Cookingham for a period, beginning July 24, for the information of the city council and other officials. This gave the day-to-day progress of work by the city departments involved.

The city's engineers supervised the cleanup operations and arranged for additional dumps for the vast quantity of debris; keeping sewers clear and restoring the sewage pumping plants were special problems. Hundreds of buildings in the flood area were inspected, including walls, plumbing, gas, electricity, elevators (154 were out of use), etc. Garbage collections of as much as 239 tons per day were speeded; the disposal plant resumed operation on July 28.

The water department rapidly restored the Turkey Creek Pumping station. The welfare department aided in rehousing and in salvaging operations. The health department gave as many as 6,438 immunizations in a day and cooperated in disposal of dead animals, inspection of food, spraying for mosquitoes and flies, and rodent control.

The finance department compiled data on damage to city-owned property and estimates of rehabilitation cost—needed for the Governor's Emergency Committee and to obtain federal money through the governor.

The research and budget department prepared or assisted in many reports and programs, including a community salvage program, one for grants-in-aid, one for integration of private social agencies with the rehabilitation effort, and one for permanent insurance against floods. Staff members were also sent to Kansas City, Kansas, to work with the mayor.

The city plan commission made redevelopment studies for the Southwest Boulevard area and for the central industrial district (looking to federal assistance in redevelopment under the housing act of 1949) and met with city officials, property owners and tenants to cooperate in establishing a redevelopment program.

Council-Manager Plan Developments

Ogden, Utah, (1950 population 56,910) on June 29 adopted by about three to two a home rule charter providing for the council-manager plan, to become effective this fall. Some 8,150 voters participated. Seven new councilmen will be chosen at the November 6 election—three at large and one from each of four wards. They will take office thirteen days later.

A council-manager charter for a consolidated city and town of **Norwich, Connecticut** (1950 population of city, 23,382; of town including city, 37,571) was approved by the state legislature and on August 1 was adopted at a referendum election by a vote of 6,143 to 1,995. A council of nine aldermen (six from the city district and three from the town district) will be elected in November from a list of eighteen names selected at a primary three weeks previously. Nominations are by petition of 50 or more voters, with residents of the city district voting for not more than four and those of the town district for not more than two. The consolidated municipality will be known as the city of Norwich.

The borough of **Martinsburg, Pennsylvania,** (1,557) adopted the manager plan by ordinance earlier this year.

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At a hearing in **Concord, New Hampshire,** on a bill in the legislature proposing a referendum this fall on retaining the manager plan, the present council-manager government in Concord, dating from early 1950, was accorded enthusiastic support. Eight speakers, including four labor union leaders, advocated the referendum and nineteen speakers, including the mayor and five councilmen, opposed it. The latter asserted that the plan was successful and that a referendum would be a waste of money and effort and that there should be longer experience under the plan.

Rutland, Vermont, voters at a special election on June 26 defeated a council-manager proposal by 924 votes. About 3,500 of 8,600 persons eligible to vote took part in the election, which dealt also with matters of taxation and finance.

Petitions have been filed in **Lowell, Massachusetts**—the second city in that state to adopt Plan E, providing a city manager and a proportional representation council—for a vote in November on changing to Plan C, the commission form.

Petitions for a vote in December on Plan E—without P. R.—have been certified by the city clerk in **Gloucester, Massachusetts.** The city voted for Plan E with P. R. in December 1949; the vote was nullified, however, by the State Supreme Court on the ground that the legislature had eliminated P. R. from Plan E before the Gloucester election was held.

Lynn, Massachusetts, will vote on adoption of the council-manager plan at the November election. A petition containing 8,200 signatures has been certified by the election commission.

Twenty-eight engineering students from Northeastern University in Boston are cooperating with a special committee appointed by the **Scituate, Massachusetts,** town meeting to investigate the manager form of government. "Task forces" are attempting to establish comparative standards for selected town services and functions which may be applied by non-professional citizen committees.

A large majority of members of the **Pawtucket, Rhode Island,** Business Chamber favor the council-manager plan, according to ballots cast in an opinion survey.

The charter commission of **Warwick, Rhode Island,** divided four to four between the mayor-council and council-manager plans, decided to present two charters to the legislature, one for each plan. It is reported that neither charter would give the city the home rule powers authorized by the constitutional amendment adopted by the people of Rhode Island on June 28.[1]

In **Rome, New York,** a referendum on adopting the manager plan is scheduled for November.

The revised charter for **Surfside, Florida,** strengthening the position of the city manager, was ratified by the voters at a special election on July 17. The vote was 251 to 5. The charter also gives the municipality more control over financial and other matters.

Vero Beach, Florida, will vote September 18 on a council-manager charter.

Mount Vernon, Ohio, will vote November 6 on creation of a fifteen-member commission to draft a council-manager charter for submission to the voters.

In **Berrien Springs, Michigan,** the voters turned down a proposed council-manager charter 78 to 137.

Supporters of the city manager of **East Detroit, Michigan,** who has been dismissed by the city council, have started recall proceedings against the three councilmen who voted for the dismissal.

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[1] See the REVIEW, July 1951, page 360.

Assistant Director John Iglauer of the Michigan Municipal League states that in the last two years several cities with the manager plan have elected charter commissions that have drafted or are drafting new manager charters, including **Sault Ste. Marie, Big Rapids, Plymouth, Marquette, Grand Rapids** and **Harbor Springs**. The city council in **Marysville**, which has the manager plan, is planning to present the question of charter revision to the voters in the near future. The council in **Oak Park, Michigan**, which is an "unofficial" manager city, expects to present to the voters either charter amendments or a question of charter revision with the goal of strengthening the powers of the manager so that it will become an "official" city.

The Rock Island County Taxpayers' Association is strongly interested in the council-manager plan for municipalities in that county—**Rock Island, Moline** and **East Moline**—now that **Illinois** cities (except Chicago) have been given the right to adopt the plan.

In **Springfield, Illinois**, the Manufacturers and Employers Association is starting an educational campaign on the council-manager plan. The **Litchfield, Illinois**, Junior Chamber of Commerce is studying the plan. State Senator Clyde Trager of **Peoria, Illinois**, a vigorous backer of the new council-manager enabling act, asserts that Peoria is about ready to hold a referendum on the question.

Charleston, Missouri, a manager city, recently reduced its tax rate for the fifth consecutive time. It is now 1.9 per cent whereas it was 2.25 per cent five years ago, before the manager plan was established.

The referendum on a proposed council-manager charter for **San Antonio, Texas**, is scheduled for a special election on October 2.

Charter commissions have been elected in **Ennis** and **Dumas, Texas.**

Voters of **Casper, Wyoming**, on July 24, defeated a manager proposal by a 2,588 to 1,485 vote.

The city council of **Arcadia, California**, has taken the first steps toward adoption of the council-manager plan by authorizing employment of expert assistance in drafting a charter and agreeing to name a citizens' committee to meet with the council on important charter matters.

Voters of **Oakland, California**, a manager city, have adopted a charter amendment providing that the mayor be elected as such by the voters rather than be chosen by the council.

The city council of **Brawley, California**, has instructed the city attorney to draft an ordinance calling for a special election on adoption of the council-manager plan this fall. The motion was made at the urging of the Chamber of Commerce.

The legislature of **Nova Scotia** has enacted a bill authorizing the council of the city of **Halifax** to appoint a city manager.

The International City Managers' Association reports that at the end of its fiscal year, June 30, 1951, there were "1,037 council-manager places, including 39 cities outside the continental United States. Only one city (Cincinnati) over 500,000 has the council-manager plan; 29 cities, or 33 per cent, in the 100-500,000 population group; 37 per cent of the cities in the 25-100,000 group; 30 per cent in the 10-25,000 group; 20 per cent in the 5-10,000 group; 9 per cent in the 2,500-5,000 group; and 3 per cent of those between 1,000 and 2,500 are council-manager cities. The population of all places operating under the council-manager plan now totals more than 23,000,000 according to the 1950 census."

Eight Washington Cities in Civil Defense Pact

In what may be the first intermunicipal civil defense pact the Washington cities of Bellingham, Bremerton, Everett, Mount Vernon, Olympia, Port Angeles, Seattle and Tacoma have pledged one another to lend facilities, equipment and manpower in the event of disaster. Each is to furnish the others an inventory of available resources for use in civil defense. Evacuation plans will be made. It is contemplated that Victoria and Vancouver, British Columbia, will join the pact, thus giving it an international character.

Ohio Creates Records Commissions, Municipal Courts

The 1951 Ohio legislature has enacted a law which creates in each city a city records commission composed of one member of the council, one judge of the municipal court (if any, otherwise the mayor, the city solicitor, the city attorney or director of law), the city auditor and the city treasurer. The commission is given power to order the destruction of records which have been microfilmed.

Also passed was an act establishing municipal courts in some 54 cities, including Akron, Cincinnati, Cleveland, Dayton and Toledo.

More States Facilitate Urban Redevelopment

Seven states and Alaska have passed legislation this year enabling at least some of their cities to undertake urban redevelopment with financial assistance from the federal government, the National Association of Housing Officials reports. The seven states are Delaware, Kansas, Maine, Missouri, Nebraska, North Carolina and West Virginia. In addition, Indiana perfected its redevelopment law to permit Indianapolis to accept federal aid for clearing slum areas.

The Nebraska bill permits urban redevelopment under terms of the housing act of 1949 in Omaha and Lincoln, while the Kansas law is applicable to Wichita and Kansas City only. In Kansas the State Corporation Commission will control local programs. Maine's legislation pertains to Portland only.

Missouri's law permits cities with a population of more than 75,000 to set up a redevelopment agency with approval of the local governing body. This limits application to Kansas City, St. Louis and St. Joseph. A provision that would have required a two-thirds majority approval by the electorate before a redevelopment agency could be established was killed at the last minute.

Laws passed in Delaware, North Carolina and West Virginia are not limited to one or two principal cities but cover a number of smaller communities.

California League Holds Institute for Councilmen

Over 200 newly elected councilmen of California cities and some 50 other persons, including mayors and council members with prior service, heard practical and frank advice as to the duties and responsibilities of their jobs at two Institutes for New Councilmen, one in Los Angeles on May 26, the other in Berkeley on June 6, according to *Western City*. The institutes, sponsored by the Mayors' and Councilmen's Department of the League of California Cities, were an experiment tried for the first time this year.

Kansas Training Program Produces 8 City Managers

A report by Professor Edwin O. Stene, on the University of Kansas City Manager Training Program, as of

June 6, shows that of 31 students who have completed their on-campus work, eight are now holding positions as city managers and all but four or five are continuing in municipal work. Seven are serving as internes in as many cities. Thirteen have received the degree of Master of Public Administration. Interneships have been or are being served in thirteen cities in Kansas; in three Missouri cities; and in Enid, Oklahoma; Phoenix, Arizona; Lamesa, Texas; Council Bluffs, Iowa; and Pueblo, Colorado.

New Mexico Makes Changes in Pre-primary Convention Law

The pre-primary convention law adopted by the New Mexico legislature in 1949, which ran into extended controversy,[1] has been amended by the 1951 legislature.[2] Nomination by pre-primary party convention is retained for U. S. Senator, U. S. representative, presidential electors and all elective state offices except state legislative and judicial district offices. At the state convention of delegates selected for that purpose only one ballot is taken for each office unless no candidate receives 20 per cent of the vote. Those receiving 20 per cent or more are certified to the secretary of state by the presiding officer and secretary of the convention. A candidate must file a written acceptance within seven days after adjournment of the convention.

The governor's proclamation, calling the primary election for the first Tuesday after the first Monday in May, must be made on the first Monday in February. All nominating conventions must be held by the first Tuesday in March and county and district conventions must be held prior to the state convention.

Precinct, county, state legislative and judicial district candidates must file declarations and petitions for candidacy as they have done in the past unless the party organization in any county determines to nominate candidates by convention. In this event the party organization must file a copy of its rules adopting the convention method not less than 90 days prior to the governor's proclamation calling the primary election.

In the state and in counties which have adopted the convention system, candidates may also be nominated by petition. Such nominees must obtain signatures of a certain percentage of the party vote cast at the last general election for the office sought. No person is eligible to be a candidate by petition unless he has been affiliated with his party six months or more and a similar requirement holds for signers to a petition.

Candidates selected by the convention system shall be listed on the ballot as "Candidates Designated by Convention" and, following them, "Candidates Nominated by Petition."

Dorothy I. Cline
University of New Mexico

Wisconsin to Vote on Reapportionment Basis

The 1951 Wisconsin legislature took steps toward future reapportionment on an area basis as recommended by a special interim committee on reapportionment. It has provided for an advisory referendum, at the general election in November 1952, on the question: "Shall the constitution be amended to provide for the establishment of either Senate or Assembly districts on an area as well as population basis?" If the majority vote "no" on this referendum, a plan for reapportionment on a census basis, included in the bill, will take effect January 1, 1954. If the majority of electors vote "yes," the plan will not go into effect. In the latter case, according to the Wisconsin League of Women Voters, it is certain that a constitutional amendment will be prepared to change the method of apportioning either Assembly or Senate districts to include area as well as population.

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[1] See "New Mexico Retains Primary," by Dorothy I. Cline, the Review, May 1950, page 233; "New Mexico Retains Pre-primary Convention," January 1951, page 42.

[2] Chapter 180, Laws of 1951.

Roll Call Machines Used in 21 State Legislatures

Installation of an electric roll-call machine in the lower chamber of the Maryland legislature brings to 21 the states with electric voting systems in at least one of their legislative bodies, according to the Council of State Governments. Five of these states—Indiana, Louisiana, Minnesota, North Dakota and Virginia—have the system in operation in both houses and Nebraska uses it in its unicameral body. The Maryland roll-call machine is expected to be in operation when the legislature convenes next February, Maryland being one of the ten states that hold annual sessions. The lower houses of the Illinois and Tennessee legislatures used push-button voting for the first time in their 1951 sessions.

New Jersey's 60-member legislature formerly took three minutes for a quorum call or to pass a bill. Now it is done in from 30 to 60 seconds. New Jersey benefited particularly from the speed of push-button voting in adopting its new constitution four years ago, since each bill required a full roll call. In Illinois, it was estimated that prior to installation of the roll-call machine in the House, approximately a hundred hours of each session were devoted to calling the roll. Now it can be done in fourteen hours, with an accurate count of votes and a permanent record of how members voted.

In the past it has been necessary for states to buy the machines outright but now they can be rented for use during legislative sessions. Florida is currently replacing its old roll-call machine by rental units.

Besides Maryland, states using the machines in their lower houses are: Alabama, Arkansas, California, Illinois, Iowa, Florida, Michigan, Mississippi, Missouri, New Jersey, Tennessee, Texas, West Virginia and Wisconsin.

Rhode Island Establishes State Development Council

The 1951 Rhode Island legislature has created a State Development Council to conduct economic research on possibilities for the state's industrial development, including the relation of taxation to the problem. The council is also responsible for drafting a guide plan for the state's physical development and for promoting proper utilization of natural and recreational resources. Functions now being carried out by the Port and Industrial Development Commission, as well as the planning functions assigned to the director of public works, will be transferred to the new council.

The council will have three correlated divisions: economic research, industrial expansion and physical projects planning. The economic section will accumulate, assemble and synthesize data on industrial resources, potentialities and activities in the state; study long-range economy factors related to industrial growth and trends; keep current data on taxes and their effect upon the state's economy; and conduct specific studies on or for an industry and on or for a community.

The planning division will provide information and aid to local planning, zoning and development agencies, coordinate state and local planning activities and assist the new Department of Administration to prepare a capital improvement budget.

The industrial division is to cultivate business contacts, assist existing industries, prepare publicity and work with civic agencies such as the chamber of commerce.

Michigan Legislature Sets up 34 Interim Committees

The Michigan legislature has created 34 interim committees to study a wide range of state governmental problems. They will conduct investigation of administration, studying administrative rules, procedures and organization, and continuing the work of the "Little Hoover Committee" on reorganization. Unemployment compensation, mental health, crippled children, disability insurance, the work of the state sex deviate commission and other problems will be investigated also.

Committees will study financial problems, giving special attention to sales tax evasions, gasoline prices and taxes, and the revenue systems of other states and the national government, as well as numerous other subjects.

Separate Supreme Court for Delaware

A recently adopted amendment to the Delaware constitution creates a Supreme Court of three justices to hear appeals. Previously one set of six judges served in all the state courts—trial, equity and appellate—in both civil and criminal cases. When a case was appealed from a lower court, those judges who did not sit in the trial heard the appeal.

Under the new arrangement, if any one of the three judges is absent or disqualified the Supreme Court is empowered to assign one or more judges from the lower courts. Six additional judges are provided for the lower courts.

The amendment also simplifies the state's court system by consolidation of the Court of Oyer and Terminer and the Court of General Sessions with the Superior Court.

All state judges are appointed by the governor with the consent of a majority of the entire Senate for terms of twelve years. No more than two of the three justices of the Supreme Court in office concurrently can be of the same major political party.

All States Join Parole and Probation Compact

With adoption of agreements this year by the North Carolina and Texas legislatures, all states are now members of the interstate compact for the supervision of parolees and probationers, according to the Council of State Governments. This permits probationers and parolees to move outside of the state in which they were sentenced into other jurisdictions where they may have better opportunities for adjustment with full protection to society.

Massachusetts Old-age Assistance Law Not Valid

The Supreme Judicial Court of Massachusetts holds that the $54,000,000 old-age assistance liberalization program approved by referendum last November is null and void. The reason for the action was a defect in the summarization of the proposal as it appeared on the ballot. The proposal would have given Massachusetts the most liberal public assistance program for the aged in any state.

New Jersey Legislature Fosters Interstate Cooperation

Measures for interstate cooperation were prominent in legislation adopted by the New Jersey legislature, recently adjourned, reports *State Government.* One act authorizes the governor to enter interstate civil defense and disaster compacts. Another authorizes

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construction, operation and maintenance of a vehicular bridge or tunnel across the Delaware River between Camden and Philadelphia by the Delaware River Joint Commission. This act, which prescribes powers of purchase, bond issuance and other functions, requires the written consent of the governors of New Jersey and Pennsylvania before construction begins.

A third law approves a Delaware River Basin Water Commission of three members each from New Jersey, New York and Pennsylvania, to develop water resources of the basin under a compact to be entered into by the three governors.

Federal-state Welfare Relations Studied in New York

Governor Thomas E. Dewey of New York, acting pursuant to a law enacted by the 1951 legislature, has appointed a commission of five prominent lawyers, physicians and educators to study the problem of state welfare administration in connection with federally aided assistance programs. Last winter the state charged the Federal Security Administration with interference in state operation and with threats to cut off federal aid.

Civil Service Assembly to Meet in Detroit

The 1951 annual conference of the Civil Service Assembly of the United States and Canada will be held at the Hotel Statler in Detroit, Michigan, October 8-11. At the luncheon on October 8 Mayor Albert E. Cobo of Detroit will speak on "Government Is Business," and on the final day the luncheon speaker will be Chairman Robert Ramspeck of the United States Civil Service Commission, on "Selling the Public Service to the Public." Many concurrent discussion sessions will be held on such topics as effective testing developments, work simplification, training programs, adjusting and stabilizing public pay levels, job evaluation, labor relations and security policies.

New York City Literacy Tests for Voting Successful

A backward look over experience with literacy tests for voting in New York City brings out data not hitherto reported.

The test, devised for persons who cannot present an elementary school diploma, consists of reading a paragraph on some general subject, e.g. 200 words about Colonel Goethals of Panama, the division of New York into state senatorial districts, Independence Hall in Philadelphia, or some facts about the Grand Coulee Dam. The examinee is required to write below the paragraph answers to eight questions, the answers being clearly in sight but in different arrangement in the paragraph above.

The examination papers are provided by the regents (State Education Department) and handled by the City Board of Education. The latter uses about 1,000 qualified examiners in 350 school buildings and first voters who go to the polls to register are sent to obtain a certificate of having passed the test.

In the presidential year 1944, 201,000 took the tests and in 1948, 116,000. The percentage of failures has ranged from 11.48 per cent to 7.9 per cent in 1950, the failures not being clearly attributable to any class in the community.

The system seems to be no serious burden on the school authorities and there has never been any outspoken complaint in the press or elsewhere as to its working. The number who failed in 1950 was 3,902 which, of course, is a negligible percentage among the three million or more qualified voters.

R. S. C.

County and Township . . . . *Edited by Elwyn A. Mauck*

Philadelphia Merger Goes to Voters

Albuquerque Given Green Light on Consolidation

THE Pennsylvania state legislature has passed for the second time the constitutional amendment permitting complete consolidation of city and county governments of Philadelphia. The amendment was first passed by the 1949 session. Hence it will be submitted to the voters of the state next November 6.

A similar proposal was defeated in referendum in 1937, although overwhelmingly approved in Philadelphia County, the only area actually affected.

Under authority of a 1950 constitutional amendment,[1] the 1951 session of the New Mexico legislature has passed enabling legislation permitting Albuquerque and Bernalillo County to consolidate their governments. The city council and county commissioners each are authorized to appoint seven persons to constitute a charter committee. The charter drafted by the committee must be approved subsequently by both the city council and the county commissioners and submitted to popular referendum within 60 days after favorable action by the two bodies.

City-County Cooperation Progresses

The Texas legislature has passed a law permitting counties to enter into contracts with cities and other local governments and agencies regarding flood control and soil conservation projects.

In Virginia the counties of Arlington and Fairfax and the cities of Alexandria and Falls Church have joined in sponsoring an engineering survey of sanitation problems.

Calhoun County and Anniston, Alabama, its county seat, have organized a new city-county civil service system. This is the third such system in Alabama, the others being Mobile-Mobile County and Birmingham-Jefferson County.

California Cities Lose Fight with Counties

The League of California Cities suffered its first major legislative defeat in years when the bill to require urban unincorporated areas to pay the cost of special urban services provided by the county was defeated on the floor of the Senate by a voice vote. On a parliamentary maneuver, a group of county-minded senators, assisted by the lieutenant governor, defeated the bill without most cities being able to know whether their own senator was for or against it.

In an explanation of the defeat of the legislation the league concluded: "We have no right to ask the senators to be 'city-minded' to the detriment of the unincorporated areas of the county; we do have the right to ask senators to be as much interested in and as sympathetic toward the problems of the cities and the people who live and pay taxes in them as they have been and are toward the problems of people in unincorporated areas.

"In a contest between cities and unincorporated areas, we have the right to ask for a decision on the merits, without prejudice. The creation of this attitude of mind is the problem of the cities rather than the league. A job like this must be done at home and it must be done before 1953! . . . In our opinion there should be unremitting pressure by the cities on the county board of supervisors to correct this inequity without further delay."

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[1] See the REVIEW, February 1950, page 100; November 1950, page 513; and December 1950, page 569.

Florida to Vote on County Home Rule

The Florida state legislature has passed a proposed constitutional amendment granting home rule to counties. The people of the state will vote on the measure in the 1952 general elections. It provides, in part: "The legislature shall have the power to grant to any county a charter under which it may regulate and govern itself. The legislature may provide, by general or special law, the manner in which any county may form its own charter. Any county charter may designate the name of the county, regulate the powers, duties and jurisdiction of all county officers, and designate their classes, terms and jurisdiction, and provide the manner of their selection and compensation."

This is the first move toward possible major changes in county government in Florida in more than 50 years. No significant opposition was indicated at the legislative session and the amendment is conceded to have a good chance of popular acceptance in 1952.

County Government to Be Studied in Maine

Recent efforts to improve county government in Maine have not met with much success, reports Editor Edward L. Penley of the Lewiston *Daily Sun* and Lewiston *Evening Journal.* A bill requiring county officers to file all fees was defeated in the 1951 legislature. Through the aid of the governor and legislative leaders, however, the Legislative Research Committee, appointed biennially by the speaker of the House and the president of the Senate, has had the question of county government reform added to its agenda for study during the next two years.

Interest in the improvement of county government has been stirred by a crime probe in Cumberland County (Portland), where a grand jury accused the sheriff of malfeasance etc. and demanded his removal. The matter is now before the governor and his council.

County Manager Proposal Dies in Colorado Legislature

A proposed constitutional amendment to improve county government, including the option of the manager plan, died when the Colorado state legislature adjourned. The measure had passed the Senate and received a favorable House committee report, but time for adjournment arrived before a vote could be taken on the report.

Other provisions of the proposal were:

1. Consolidation of county offices;
2. Appointment to replace election of surveyor, coroner and superintendent of schools;
3. Abolition of fee system of compensation;
4. Four-year terms for elective officials; and
5. Salary scales based on counties classified according to population and assessed valuation.

Counties Study the Manager Plan

Prince George's County, Maryland, suburban to the District of Columbia, may be voting on adoption of the manager plan in the near future, according to Thomas E. Latimer, president of the board of county commissioners. The board is conducting a survey in order to discover methods of increasing efficiency in administration. Simultaneously it is studying the operations of the manager plan in neighboring Montgomery County to ascertain whether it might be adaptable to Prince George's County. Public Administration Service has been engaged to assist in the survey.

The Greenwood, South Carolina, Chamber of Commerce and the city and county of Greenwood have appointed a committee to investigate the feasibility of the manager plan for Greenwood County.

A group of citizens of Hillsborough County, Florida, also are making a study of the manager form with a view to instituting such a charter for their county.

The board of supervisors of Oneida County, New York, has appointed a "taxpayers' commission" to study the county government and recommend improvements.

Coroner Improvements Sought in Two States

The Fulton County, Georgia, Grand Jury has recommended that the county coroner system be abolished. It points to the greatly increased cost of the office during the past ten years and to the fact that the county crime laboratory in the police department is better equipped to perform the coroner's functions. Since the office of coroner is provided for in the constitution, passage of a constitutional amendment would be necessary.

The Wisconsin legislature has adjourned without passing the bill for creating a new coroner system in the state as prepared by members of the State Bar Association and the State Medical Society.[1]

Some improvement in the local situation has been developing by reason of the creation of a state crime laboratory three years ago. Since 1948 the laboratory's technical staff has cooperated on some 700 death investigation cases where there was a chance that a criminal offense was involved. The service, being available to county coroners as well as to sheriffs, district attorneys and local police, provides some of the technical services needed to balance the inadequacy in modern forensic medicine of *elective* county coroners.

A nine-point reorganization plan has been effected during the first year of the tenure of the present Orleans, Louisiana, parish coroner, according to his first annual report. The plan includes employment of two part-time pathologists, installation of a tissue laboratory under a medical technician, installation of up-to-date equipment, establishment of a coroner's commission of seventeen members, and setting up of a toxicological laboratory.

Oregon Grange Opposes School Consolidation

The Oregon State Grange is circulating a petition to secure a referendum vote on a school consolidation law recently enacted by the state legislature. It opposes the law because it fears the consolidated districts will be dominated by city voters, despite the fact the legislature made several changes in the bill in an attempt to alleviate these fears. The referendum would be held in November 1952.

Dallas County Notes Improvements

According to an editorial in the Dallas *Morning News,* Dallas County, Texas, has been aided materially by the 1951 legislative session in improvements in its government:

1. The city and county are cooperating, for the first time, in an extensive road building program;
2. A planning law has been enacted which the Dallas *Morning News* states

(Continued on page 438)

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[1] See the REVIEW, June 1951, page 316.

Proportional Representation . . *Edited by George H. Hallett, Jr. and Wm. Redin Woodward*

(This department is successor to the Proportional Representation Review)

French Vote under New Electoral Law

Middle Parties Favored, Left and Right Reduced

ON JUNE 17 France elected deputies to its 627 seats in the National Assembly under a new electoral law adopted the previous May 7. This law, drastically amending the P. R. law in effect since October 5, 1946, was designed to increase the representation of the middle, or Third Force, parties and to minimize that of the Communist left wing and the de Gaullist right wing.

Efforts to effect this alteration had been under consideration for about a year, and several cabinet crises occurred as a result of conflicts within the Third Force parties themselves. Although united in their objective, the several parties of the coalition government (Popular Republican, Socialist, Radical Socialist, and Democratic and Socialist Union of the Resistance) disagreed as to the method of achieving this result. Their various differences were finally resolved, and the law of May 7 was adopted by a vote of 332 to 248.[1]

A wide variety of electoral methods has been used in France. The rather frequent alteration of election practices during the years of the Third Republic, 1875-1939, undoubtedly eased the way for adoption of the 1951 changes. In use between 1919 and 1927 was a system of block voting which provided for a limited degree of proportioning under certain circumstances.

In the 1930s considerable sentiment was expressed in favor of proportional representation and, when war broke out in 1939, a plan for P. R. was under consideration. As World War II ended, each of the three largest parties of France expressed favor for the use of P. R. in choosing the National Assembly. Thus, there was never much question about the adoption of P. R. as the Fourth Republic got under way in 1946. It should be emphasized that France, sometimes cited as the classic example of the alleged weaknesses of P. R.—coalition, unstable governments and a multiple-party system—never used P. R. until 1946.

1946 Law

The form of P. R. adopted in 1946 was a party list system giving each party a number of seats in each district in approximate proportion to the votes cast for its list. Except for seven populous departments, election districts conformed to department boundaries, with a minimum of two deputies to each department. The median number of deputies chosen from each district was a trifle over five members. Alliances between lists were barred.

The form of list system chosen was one of the most rigid, with no provision for voters to make selections across party lines and with virtually no real means for expressing effective preferences for candidates within the lists.[2] The selection of party candidates and the order of their election was thus determined by party management, not by the voters. Significantly

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[1] See the Review, May 1951, page 274.

[2] Preferences were allowed, one to each voter, but disregarded unless as many as half the list voters expressed them in preference to accepting the order of nomination.

TABLE I

COMPARISON OF RESULTS OF THE ELECTION FOR THE FRENCH NATIONAL ASSEMBLY, 1946 AND 1951[a]

Party	*Year*	*Vote*	*Per cent Total Vote*	*Number of Seats*	*Per cent Seats*
Communist	1946	5,489,288	28.6	187	30.5
	1951	5,038,587	26.5	103	16.5
Socialist	1946	3,431,954	17.9	103	16.6
	1951	2,764,210	14.5	104	16.6
Popular Republican	1946	5,058,307	26.4	166	26.9
	1951	2,353,544	12.3	85	13.6
Rally of Left Republicans[b]	1946	2,381,384	12.4	65	10.5
	1951	2,194,213	11.5	94	15.0
Independents, Moderates[c]	1946	2,465,526	12.8	73	11.8
	1951	2,496,570	13.1	98	15.7
Rally of the French People (de Gaullist)[d]	1946	313,635	1.6	5	0.8
	1951	4,134,885	21.7	118	18.8
Overseas Parties	1946	(Votes not available)		18	2.9
	1951			24	3.8

[a] Source of Statistics: French Embassy Press and Information Service, New York. Document No. 51, July 16, 1951.

[b] Including the votes of Radical Socialists and the Democratic and Socialist Union of the Resistance.

[c] The Republican Liberty and the Peasant and Social Action parties included here.

[d] Not organized until after the 1946 elections.

this feature, which severely limits the freedom of choice by the voter, was not materially changed in the 1951 law.[3] Party leaders, jealous of the control which this system offered, were opposed to altering it.

Does the retention of this feature in the 1951 law hamper prospects for moderating the views of the extremist parties and for improving cooperation between the center parties? When deputies owe their individual selection first to party management and not to the voters, are these deputies not virtually obliged to follow party discipline? As discipline which is enforced by party hierarchy is more powerful than that exerted by the rank and file of the voters, the rigid list feature of the 1946 and 1951 laws may increase the reluctance of deputies to accept necessary compromises and strengthen their adherence to doctrinaire party policies. Both of these factors are cited as among the causes for the sharp cleavages of French political groups into numerous parties.

This serious shortcoming of the rigid list plan would be automatically eliminated by the Hare system, which allows the voters to choose their party representatives and, by permitting voters to cross party lines, helps to remove friction between parties.

1951 Law

The major alteration to the 1946 law in the new law permits several parties to have their respective lists considered as a single list for the purpose of applying the new election rule.[4] This rule provides that any party or

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[3] A change was made, however, in permitting a voter to cross out a name on his own list and substitute a name from another list. Such changes are disregarded unless as many as half the list voters make them or express preferences within the list.

[4] Another change of some importance is that vacancies are to be filled by majority by-elections instead of taking the next candidate on the vacating deputy's list.

TABLE II
ELECTION OF FRENCH NATIONAL ASSEMBLY
PERCENTAGE OF GAIN OR LOSS UNDER 1951 LAW

Party	*In Votes*	*In Seats*
Communist	— 8.2	—44.4
Socialist	—19.7	+ 1.0
Popular Republican	—53.5	—48.8
Rally of the Left Republican	— 0.8	+63.1
Independents, Moderates	+ 1.3	+34.2
Rally of French People	(not organized in 1946)	

TABLE III
ELECTION OF FRENCH NATIONAL ASSEMBLY
VOTES PER DEPUTY

Party	*1946*	*1951*
Communist	29,354	48,918
Popular Republican	30,471	27,688
Socialist	33,319	26,579
Independents, Moderates	33,774	25,475
Rally of Left Republican	36,636	23,343
Rally of French People (not organized in 1946)		35,041

alliance of parties which receives more than 50 per cent of the votes within the department or election district is to be awarded all the seats of that district, thus eliminating any proportioning in the district except among the parties of the winning alliance. Parties or alliances polling less than 50 per cent of the votes obtain no seats. In the event that no list or alliance of lists obtains a majority of the votes, the seats are distributed proportionately in the same way as under the 1946 law, affiliated lists being considered as a single list.

Provision for alliances and the special premium to majority alliances were incorporated in the 1951 law by the supporters of the Third Force parties because it was known that the Communists and most de Gaullists would be unwilling or unable to effect alliances.

These provisions of the new law are prescribed for all of France except Paris and some of its suburbs. While these changes offer the possibility of excluding Communists and de Gaullists elsewhere, if used in Paris and suburbs, where the Communist vote is strongest, the same provisions might act to exclude the center parties instead. Hence the retention of P. R. for the Parisian districts and its abridgement elsewhere were prescribed by the 1951 law in order to garner as many seats as possible for the parties of the middle group. That the intent of the new law was achieved is indicated impressively by Table II.

Table III reveals this same disparity between votes and seats by indicating the number of votes each party polled per deputy elected. In the 1951 elections more than twice as many votes were required to elect a deputy from the Communist party as from the Rally of the Left Republicans. About 30 per cent more votes were needed to elect a deputy from the de Gaullist group than the average needed to elect one from the center parties. The figures for the 1946 election show a much smaller range, although exact proportionality over a whole nation is never fully obtainable when many separate election districts are employed.

A stock argument used against P. R. is that it helps smaller parties unduly, causing splintering and fragmentation. In the case of France the opposite charge was made recently—that P. R. helped the larger parties, especially the largest, the Communist, and unduly hindered the small parties of the center group, which failed to poll enough votes in some of the districts to win any seats there.[5] In postwar France there has been a far greater concentration of political strength in a few major parties than under the various non-proportional election systems of the Third Republic.

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[5] Table I shows, however, that the discrepancy from exact proportionality either way was actually small.

With announcement of the formation of a right-of-center cabinet under René Pleven on August 11, it would seem that the center parties have achieved their immediate objective. This success, however, is necessarily fraught with dangers which hold implications for the future: Will this practice of gerrymandering the election system to get a particular result help set an undesirable precedent? Is juggling the election law the best means for promoting increased unity among the center parties? Will this move, if not indicative of the public will, merely postpone inevitable events? Could other changes in the election law, e.g., adoption of the Hare system, have produced beneficial effects without resorting to what amounts to special legislation?

George Howatt
Lehigh University

Israel Changes P. R. Rules; Holds New Elections

Almost complete returns on Israel's second parliamentary election, held July 30, show Prime Minister David Ben-Gurion's Mapai party holding 46 of the 150 seats as in the last Knesset (parliament), with the General Zionist party coming up from seven to nineteen or twenty seats to displace Mapam (pro-Communist) as the second largest party. The latter obtained thirteen seats as against nineteen in the last election.

Since the General Zionists favor a free enterprise policy whereas Mapai has a socialist orientation and favors strict economic controls, Prime Minister Ben-Gurion is expected to meet difficulty in his effort to put together a stable governing majority.

When complete returns of the recent election are available—they have been delayed by the canvassing of the soldier vote—a summary of the elections will be given in this department.

The system of apportioning representation in Israel's P. R. party list system was slightly modified on April 12 in favor of the smaller parties. This is in contrast to modifications sometimes adopted which tend to favor the larger parties.

The system previously used, devised to give maximum proportionality on a party list basis, provided first for the determination of a quotient by division of the votes of all parties participating by a number larger by one than the number of seats to be distributed. A seat was provided for each full quotient polled by each party list, the remaining seats to be awarded by determining how many votes had been polled by each party for each seat already distributed and then awarding an additional seat to the party with the highest number, repeating the process until all seats were allocated.

The new system provides for the division of the votes by the number of seats to be distributed, allocation of one seat for each such quotient and distribution of the rest of the seats to the parties with the highest remainders. Under this arrangement, no single party could get more than one remainder seat, whereas under the system used in 1949, Mapai, the largest party, obtained three seats after the initial distribution. The vote for the change was close: 47 to 44, Mapai favoring the old system.

By agreement previous to the election, combinations of parties are to be permitted to pool their remainder votes, with a seat obtained on this basis going to the party contributing the largest number of votes.

Another change in the electoral law requires that only parties obtaining more than one per cent of the total vote shall participate in the distribution of seats. The size of the Knesset remains at 120 members in spite of an effort to enlarge it in proportion to recent increases in the population.

Mapai at first indicated a desire to repeal the proportional representation system and substitute a single-member district system, but abandoned this idea in face of the government's argument that the forthcoming elections would be greatly delayed if such a change were to be considered in advance of the elections. As the largest party Mapai would be perhaps more likely than any other party to benefit from an election system which gives all representation in each district to the largest group.

Finland's P. R. Elections Support Government

The national parliamentary election in Finland on July 2 and 3 left the ruling coalition of Social Democrats and Agrarians in possession of a slim majority both in popular vote and in the Eduskunta (national representative body). The Communists (League of Democrats) secured seven more seats than they received in the 1948 elections but six less than in 1945. Their fairly substantial vote, however, (21.7 per cent) is not expected to have any direct political effect because it is small compared to the total showing of parties strongly opposed to the Communist policy.

A summary given in the table below is based on information provided by the Finnish Consulate in New York.

Japanese Election System Described

Elections in Japan, an English-language publication of the Japanese National Election Commission,[1] describes the systems of elections used in Japan for various national and local offices, together with laws setting up voting procedure, limitation on campaign funds, etc. The illustrated text indicates the differences between the present and prewar systems and tabulates the results of the 1949 national election.

For the election of the House of Representatives the country is divided into 117 electoral districts each electing three, four or five representatives, according to an apportionment fixed by law. The voters cast their ballots for only one, writing his name on a blank official ballot. This system, known as the single nontransferable vote, provides some minority representation, giving a group its proportionate share if it can successfully guess its approximate strength and divide its votes fairly evenly among the right number of candidates. The lack of the transferable vote feature of the Hare system, however, makes assurance of proportional representation impossible. The House system appears to follow the prewar pattern. As before, members serve for a four-year term, which may be cut short by dissolution.

The prewar House of Peers has been

(Continued on page 454)

ELECTION OF FINNISH EDUSKUNTA, JULY 2 AND 3, 1951

Party	*Votes*	*Percentage of Votes*	*Seats*	*Percentage of Seats*
Social Democratic	475,951	26.7	53	26.5
Agrarian	418,111	23.5	51	25.5
League of Democrats (Communist)	387,034	21.7	43	21.5
Conservative	262,330	14.7	28	14.0
Swedish People's	137,082	7.7	15	7.5
People's (formerly Progressive)	100,328	5.6	10	5.0

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[1] Tokyo, August 1950. 18 pages.

Taxation and Finance • • • • *Edited by Wade S. Smith*

Legislatures Enact Many Finance Measures

Fiscal Aid, Defense, Taxes Get Attention

REPORTS from 1951 state legislatures indicate the usual wide variety of enactments affecting state and local fiscal matters. There were few innovations, however, the bulk of the legislation relating to adjustments in existing taxes or extension of measures already on the statute books.

One of the more unusual measures was enacted in Oregon, where cities will be allowed to double their debt limits in order to issue bonds for civil defense purposes. With voter approval, the debt limit may be increased from 5 per cent of assessed valuation to 10 per cent for the purchase of medical or fire-fighting equipment or to construct air raid shelters. Oregon also set aside 5 per cent of state liquor monopoly net income for distribution to the cities on the basis of population, an aid estimated to total about $400,000.

Unusual also was an Oklahoma law establishing a legislative audit committee within the state legislative council and creating the office of legislative auditor. The committee is charged with the duty of compiling fiscal information for the House of Representatives and Senate and to "make a continuous audit and analysis of the state budget, revenues and expenditures during and between sessions of the legislature. It shall be the further duty of the committee to ascertain facts and make recommendations . . . concerning post audit findings, the revenues and expenditures of the state, and of the organization and functions of the state, its departments, agencies, boards, commissions, offices, authorities and subdivisions, with the view of reducing the cost of the state government and securing greater efficiency and economy." The legislative auditor has among his duties "a continuous selective post audit of expenditures by state departments, agencies, boards, commissions, offices, authorities and subdivisions."

North Carolina, has expanded its state aid. Cities were granted one-half cent of the state gasoline tax, estimated to amount to about $4,500,000 per year. The aid will be distributed on the basis of population and street mileage and be earmarked for street construction and maintenance.

Neighboring South Carolina raised to 30 the number of states imposing a sales tax. The tax, at a rate of 3 per cent, became effective July 1 and is reported to apply to foods but to exclude from taxation many items used in farm and industrial production.

Another new state tax was in Washington, which became the 34th to impose a corporate income tax. Imposed as a business privilege tax at a rate of 4 per cent of net income, the tax applies to all corporations and banks other than national banks.

Several states extended the taxing power of their municipalities. Tennessee authorized cities to levy a retail tax of 10 per cent on beer. New Mexico authorized cities to levy a one-cent-per-pack cigarette tax, proceeds to be used for recreational facilities for juveniles, and Wyoming agreed to rebate a new two-cent cigarette tax to the local units after deduction of collection expense. West Virginia permitted a wide variety of new local levies, including taxes on motor vehicles, domestic animals (pets) and garbage and sewer collection charges.

The impact of state legislation was not entirely to hit the taxpayer harder than before, however. Wisconsin rescinded the 25 per cent surtax on individual incomes by failing to reenact the 1949 emergency measure expiring June 30, 1951. The same legislature also rescinded, effective January 1, 1952, the privilege dividend tax passed in 1935 as an emergency measure. Dividend income, taxed under the 1935 measure at 3 per cent for corporations doing more than 50 per cent of their business in the state, will now be taxed as ordinary income. Annual yield from the repealed tax was about $5,200,000, according to the Public Expenditure Survey of Wisconsin, including about $600,000 from out-of-state stockholders.

"Good news" prospects also emanated from Massachusetts and Minnesota, where legislative committees recommended abolition of the personal property tax on household goods and various other types of domestic personalty. According to the Federation of Tax Administrators, there are now only nine states taxing household articles ad valorem.

Representative of procedural legislation were enactments by the California legislature respecting cities of the sixth class, i.e., those operating under general law rather than local charter. Sixth-class cities levying city sales taxes will now be able to enact the usual companion use tax ordinances previously denied them. New legislation also clarified the statutory $1 per $100 tax rate limit of these cities for operating purposes by removing ambiguities as to specific purposes for which additional taxes may be levied. Outside the $1 limit, in addition to bond principal and interest, are taxes for sewerage facilities, pension plans, libraries, parks and boulevards, veterans' memorial buildings and homes, museums, and flood control (storm drains).

Indiana Forfeits Federal Aid

Enactment by the 1951 Indiana legislature of a law opening to public inspection that state's rolls of beneficiaries of old-age pensions, aid to dependent children and aid to the blind was followed July 31 by announcement by Federal Security Administrator Oscar R. Ewing of cessation of payment of federal funds to the state under the social security program. Under United States law, state social security plans, to be eligible for federal assistance, must conform to certain federal standards, which include a provision that the names of beneficiaries must be withheld from the general public.

Mr. Ewing, himself a native Hoosier, according to the Associated Press stated that prior to enactment of the publicity law the legislature of Indiana was notified that federal grants would have to be stopped. Governor Henry F. Schricker, a Democrat, vetoed the enactment, but the Republican controlled legislature reenacted it over his veto.

The state attorney general was quoted as prepared to bring suits in the federal courts at Indianapolis and at Washington, D. C., to seek respectively a declaratory judgment clarifying the matter and a mandamus compelling the administrator to continue the federal grants. Mr. Ewing stated that his administration would give all possible aid to a speedy court determination of the issues.

The controversy serves to reemphasize the somewhat ambiguous attitude which has developed toward fiscal aid or intergovernmental payments at the various levels. Students of taxation recalled that the first large scale federal assistance to the states began in 1915 when highway subventions were started for the purpose of inducing the states to develop coordinated highway programs. As the states formulated their state highway systems and got construction under way, they became eligible for federal assistance.

It was generally acknowledged that if the purpose for which the assistance was granted was to be realized, the meeting of stated standards as a condition of eligibility was essential. More recently, however, the expansion of intergovernmental aids, both federal-state and state-local, has included substantial elements of equalization, designed to bring performance in poorer states or local areas up to the level deemed necessary on a national or state level. There has been wide use also of intergovermental payments for revenue only, in the development of revenues collected at one level and shared with units at a lower level, because of the greater convenience or economy of collection in this manner. The Indiana case may well result in judicial determination that will clarify for student and layman alike the now somewhat dimmed distinctions between grant-in-aid and shared revenue.

Banker Loses Race with Time, Taxpayers Lose $74,000

Arlington County, Virginia, on August 8, 1951, awarded two issues of bonds to the second best bidder. The best bid had been handed in four and a half minutes after the time legally advertised for the receipt of bids and, despite the fact that no bids had actually been opened, was ruled ineligible by the county's bond attorneys.

One issue, for $2,375,000 school bonds, was awarded on a bid of approximately 2.0739 per cent interest cost, and the other, for $2,617,000 school bonds, on an interest cost basis of about 2.1349 per cent. The best, but illegal, bids had been 1.998046 per cent for the school bonds and 2.0064 per cent for the sewer bonds. Over the 25-year life of the bonds the difference in interest costs amounts to about $74,250, according to Wall Street calculations.

The story of late bids, as revealed by *The Wall Street Journal,* was one calculated to humanize the bankers in the eyes of every non-banker who has ever waited anxiously for the telephone to ring. Customarily, the actual bid for an issue of local bonds is made out at the last possible moment by a representative of the bankers and investment firms comprising the syndicate, and then delivered prior to the legally advertised time for opening the bids at the office of the clerk or other official designated to receive the document.

In this instance, the Arlington representative of what proved to be the syndicate with the highest bid was by prearrangement awaiting a telephone call from New York at 9 A.M., which would bring his group's final orders and allow an hour for delivery of the bid form to the county clerk—an ample allowance since there were only a few city blocks to be traveled. Delays in New York evidently were complicated by difficulties in getting the call through, and it did not arrive until 9:52. The bid forms were filled in a hurry, and the run to the courthouse made in record time, but not in time to get under the official 10 A.M. deadline. There seems to be an opportunity here for the lawyers to devise some extension of the right to waive technical irregularities in the case of local bond sales.

New Jersey Courts Force Personal Property Listings

Since 1945 the general tax law in New Jersey has required the abstract of ratables copied from local tax lists to contain a breakdown of personal property assessed according to four categories: household goods, farm stock and machinery, business inventories, other personal property used in business (principally merchandise and equipment). It had been the practice of local assessors not to list this breakdown for each taxpayer but rather to add at the end of the tax list a summary breakdown for all taxpayers in four lump sums.

Assessments against L. Bamberger and Company, of Newark, an operating unit of R. H. Macy and Company, were litigated on the ground that they were excessive and that the statute required the assessment of each taxpayer to list separately the four categories of personal property. The department store claimed that it was entitled to a breakdown of its personal property as between inventories and other business personalty. The State Supreme Court has upheld the contention of the taxpayer.[1]

Subsequently, the taxpayer moved, upon the basis of this decision, to compel the city to re-write its 1951 personal property assessment for all taxpayers against whom such assessments had been levied. The court has granted the taxpayer's motion for summary judgment in this latter proceeding.[2]

It is anticipated by those familiar with the personal property tax that these two decisions will either result in great improvements in the operation of the tax or make it so unpopular with assessors as to bring about much needed revision or repeal.

William Miller
Princeton Surveys

More Penna. Cities May Tax Realty at Different Rates

The right to classify real property for taxation ad valorem at different rates—land on the one hand and improvements on the other—in effect in two Pennsylvania cities, has been extended to an additional 47 cities by an act signed by the governor in June. The new act applies to all cities of the third class and provides that the percentage of differentiation between land and improvements is to be determined by the city council.

Pittsburgh and Scranton, the state's second class cities, have been permitted to tax improvements at half the ad valorem rate applicable to land since 1914.

Eleven Counties Contain One-sixth Population

A recent release of the United States Census Bureau reveals that of the country's 3,069 counties there now are eleven with populations of one million or more and that collectively they embrace approximately one-sixth of the American people. Cook County, Illinois, leads with 4,508,792, and Los Angeles County, California, also contains more than four million persons. The remaining counties, in descending order by size are Kings (New York), Wayne (Michigan), Philadelphia, New York, Queens (New York), Allegheny (Pennsylvania), Bronx (New York), Cuyahoga (Ohio), and Middlesex (Massachusetts).

COUNTY AND TOWNSHIP

(Continued from page 429)

editorially is potentially the most important legislation ever passed for the county;

3. The county has been given jurisdiction over traffic control outside incorporated areas; and
4. A new, more efficient county criminal court has been established.

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[1] *City of Newark* v. *Division of Tax Appeals and R. H. Macy and Company, trading as L. Bamberger and Company,* Supreme Court of New Jersey, No. A-107, decided April 9, 1951 (not yet officially reported).

[2] *R. H. Macy and Company, trading as L. Bamberger and Company* v. *City of Newark et al,* Superior Court of New Jersey, Law Division, Essex County, Docket No. L-5343-50, decided June 15, 1951 (not yet officially reported).

Citizen Action . . . . . . *Edited by Elsie S. Parker*

Why Citizen Groups in Manager Cities?

Worcester Organization Is Watchdog for Voters

SINCE the war, this country has been experiencing the greatest revival of civic interest in our lifetime.[1]

It is just as true today as it was 150 years ago that if we are going to make democracy work, we must begin where neighbors share their problems and talk them over with each other. This is exactly what the Citizens' Plan E Association of Worcester—the group which secured for Worcester the council-manager plan, with the proportional representation method of voting—is doing.

The council-manager plan is a modern, orderly, responsible system of handling public affairs so as to provide the services which the people want with a minimum of waste, dishonesty, favoritism and other faults which plague politics and weaken people's faith in democracy. This plan, with its lines of responsibility clearly defined, makes it easy for the citizen to keep his finger on the pulse of city government and thus secure efficient management if he is on the alert. Whether the plan fulfills all its potentialities for democratic and efficient government, or falls victim to politics, bossism, selfish interests—or mere mediocrity—is up to the voter.

There will always be those who place self-interest above the welfare of their city, who will harass any regime. Self-centered individuals who crave power for spoils' sake, supporters of vice rings and gangsters, grafters of all kinds, have tried to sabotage good government. They say that the council-manager plan is undemocratic, and the movement a dictatorship.

If such forms of attack and misinformation are gullibly accepted, the voters will play into the very hands of those who are deliberately working against or sabotaging good government. It is to combat these influences that voters must maintain an effective nonpartisan organization. Politicians organize for success, to secure jobs and city contracts for themselves and their friends. Citizen groups must organize, not for selfish profit but for the general good of the community.

A citizens' group has two chief functions: (1) To keep public opinion intelligent and informed; (2) to encourage, endorse and support present and future leaders of, and for, good municipal government.

By means of organization, citizens can join forces to: (1) find out how well city government is working; (2) help elect to the council and school committee capable candidates; (3) defend the charter from attacks of self-seeking politicians; (4) insist upon principles of nonpartisan and efficient administration; (5) support and defend officials so long as they adhere to such principles; and (6) sponsor and secure adoption of needed improvements in the structure of city government.

The Citizens' Plan E Association of Worcester is a nonpartisan organization working to improve city government. Its members are citizens who are concerned with the good of the whole city. Similar groups exist in many council-manager cities because

Public Library Kansas City, Mo.

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[1] This article is composed of portions of an address before the first statewide conference of the Massachusetts Council-Manager Association, held at Clark University, Worcester, May 19.

such organizations help guarantee that the reform which has taken place will be permanent.

Since it would not be feasible for every voter to call regularly at the mayor's office with a list of what the city needs, the association acts as the middle man between city hall and its members. It provides the central point where citizens can register their dissatisfaction with a city service and maintains close relations with the press so that news of city affairs is promptly carried to the people.

The association endorses a slate of worthy candidates for the council and for the school committee and then works for their election. This is not a new idea developed in Worcester. Cincinnati, Richmond, Cambridge and Quincy (Massachusetts), Seattle,[2] Detroit, New York, Pittsburgh and other cities have associations that provide a guide for voters.

Endorsing Candidates

In Worcester certain qualifications are set up by an endorsement committee for choosing candidates. These include integrity, ability to do the job well, fairness, public spirit. Endorsed candidates must be advocates of the Plan E charter in its entirety. All interviews with candidates for public office are open to the public and such an invitation is extended through the local newspapers. The association campaigns for these endorsed candidates, using every modern means short of a vaudeville show to stir a large body of citizens to their responsibilities as voters.

What are the active members of the citizens' group looking for from all this civic endeavor—political office or personal favors? The answer is frankly, "Nothing." The citizens' group has no personal axe to grind nor personal gain to reap. The motive which animates the organization is the general good of the city as a whole.

Our charter group is doing everything it can to help the citizen become an informed, intelligent, effective voter. It urges the unregistered to register in time to vote and endeavors to stir the voter to action.

Our publicity campaign includes newspaper advertising and news items in the daily papers and in the foreign language papers. Circulars and pamphlets are printed and distributed. Radio broadcasts, spot announcements and other essentials of present-day appeal to voters are used. Our Speakers' Bureau prepares qualified speakers for meetings, for technical and patriotic organizations, labor unions, parish and church groups, parent-teachers' groups, women's organizations, civic clubs, improvement societies and neighborhood groups.

Such a successful type of citizens' organization, the City Charter Committee, has been operating in Cincinnati for over 25 years. It selects and endorses a slate of candidates. It fights for their election. At election time it assigns workers to every precinct and block in the city, whose business it is to know every voter, to inform them of the issues, to show them the importance of electing to the council those men who are endorsed by the group, and to see that every available citizen votes on election day.

Why is a citizens' organization essential? The answer is, "Government is a human equation, dependent upon its human components." A municipal government seized by self-seeking politicians can only develop unsatisfactory, evil results. A municipal government conscientiously managed by alert, civic-minded citizens must by its own integrity develop good, sound, clean and efficient management of city affairs.

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[2] See "They Don't Vote for Ghosts," by C. A. Crosser, the REVIEW, June 1951, page 294.

The power of a voter as a lone individual is weak, but when he unites with other lone individuals, to form a solid front, his weak individual power becomes a vitally strong power. Such organizations insure an alert and informed citizenry, prepared at all times to get the best possible service from their charter, and to defend their right to self-government against any and all attacks. If good government is worth having, it is worth working for.

ROBERT B. SERVICE, JR.
Citizens' Plan E Association
of Worcester

Activity in Seattle

The Seattle Municipal League is aiming at a membership of 5,000. Members have been sent "pink slips" with the request that they send in the names of at least five persons who may be solicited. "People appreciate being suggested for membership," says the league, "for by your action you are saying that you consider him or her as a responsible citizen." By the end of July some 2,000 suggestions had been received.

Seattle league president, Paul R. Green, in his annual report stated that league membership had increased from 4,140 to 4,423 and summarized the work of the league and its committees. Some 116,000 league reports on candidates—45,000 primary and 71,000 general election—were circulated, says Mr. Green.

Because of its growing interest in county government and the development of its suburban area, the board of trustees of the Seattle league has recommended that its official name be changed to the "Municipal League of Seattle and King County." This and other changes in the articles of incorporation and by-laws are being submitted to members.

"How City Served You in 1950 and What It Cost" is the Seattle league's boiled down version of the finances and services of the city. "Five minutes' reading will give league readers a pretty good idea as to what their city cost to run in 1950, what services they received and whether or not these showed improvement over the preceding year," says the report.

A number of the league's members took part in the program of the sixteenth annual Institute of Government held on the University of Washington campus July 9-13.

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Hennepin County Studied

A committee of the Hennepin County Women's Republican Club finds that county government has been increasingly complicated by new functions pushed upon it by state and federal governments. The study "is entirely nonpartisan business," announces the group. "We are not out to get anyone. We just want to find out the whys of the county setup. By passing on the facts we assemble we hope to make a contribution to good government." The great difficulty about the county, the study points out, "is that it has no definite head. There is no top administrator—like the state with its governor, the city or village with its mayor." The committee has already published one pamphlet.

* * *

Committees at Work

The Milwaukee *City Club News* for July carries a review of the club's work for the past year, prepared by its president, John Visser, in which one section is devoted to the work of committees.

In asking its members to become active members of one or more committees, the Seattle Municipal League announces that last year 850 members were enrolled in committees of which some 300 were regular in attendance. The 23 standing and special committees held 201 meetings with a total attendance of 2,291. They adopted 71 motions on recommendations for civic betterment based on carefully assembled facts and observations, according to the *Seattle Municipal News*.

The Hamilton County (Cincinnati) Good Government League and the Portland (Oregon) City Club have announced new committee chairmen for the forthcoming season.

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Women Voters View State Affairs

The Iowa League of Women Voters has adopted as its program for the coming year, "Study of relations between state and municipal governments in Iowa, with special emphasis on home rule."

"Needed! A Modern Vehicle," headlines the League of Women Voters of Connecticut in its campaign for a new state constitution. "Connecticut's constitution, like the ox cart, is historically interesting, is still running, but needs to be streamlined to keep pace with twentieth century problems."

The League of Women Voters of Ohio, as well as local leagues, is represented on the Citizens Committee on the Ohio Constitution. "Ohio can't afford to wait twenty years to go modern," says a brochure of the state league. "The time has come again for Ohio voters to give some heavy thought to their state constitution." Ohio votes once every twenty years on constitutional revision and the next vote is scheduled for November 1952.

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Activity in Massachusetts

Massachusetts local civic organizations are busily preparing for fall elections under council-manager charters only recently adopted.

In Medford the Plan E Civic Association is striving to increase its membership and to educate the voters on the council-manager plan and proportional representation, in use for the election of the city council and school committee. A membership drive, with 100 workers aiding, took place recently in Ward 6. Every home in the ward was visited and given a brochure explaining the city's system of government.

The Haverhill Civic Association prepared a series of three articles published by the Haverhill *Gazette* giving information on the background and history of council-manager government, which will go into effect in Haverhill at the end of the year. "An alert, aggressive and progressive citizens' committee can make a council-manager form of government suceed," declares the last article.

A circular issued by the New Boston Committee urges Bostonians to "Join now to insure Boston's prosperous future." NBC, as it is known locally, will endorse and support candidates for the city council, elected in November, which will inaugurate the new charter adopted at the polls in 1949. "The New Boston Committee intends to keep the voters supplied with the facts of this election, through forum discussions by civic leaders, through a series of public meetings and through the distribution of factual up-to-date bulletins," says the leaflet.

* * *

Labor Studies Its City

Several times in recent months some 30 members of the United Automobile Workers (CIO) have met for two and a half days in an institute on city problems. They listen to city officials, attend meetings of city boards and commissions, make visits to city institutions and take part in seminars with experts on local affairs. It is hoped that graduates of the institutes will become part of a continuing citywide union committee on municipal affairs and take the lead in their neighborhoods and in local unions in political activity to make the city a better community. If the institutes continue, the citywide committee over a year will number about four hundred persons.

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Citizenship Celebrations

The Chamber of Commerce of Hagerstown, Maryland, honored the "new citizens" of Washington County by presenting those reaching 21 or becoming naturalized between June 1, 1950, and May 31, 1951, with a Certificate of Recognition of Citizenship Responsibility" and a copy of the Bill of Rights. New citizens were notified by press, radio and direct mailings of eight meetings held in their honor and were asked to attend one of them. A total of 184 received the certificate and over a thousand people attending the meetings heard speakers emphasize the privilege and duty of voting and the responsibilities of citizenship.

Civitan International established May 13-20 as Good Citizenship Observance Week. All clubs were urged to plan citizenship projects to terminate during the period with presentation of citizenship awards.

* * *

Civic Awards

The board of trustees of the Cleveland Citizens League selected Alfred A. Benesch, a member of the Cleveland Board of Education for the past 25 years, to receive the league's annual Commendation Award for Outstanding Service in Local Public Office. Mr. Benesch is the twelfth person to receive the award, established five years ago.

George McAneny, former president of the National Civil Service League and now one of its vice presidents, has been presented with the Medal of Honor of the New York Municipal Art Society for "public service in the highest tradition of American democracy."

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Flory Memorial Fund

The Citizens League of Cleveland and the Cleveland Bureau of Governmental Research have jointly established the Walter L. Flory Memorial Civic Research Fund in honor of Mr. Flory who died recently. The fund will be used "to carry out the kind of governmental project in which Walter Flory would have been interested," reports *Greater Cleveland,* bulletin of the league. Mr. Flory, a member of the City Planning Commission, was former president and former director of the Citizens League and a member of its board of trustees from 1923 to 1951.

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Civic Potpourri

The Civic Club of Allegheny County (Pittsburgh) devoted two recent issues of its *Civic Bulletin* to a report on proposals before the Pennsylvania legislature on which the club's legislative committee has taken action.

The Lake County Civic League of Waukegan, Illinois, has conducted a survey of the fiscal problems and general procedures of the city of Zion at the request of its city council. Numerous recommendations have been made including installation of a police record system, modern budgeting and appropriation techniques, methods of billing water customers, remodeling of city hall, etc.

The Citizens Union of New York has urged the city council to enact price control enforcement bills now before it in an effort to prevent the start of black markets. The union urges enactment so that "the city's enforcement machinery may be added to the federal machinery in the fight to hold the line against rising prices and inflation."

The Warren, Ohio, Charter League has voted to circulate petitions to place the election of a fifteen-member commission to draft a new charter on the November ballot.

A nonpartisan community campaign in Miami Beach, Florida, carried on for eighteen days, resulted in a 40 per cent increase in voter registration for the city. The campaign was spearheaded by the *Florida Sun.*

* * *

Forums and Workshops

The Civic Advisory Council of Toronto devoted most of its 28-page *News Bulletin* for April to its first annual conference on local government, held April 12. Addresses and discussions are reported in brief. Full text of a few of the articles are published, including "Some Reflections on Research Work with Citizens' Committees," by Albert Rose, of the School of Social Work of the University of Toronto; "The Program of the Junior Chamber of Commerce," by Thomas H. Whellams; "The Press and Local News," by Frank Tumpane, columnist for the Toronto *Globe and Mail;* and "Education in Citizenship," by H. O. Barrett, director of public relations of the Ontario Secondary School Teachers' Federation, Toronto District.

The sixth annual Forum on State and Local Government at Michigan State College, met for three weeks, July 9-27. Billed as a summer course for teachers and prospective teachers of civic, government and social studies, and interested citizen groups, the forum is designed to give a broad view of the major functions and problems of state and local government in Michigan. Ten universities and government groups sponsor the forum. State and local officials, as well as teachers of political science, address the classes.

"Education for Citizenship" was the subject of a workshop held June 25-July 6 at the New Jersey State Teachers College in Upper Montclair. Intended primarily for high school teachers and administrators, the workshop is open to anyone interested in citizenship education.

Sponsored by the Bureau of Government Research and the School of Education of Rutgers University, a state government institute for teachers and others interested met at the state capitol in Trenton, New Jersey, July, 9-20. State officials and political scientists lectured. Field trips to state institutions and offices were arranged.

* * *

Annual Meetings

Citizens' Action of Grand Rapids, Michigan, heard Leonard M. Sive, president of the Cincinnati City Charter Committee, at its annual meeting in June. Mr. Sive emphasized the need for block by block organization in civic campaigns and answered many questions. He is reported to have left his listeners with "enthusiasm and eager to get at it."

Charles P. Taft, Cincinnati city councilman, addressed a luncheon meeting of the Hamilton County (Cincinnati) Good Government League on "Moral Foundations of Government." Mr. Taft discussed the gambling situation in his city and elsewhere and answered audience questions.

* * *

Strictly Personal

The Citizens Union of Yonkers has elected Mrs. Edith P. Welty, former mayor and councilwoman, as its executive chairman, and Emmett Burke, former councilman, as executive vice chairman. The union has authorized its executive committee to proceed with a campaign for city charter revision in 1952 to provide nonpartisan election of the city council at large.

Ben B. Ehrlichman, a member of its board of trustees since 1942, has been elected president of the Seattle Municipal League. He succeeds Paul Green.

The Milwaukee City Club has elected Leigh Hunt as its president for the forthcoming year. John Visser is the outgoing president.

Newspaper Investigates Housing Scandal

Jersey Reporting Team Turns in First-Class Research Job

NEWSPAPERS and reporters are not listed in the *GRA Directory* but they do a good deal of the most useful governmental research and they do a great deal better than most of the bureaus in presenting it to the public. Many a bureau report could do its job better with the help of a good newspaper photographer and the newspaperman's knack of giving punch and vitality to a story by the use of examples and interviews. Interviewing is a common tool of governmental research, but you would never guess it from the style of the typical report.

A good example of newspaper research is a remarkable series of articles by a team of reporters for the *Bergen Evening Record* (Hackensack, New Jersey) exposing scandalous official, civic and private negligence that has made many new housing developments incipient or actual suburban slums. Ten of the series of fourteen articles, which began May 17, were written by Leonard Goldblatt, the rest by Carl F. Jellinhaus, J. William Hoth and Fred S. Muerer. The articles are profusely illustrated with gruesome pictures of ungraded yards, mud holes in place of streets and attractive housewives baling out broken septic tanks and sewage infested basements.

The central conclusion of the series is succinctly expressed in the head for the fourteenth article: "Construction of Shoddy Housing Will Go Only When Local Government Gets Going."

While not pulling punches with respect to failure of federal agencies and private contractors to live up to their responsibilities, the report finds that "if in the future there is to be any halt to downright swindling of families seeking to realize the great American dream of owning a house and lot . . . then the prevention and cure must come principally from the municipalities themselves."

Failures found by the investigators at the municipal level range from downright corruption of officials who profit directly or indirectly from dealings with developers and builders to the lack of civic foresight which has left many municipalities without adequate up-to-date planning, zoning, health and building regulations or provision for their enforcement.

A County Problem

The report does not comment specifically on the implications of the fact that Bergen County, New Jersey, the area covered by the investigation, is divided up into 70 municipalities, at least half of which have less than 5,000 population according to the 1950 census.[1] No student of the metropolitan area problem has yet demonstrated how to get that many small municipalities, sharing the responsibility for what is essentially a continuous residential area, to meet the challenge of an area-wide building boom. As the *Bergen Evening Record* points out editorially, "You can't quarantine . . . squalor. There's no ghetto wall high enough to stay wind-borne pollution. We are all a part of the whole; the best governed, the most fastidiously self-governed of us, are confronted with the dangers which face the most unfortunate, exploited and neglected."

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[1] See "Escape to the Suburbs," (editorial) the REVIEW, April 1951, page 184.

The report suggests that "requiring all builders to submit all plans to the county planning board would eliminate many of the grievous errors of the past."

Mississippi Council Reports to the People

The Mississippi Economic Council believes in taking the findings of its research right to the people who cast the votes and pay the bills that make local government run. Accordingly it is planning a series of 33 meetings over the state in October to tell the average citizen as graphically as possible what can be done to improve municipal financing and administration.

The meat of the presentations will come from a report of the council's committee on taxation entitled *An Analysis of Income, Services and Operation of 24 Representative Mississippi Cities with Recommendations* (45 pages, ten tables, 40 recommendations). The cities range from 1,299 to 41,709 in population. Questionnaires were used to gather facts.

Another project undertaken by the council, in cooperation with the Bureau of Public Administration of the University of Mississippi, resulted in a report entitled *Municipal Organization in Mississippi: A Review and Evaluation of the Forms of Municipal Government with Special Reference to the Council-Manager Plan* (199 pages). The report was prepared by the bureau working closely with a special council-manager study committee of the council.

The Mississippi Economic Council was organized a little over two years ago "to promote social, civic and economic development in Mississippi." It is composed of some 2,000 business and professional leaders in Mississippi. Some 42 local chambers of commerce and 24 statewide trade and professional associations are affiliated with it.

Bureau Notes

The Municipal Technical Advisory Service of the University of Tennessee has recently begun publication of its *Federal News Digest.* The new periodical covers matters involving federal-municipal relationships and is designed "to bring to city officials' attention a condensed digest of federal directives, rules, regulations and policies affecting municipal affairs."

In its February and March issues of the *Toledo Municipal News,* the Municipal League of Toledo reviewed the eighteen points of its five-year Program for Progress, announced a year ago. It covers major fiscal policies, administrative modernization and training, metropolitan problems and capital improvement needs.

Citizens Research Council of Michigan is the new name of the recently merged Bureau of Governmental Research (Detroit) and Michigan Public Expenditure Survey. The name recognizes "the fact that more and more state and local governmental problems have become so intertwined as to be inseparable." A counselling service, particularly for Michigan citizen groups, will be developed.

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Annual Meetings

The fifth Annual Kansas Peace Officers Training School was held at the University of Kansas July 23-28. The curriculum included the regular basic course for police officers as well as advanced courses in police administration and police science.

On July 9-13 the University of Washington held the Sixteenth Annual Institute of Government sponsored by its Bureau of Governmental Research and Services in cooperation with the Division of Adult Education and Extension Services. Program topics included local action in democracy, public library administration, civil rights, public recreation, planning and law enforcement.

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Bureau Reports

The Connecticut Public Expenditure Council has issued its *Proposed Operating Program 1951-52,* which is "designed to achieve the maximum efficiency and economy in government consistent with good service and to avoid the imposition of new and higher taxes on the people of Connecticut."

Annual reports have been received from the New Haven Taxpayers Research Council, *Eighteenth Annual Report*; Duluth Governmental Research Bureau, *Thirtieth Annual Report*; The Stark County Tax League (Canton, Ohio), *Annual Report July 1, 1951.*

Research Pamphlets and Articles

Air Pollution

Air Pollution Control. By Stanley Scott and John F. McCarty. Berkeley, University of California, Bureau of Public Administration, 1951. 38 pp. $1.

Assessments

Explanation of Assessment and Reassessment. Houston 2, Tax Research Association of Houston and Harris County, 1951. 26 pp.

Improving Assessments. How Private Citizens and Public Officials Can Improve Property Tax Assessments. Madison 3, Wisconsin Taxpayers Alliance, *Wisconsin Taxpayer,* July 1951. 4 pp.

Budgets

Budgets for 1952. Des Moines, Taxpayers Association, *Civic Flashes,* July 16, 1951. 1 p.

Comparison of 1950-1951 City Budgets. County Expenditures and Budgets Compared. Sheriffs' Budgets Show Sharpest Increases. Helena, Montana Taxpayers' Association, *Montana Taxpayer,* June 1951. 1 p. each.

It's Your Move! 1951 Budget Data Sheets. A Compilation of the Expenditures in Wyoming for County Governments, First Class Cities, First Class School Districts. Cheyenne, Wyoming Taxpayers Association, 1951. 22 pp.

Constitutions

Modernizing Indiana's Constitution. By Louis E. Lambert and E. B. McPheron. (Reprinted from *Indiana Law Journal,* Winter 1951.) Bloomington, Indiana University, Department of Government, Bureau of Government Research, 1951. 22 pp.

Ohio's Constitution in the Making. By Lauren A. Glosser. Columbus 15, Ohio Program Commission, 1950. 12 pp.

Defense

Civil Defense for Florida 1951. By W. F. Larsen and Robert Fuquay. Gainesville, University of Florida, Public Administration Clearing Service, 1951. 13 pp.

The Researcher and Civil Defense. By Robert H. Blundred. New York 20, Governmental Research Association, *GRA Reporter,* May-June 1951. 2 pp.

Education

Buffalo School Survey. Buffalo 2, Municipal Research Bureau, *Just a Moment,* June 7, 1951. 3 pp.

The Process of Selecting a High School Site. Waterbury 2, Taxpayers' Association, *Governmental Briefs,* May 9, 1951. 3 pp.

Proposed Reorganization of the Dade County Public School System. What's Wrong with School Budgeting in Dade County? Miami 32, Dade County Research Foundation, *Research Memo,* January and February 1951. 9 and 7 pp. respectively.

San Francisco School Costs Highest Among Major Cities. San Francisco, Bureau of Governmental Research, *Bulletin,* June 29, 1951. 2 pp.

Secondary School Costs Per A. D. A. Larger High School and All Junior College Districts of California 1948-49

and 1949-50 (table). **Current Expenditures Per A.D.A. Unified School Districts in California 1948-49 and 1949-50** (table). **A.D.A. Costs in Elementary Schools 1948-49 and 1949-50 Data Compared.** By Maxine M. McSweyn. Los Angeles 14, California Taxpayers' Association, *Tax Digest*, June 1951. 4, 2, and 10 pp. respectively. 25 cents.

Should State Funds Be Used to Promote Federal Subsidy of School Construction? Jefferson City, Missouri Public Expenditure Survey, 1951. 5 pp.

State Aid for Education in New Jersey, 1947-1951. Newark 2, New Jersey Citizens Tax Study Foundation, 1951. 14 pp. Tables.

Elections and Voting

How Toronto Voted. Toronto 5, the Bureau of Municipal Research, *Civic Affairs*, May 23, 1951. 7 pp. Tables.

Fire Insurance

Fire Insurance on State-owned Buildings in Utah. Salt Lake City 1, Utah Foundation, *Research Report*, June 1951. 4 pp.

Forests

Community Forests: A Municipal Asset. By the Municipal Technical Advisory Service in collaboration with the Division of Forestry Relations, Tennessee Valley Authority. Knoxville, University of Tennessee, Division of University Extension, MTAS, *Tennessee Town & City*, May 1951. 5 pp.

Conservation of Forest Resources. By Kenneth Decker. Berkeley 4, University of California, Bureau of Public Administration, 1951. 30 pp. $1.

Hospitals

Schedule of Fees Proposed for Emergency Hospital Services. San Francisco, Bureau of Governmental Research, *Bulletin*, June 26, 1951. 2 pp.

Survey of the Nevada Hospital for Mental Diseases. By the Nevada Legislative Counsel Bureau. Carson City, State Printing Office, 1950. 122 pp.

Initiative and Referendum

Direct Legislation: An Appraisal and a Suggestion. By Joseph G. LaPalombara and Charles B. Hagan. Washington 6, D. C., American Political Science Association, *American Political Science Review*, June 1951. 22 pp. $2.50.

Legislation

Nine Proposals Submitted by the Legislature. (Including reports on: Printing Requirements of State Agencies, Statewide Building Code and Tax Levy Limitations Laws.) Topeka, Kansas Legislative Council, Research Department, 1951. 57 pp.

Summary of Tennessee's 1951 Public Laws. By Margaret Pouder, Lucy McMurry and Dorothy Tucker. Nashville 3, Tennessee State Planning Commission, *Tennessee Planner*, April-June 1951. 64 pp.

Municipal Government

Final Report of the Citizens Advisory Committee on Municipal Affairs. Alameda, California, the Committee, 1951. 68 pp.

A Manual of City Government in Michigan. By Claude R. Tharp. Ann Arbor, University of Michigan, Institute of Public Administration, Bureau of Government, 1951. 173 pp.

Poughkeepsie Town Government. A Survey Report on the Governmental Structure and Operations of the Town of Poughkeepsie, New York. Poughkeepsie, Area Development Association, 1951. 32 pp. Maps.

Off-Street Parking

Municipal Off-Street Parking in 79 California Cities. Los Angeles 13, League of California Cities, *Western City*, March 1951. 6 pp.

Public Officials

Qualifications for Public Office. Buffalo 2, Municipal Research Bureau, *Just a Moment*, June 14, 1951. 2 pp.

Public Safety

An Integrated Public Safety Department. By H. K. Hunter. Chicago 37, International City Managers' Association, *Public Management,* May 1951. 3 pp. 50 cents.

Public Works

Financing Local Public Works. By Eugene C. Lee and Stanley Scott. Berkeley, University of California, Bureau of Public Administration, 1951. 35 pp. $1.

Records

Philadelphia Records and a Program for Administration. By Thomas Amelia. Philadelphia 2, Pennsylvania Economy League, Philadelphia Committee, 1950. 19 pp. (Reprinted in *American Archivist,* January 1951.)

Retirement Systems

Service and Security. Municipal Retirement in Tennessee. By Fred A. Lewis and Thomas Payne. Knoxville, University of Tennessee, Bureau of Public Administration and Municipal Technical Advisory Service, 1951. 150 pp. Tables.

Social Security

Effect of Social Security Amendments in California. By Margaret Greenfield. Berkeley 4, University of California, Bureau of Public Administration, 1951. 39 pp. $1.

Special Districts

Special Districts in Louisiana. By Emmett Asseff. Baton Rouge, Louisiana State University, Bureau of Government Research, 1951. 98 pp.

State Government

Bibliography on South Dakota Government. Vermillion, University of South Dakota, Governmental Research Bureau, 1951. 51 pp.

An Everyman's Guide to the Report of the Commission to Study State Government. Carbondale, Southern Illinois University, Government Department, 1951. 23 pp. Illus.

The Organization of Utah State Government. Salt Lake City 1, Utah Foundation, *Research Report,* July 1951. 6 pp. Chart.

Property Inventory and Control. (Staff Report No. 20.) Detroit 26, Michigan Joint Legislative Committee on Reorganization of State Government, 1951. 20 pp.

Reflections on State Reorganizations. By John A. Perkins. Washington 6, American Political Science Association, *American Political Science Review,* June 1951. 10 pp. $2.50.

State-owned Automobiles

A Survey of State-owned Automobiles in Nevada. Carson City, Nevada Legislative Counsel Bureau, 1950. 17 pp.

Surveys

First City Survey Report. City Survey II. Buffalo 2, Municipal Research Bureau, *Just a Moment,* May 24 and June 21, 1951. 4 pp. each.

Taxation and Finance

Appropriations by the Kansas Legislature—1951 Session. A Summary Explanation of the Principal Funds from Which the Budgeted Appropriations Were Made and a Comparison of the Related Appropriations of the 1949 Session. By John E. Burke. Topeka, Kansas Legislative Council, 1951. v, 17 pp.

Eighteenth Annual Study of Debts-Taxes-Assessments. Chicago 2, The Civic Federation, *Bulletin,* July 1951. 23 pp. Tables.

Fiscal Problems Facing the 1951 Legislature. A Series: No. 1—Some Basic Facts and Trends, No. 2—Public Assistance in Pennsylvania, No. 3—The State "Authority" Programs, No. 4—Bonded Debt of the Commonwealth, No. 5—The Proposed State Budget for 1951-53. Harrisburg, Pennsylvania State Chamber of Commerce, *State Affairs Bulletin,* November 10, December 30, 1950, February 15, March 9 and 26, 1951. 8, 7, 4, 7 and 11 pp. respectively.

Indiana Tax and Social Security Manual. An Analysis of Indiana Public Finances. Answering These Questions—"What Does Indiana Government Cost?" "How is it Financed?" "What are the Tax and Social Security Trends?"—And many more. Indianapolis 4, Indiana State Chamber of Commerce, 1951. Variously paged. $5.

Municipal Railway Financial Problems Multiply. San Francisco, Bureau of Governmental Research, May 14, 1951. 2 pp.

1950 Taxes. Valuation—Rate—Extension. (For Cook County, Chicago and four other taxing units.) Chicago 2, The Civic Federation, *Bulletin,* February 1951. 2 pp.

104 Suggestions for Reducing the Cost of Operation of Local Government. (A comprehensive practical check list.) Cheyenne, Wyoming Taxpayers Association, 1951. 8 pp.

The Opportunity to Collect Some Bad Accounts. Trenton 8, New Jersey Taxpayers Association, *It's Your Business,* June 1951. 6 pp.

Pertinent Financial Data City of Baltimore. As at January 1, 1951. Baltimore 2, Commission on Governmental Efficiency and Economy, 1951. 16 pp.

Property Tax Administration in Michigan. Ann Arbor, University of Michigan, Institute of Public Administration, 1951. 33 pp. 50 cents.

Public Disbursement Trends. Total State and Local Government Expenditures Up 544 Per Cent from 1919 to 1949. Madison 3, Wisconsin Taxpayers Alliance, *The Wisconsin Taxpayer,* April 1951. 3 pp.

State Fiscal Problems. Concord, New Hampshire Taxpayers Federation, *The New Hampshire Taxpayer,* March 1951. 4 pp.

State Government Costs. By Maxine M. McSweyn. **The Effects of Tax Exemptions.** By Francis J. Carr. **Ten Years of State Highway Revenues.** By Shelby F. Harper. Los Angeles 14, California Taxpayers' Association, *Tax Digest,* May 1951. 8, 7, and 11 pp. respectively. Tables. 25 cents.

The Tale of Two Cities. A Bright Example in Municipal Finance. (Altoona and Washington, Pennsylvania.) Pittsburgh 22, Pennsylvania Economy League, Western Division, *P. E. L. Newsletter,* March 1951. 10 pp.

Tax Position of Selected Manufacturing Corporations in Indiana. A study of the comparative tax position of 26 manufacturing corporations as between Indiana and Illinois, Michigan, Ohio, New Jersey and Massachusetts. By John F. Sly. South Bend, The Studebaker Corporation, 1951. 79 pp.

Total Taxes in Wisconsin—1950. Total Federal, State, and Local Taxes in State Exceeded One Billion Dollars for Seventh Year. Madison 3, Wisconsin Taxpayers Alliance, *The Wisconsin Taxpayer,* May 1951. 7 pp.

Traffic

Juvenile Traffic Offenders and Court Jurisdiction. By Margaret Greenfield. Berkeley, University of California, Bureau of Public Administration, 1951. 36 pp. $1.

Veterans

Bonus Not in Veterans' Interest. Jefferson City, Missouri Public Expenditure Survey, May 1951. 4 pp.

Village Government

Manual of Village Government in Michigan. By Claude R. Tharp. Ann Arbor, University of Michigan, Bureau of Government, Institute of Public Administration, 1951. 118 pp.

Waterworks

Waterworks Improvements. Philadelphia's Water Considerably Bettered As Result of $24-Million 6-Year Program. Philadelphia 7, Bureau of Municipal Research, *Citizens' Business,* May 14, 1951. 4 pp.

Zoning

A New Zoning Law for Providence. Providence 3, Governmental Research Bureau, July 1951. 2 pp.

Books in Review

The Municipal Year Book 1951. Edited by Clarence E. Ridley and Orin F. Nolting. Chicago 37, International City Managers' Association, 1951. x, 588 pp. $10.

Once again the editors of this "most useful single reference book" have extended the volume's usefulness by the inclusion of new and vital information on individual city governments. Important new features include data on public housing, city purchasing practices, building inspection, changes in city revenues and police-fire clothing allowances.

Most of the usual features of the volume have been retained and brought up to date, including data on form of city government, salaries of councilmen and chief municipal officials, pay rates for selected city jobs, changes in city areas, number of city employees and payroll, personnel organization, working conditions, retirement systems, city planning data, financial statistics, nonproperty taxes, parking lots, fire and police data, directories of city officials, and model municipal ordinances. Summary articles in each field of municipal endeavor review the significant events of the past year.

Presented for each city of more than 5,000 are the 1940 and 1950 census figures and the per cent increase or decrease, together with analyses of urban population changes and population changes in metropolitan areas. Metropolitan areas and the so-called "urbanized" areas as defined by the Census Bureau are listed with summaries of developments in selected areas over the past ten years.

For each of the subjects covered, the *Year Book* lists sources of information, selected standard references, and complete lists of new books and pamphlets published in 1950, with a catalogue of model ordinances.

Goals for Political Science. Report of the Committee for the Advancement of Teaching, American Political Science Association. New York, William Sloane Associates, Inc., 1951. xxiv, 319 pp. $3.50.

In this interesting volume a committee of the American Political Science Association reviews for the first time since 1930 the practices of instruction in political science in 252 institutions and finds enlargement and progress with some spots very good and others not so good. A series of rather general recommendations is provided for conscientious, undramatic self-examination of the machinery which turns out 7,000 political science degrees a year, as well as the annual crop of doctors, most of whom are dedicated to teaching. As long as educators continue to be dissatisfied with the state of education, education will be safe in their hands!

R. S. C.

American Government Today. By Ernest B. Fincher, John H. Ferguson and Dean E. McHenry. New York, McGraw-Hill Book Company, Inc., 1951. viii, 583 pp. $3.20.

A high school text with a fresh attack beginning with the nearest impacts of government and spreading outward to the national scene and the United Nations with a minimum of dry legal fact. Copiously illustrated.

State and Local Government in the United States. By William Vernon Holloway. New York, McGraw-Hill Book Company, Inc., 1951. ix, 460 pp. $3.75.

Written with easy freedom, this travelogue moves swiftly, despite the tight packing with facts, and is a shade more colorful than most texts and perhaps, therefore, more likely to stick in the memories of students. Without becoming a critique, it satisfactorily endorses the programs of the National Municipal League and, incidentally, quotes this REVIEW, in text or footnotes, in 128 places. It provides the whole text of the League's *Model State Constitution* (as do several other recent text books) and includes the unusual feature of a list of available films to illuminate each chapter.

State and Local Government in the United States. By Cullen B. Gosnell and Lynwood M. Holland. New York, Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1951. xvi, 619 pp. $6.65.

Comparisons being invidious, we will not try to determine whether this volume is better or worse than the other of the identical title by William Vernon Holloway, reviewed in these columns. It seems more subjective with its chapters on such subjects as states' rights or the role of the state in the union and a little more legalistic.

Understanding Politics. A Practical Guide for Women. By Louise M. Young. New York, Pellegrini & Cudahy, 1950. 330 pp. $3.50.

A lucid and readable description of how women can be useful in the American political scene and what they need to know, colloquially told by a former vice president of the Pennsylvania League of Women Voters.

Toward New Towns for America. By Clarence S. Stein. Chicago, Public Administration Service (agents for the University Press of Liverpool), 1951. 245 pp. illus. $5.

More than any other American architect, the author of this beautiful book, and his late associate Henry Wright, kept their perceptive eyes on the dooryard of the home and the safety of the children therein. This involved twisting whole towns into new inventive street and land use patterns wherein children could roam without encountering speeding automobiles even where, as in Los Angeles, there was one car for every two and a half persons. So Radburn was built and influenced a sequence of other planned communities, constituting an experience on which Mr. Stein is the best American authority and pioneer.

R. S. C.

Additional Books and Pamphlets

(See also Researcher's Digest and other departments)

Annexation

Laws of the States Relating to Annexation of County Territory. Part I, The Summaries; Part II, Statutes. Compiled by Jo Desha Lucas and Robert Desha Lucas. Charlottesville, League of Virginia Counties, 1950. 52 and 406 pp. respectively.

Assessing

Proceedings of the Fifth Annual Short Course for Municipal Assessing Officers. University of Michigan, December 13, 14 and 15, 1950. Sponsored by the Institute of Public Administration, Extension Service of the University of Michigan, Michigan Municipal League, Michigan State Tax Commission and the Municipal Assessors Association of Michigan. Ann Arbor, University of Michigan, Bureau of Government, 1951. 46 pp.

City Manager

The Cambridge City Manager. By Frank C. Abbott. Washington 5, D. C., Committee on Public Administration Cases, 1951. xii, 91 pp.

City Planning

City Planning. A Selection of Readings in Its Theory and Practice. By William Anderson, George Filipetti, Robert T. Jones, Asher N. Christensen and Roland S. Valie. Edited by

Theodore Caplow. Minneapolis 15, Burgess Publishing Company, 1950. 226 pp. $3.75.

Defense

Emergency Defense Activities Handbook. (A guide to those federal agencies, newly created or long established, whose functions are devoted directly or indirectly to mobilization and defense.) Washington 25, D. C., Superintendent of Documents, Government Printing Office, 1951. 115 pp. 25 cents.

How Can We Pay for Defense. By Maxwell S. Stewart. New York 16, Public Affairs Committee, 1951, 32 pp. 20 cents.

How to Prepare Your Plant for Atomic Attack. Belleville, New Jersey, Walter Kidde & Company, 1951. 30 pp. illus.

Directories

Indiana at War. A Directory of Hoosier Civilians Who Held Positions of Responsibility in Official, Volunteer and Cooperating War-Time Organizations. (Vol. IV in a proposed series of ten volumes entitled Indiana in World War II.) By Lynn W. Turner and Heber P. Walker. Bloomington, Indiana War History Commission, 1951. xxi, 1330 pp.

Governors

Proceedings of the Governors' Conference 1950. Forty-second Annual Meeting at White Sulphur Springs, West Virginia, July 19, 20, 21, 1950. Chicago 37, The Governors' Conference, 1951. xi, 187 pp.

Inflation

Canada Tries Indirect Control of Inflation. By J. R. Petrie. Princeton, New Jersey, Tax Institute, *Tax Policy,* May-June 1951. 12 pp. 50 cents.

The CED Program to Control Inflation. By Marion B. Folsom. New York 22, Committee for Economic Development, 1951. 14 pp.

Municipal Government

Creating Better Cities. A Complete Report on the Third Businessmen's Conference on Urban Problems, November 20 and 21, 1950. Washington 6, D. C., Chamber of Commerce of the United States, 1951. 191 pp. $1.

Cities and Towns of Illinois. A Handbook of Community Facts. By Karl B. Lohmann. Urbana, University of Illinois Press, 1951. ix, 110 pp.

Neighborhoods

Neighborhood Reclamation. A Working Guide for Local Programs. By the Urban Land Institute. Washington 6, D. C., National Association of Real Estate Boards, 1951. 16 pp.

A Plan to Improve Neighborhoods. St. Louis, City Plan Commission, Division of Building and Inspection and Division of Health, 1951. 8 pp.

Parking

Parking in Vancouver. By Tempest deWolf. Washington 6, D. C., Urban Land Institute, *Urban Land,* June 1951. 4 pp.

Philanthropy

Philanthropic Giving. By F. Emerson Andrews. New York, Russell Sage Foundation, 1950. 318 pp. $3.

Public Employees

The Labor Problem in the Public Service. A Study in Political Pluralism. By Morton Robert Godine. Cambridge, Harvard University Press, 1951. xii, 305 pp. $5.

Salaries

1950 Municipal Salaries and Wages. Colorado Cities of the Second Class. Boulder, Colorado Municipal League, 1951. 53 pp.

Salaries of North Carolina County Employees. Compiled by Donald B. Hayman. Chapel Hill, University of North Carolina, Institute of Government, 1950. 15 pp.

Taxation and Finance

Facts and Figures on Government Finance 1950-1951. New York 20, The Tax Foundation, 1950. xiv, 209 pp.

Payments to Local Units of Government 1950-1951. Oklahoma City, Oklahoma Tax Commission, Research Division, 1951. 13 pp.

Summary of State Government Finances in 1950. Washington 25, D. C., Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, 1951. 17 pp.

Tax Exemption of Farm Cooperatives. Princeton, New Jersey, Tax Institute, *Tax Policy,* March-April 1951. 12 pp. 50 cents.

Tax Reform Proposals in Great Britain. By Mary E. Murphy. Princeton, New Jersey, Tax Institute, *Tax Policy,* July-August 1951. 16 pp. 50 cents.

Tidelands

Symposium on the Texas "Tidelands" Case. By Roscoe Pound, James Wm. Moore, etc. Waco, Texas, *Baylor Law Review,* Winter 1951. 221 pp. $1.

Year Books

The American Year Book. A Record of Events and Progress Year 1950. Edited by S. Michaelis. New York, Thomas Nelson & Sons, 1951. xxi, 856 pp. $15.

PROPORTIONAL REPRESENTATION

(Continued from page 434)

replaced by the House of Councillors numbering 250, 100 elected at large and 150 from local constituencies, using the 46 prefectures as election districts (each electing from two to eight councillors). Members serve for six years and half the membership is elected at three-year intervals. Voters vote for one candidate at large and one in the prefectural district.

Prefectural assemblies are chosen by certain city and county districts and where the districts return two or more members the single nontransferable vote holds. Cities, towns and villages may create districts for the election of their governing assemblies but only five cities (not including Tokyo, which is a metropolitan district having the status of a prefecture) have done so. The others utilize election at large by the single nontransferable vote.

Probably the greatest change is the direct election of governors and mayors, formerly appointed. Election commissions at all levels, formerly appointed, are also now elected, as are special administrative commissions, such as boards of education, agricultural and fisheries commissions. With the increase in the number of elective officers, electoral campaigns are more complicated and more frequent. Elections for governors and mayors are subject to a run-off contest between the two highest if no candidate gets more than three-eighths of the votes.

The referendum and recall have been provided. On certain occasions a referendum is required. Numerous uses of the recall have been made, for the removal of mayors and local assembly members, and even for the dissolution of an entire local assembly.

Wants Businessmen in Politics

Ernest T. Weir, whose article "Something Politics Needs" appears on page 398 of this issue, has been noted not only as a successful steelman but also as a strong proponent of the private, competitive economic system and an aggressive champion of the businessman's right to participate in public affairs.

Chairman of National Steel Corporation, Mr. Weir is the only steelman in the United States who is the chief officer and also the founder of a major steel company—the country's fifth largest. He has an unusual record in labor-management relations and, in his own view, this is probably his principal achievement.

Mr. Weir got his first job as an office boy with a wiremaking company at three dollars a week. He advanced rapidly through positions of responsibility until, at 28, he became general manager of the largest plant of the American Sheet and Tin Plate Company.

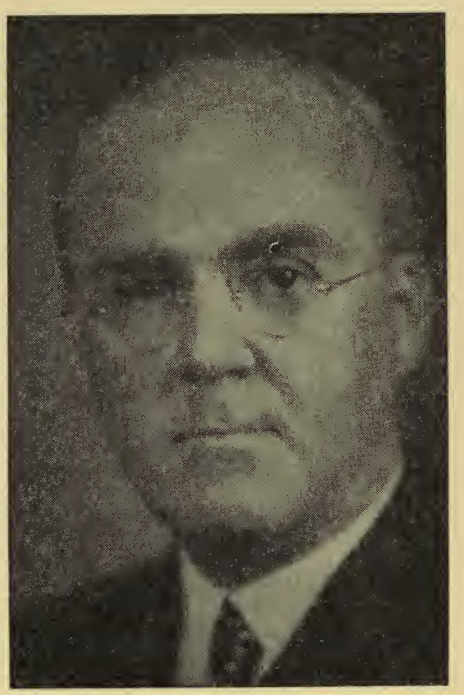
Mr. Weir is well known for his opposition to the trend toward government controls. He is keenly interested in international affairs and has made three visits to Europe since the end of the war to obtain information from business and financial leaders of Britain and the continent.

In addition to National Steel Corporation, Mr. Weir is officer or director of numerous business organizations and is active in the work of cultural, educational, philanthropic and civic institutions.

SEMINAR FOR RYUKYUANS

(Continued from page 393)

taxes, to pay for education and other services deemed vital to the nation.



Members of the Ryukyuan group were: Shuhei Higa, chairman of Interim Ryukyuan Advisory Council; Atsuo Yamashiro, assistant governor of Okinawa; Shobu Funakoshi, vice chairman of Interim Ryukyuan Advisory Council; Choke Chinen, director of Justice Department, Okinawa Gunto; Kenshin Nakamura, police commissioner, Okinawa; Choei Matsushima, judge, Yaeyama District Court; Ryojin Higa, attorney, Okinawa Civil Administration; Minesato Ikebata, president, Bank of the Ryukyus and Okinawa Chamber of Commerce and Industry; Choei Madambashi, chief, Financial Supervision Section, Okinawa Gunto Government.

Most of the group were educated in Japanese universities and have held responsible public positions. Three are former school teachers.

Jones Named Berlin HICOG Chief

Howard P. Jones, former League secretary, has been appointed director of HICOG (Office of U. S. High Commissioner for Germany) Berlin Element, it was announced July 25.

Mr. Jones, who has been deputy director and ECA representative for Berlin and for several months acting director, also becomes deputy U. S. Commandant, Allied Kommandatura, the governing body of the city of Berlin.

Serving as New York State civil service commissioner and deputy state comptroller since leaving the League, Mr. Jones entered the army as a major during World War II. He was lecturer in public finance and public administration at the Charlottesville School of Military Government; head of the Public Finance Branch, SHAEF mission to Belgium; chief, Finance Branch, G-5, 9th U. S. Army; chief of the Civil Service Branch, Civil Affairs Division, OMGUS, and chief of Public Finance Branch, OMGUS.

After his honorable discharge as a colonel he remained overseas, joining the State Department as a Foreign Service Officer in 1948.

Prior to his latest appointment he served as U. S. Chief of the Finance Group of the Bipartite Control Office, which had responsibility for the supervision of all public and private finance in the Bizone of Germany before formation of the German federal government.

Quits Ads for Taxes

Wade S. Smith, who has written the Taxation and Finance Department of the Review since 1934, is a senior analyst on the municipal staff of Dun & Bradstreet, Inc., where he follows financial developments in cities between the Mississippi Valley and the Pacific.

He terminated a budding career in advertising to major in political science at Oberlin. In 1933 he joined the National Municipal League staff to handle the National Pay-Your-Taxes Campaign, and later got a taste of front-line political action as executive secretary of a citizen group in Westchester County, New York, and doing legislative research in Albany.

His hobbies shift with the developing interests of his boys, fourteen and eight. Model railroading is still a competitor but he has gone through the cycle from Cub Scouts to troop committeeman and expects to be back in cubbing again with the younger boy. In a family of musicians he is strictly a listener. His wife is an accomplished pianist and the boys study piano when they can be torn from the bugle and violin, but Mr. Smith tunes nothing more elaborate than the radio.

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NEWS for League Members

Program Accents Self-government

Theme of the 1951 National Conference on Government in Cincinnati November 26-28 will be "Strengthening Self-Government."

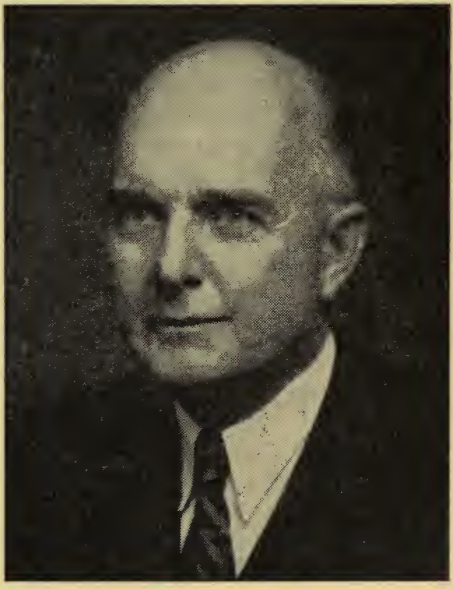
In approximately 25 sessions during the three-day meeting, some two hundred speakers from all parts of the country will relate experiences which have helped to improve citizen competence and bolster the widespread efforts which constitute a civic revival of unprecedented proportions.

League President Henry Bruère, banker and pioneer governmental researcher, will give the keynote address at the opening luncheon Monday at the Netherland Plaza Hotel, Conference headquarters, with the co-sponsorship of the Cincinnati Chamber of Commerce.

The Conference will already have been hard at work before the "opening" luncheon on Monday. Five group sessions will be held Monday morning and a clinic on city charters and meetings of the National Association of Civic Secretaries will begin on Sunday.

In addition to the luncheons on Monday, Tuesday and Wednesday, other general sessions will be held Monday and Tuesday afternoons. The annual dinner will be Tuesday evening with the co-sponsorship of the League of Women Voters, and the annual meeting of League members at 5 P.M. Monday. The League's Council will hold its annual business meeting Monday evening.

Local arrangements are in charge of a committee headed by Mrs. Fred Lazarus, Jr., and composed of some 75 civic, business and educational leaders.



HENRY BRUERE
Conference Keynote Speaker

Laboratories for Citizenship

In recognition of the fact that what our self-governing system needs most is an informed, participating citizenry, the Conference program includes a session on civic education with J. J. Deisenroth of the Cincinnati Public Schools conducting a panel discussion on "Laboratories for Citizenship."

Dean Emery E. Olson, School of Public Administration, University of Southern California, will conduct a session on university programs of postgraduate and in-service training for state and local government officials and employees. Other sessions will feature

(Continued on page 479)

Problems of States to Be Stressed

Chief reason for holding the 1951 National Conference on Government in an Ohio city is that citizens of that state will vote in 1952 on the question of calling a constitutional convention.

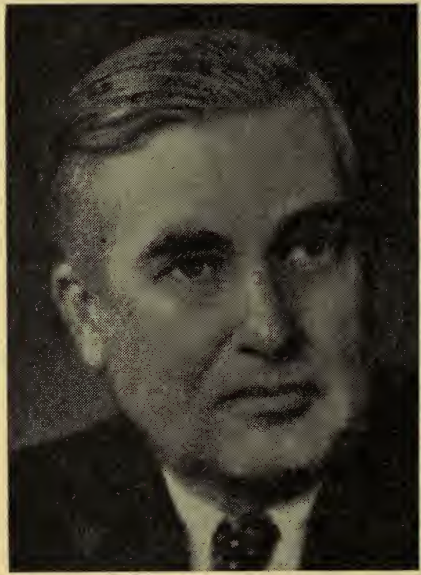
Since a similar question will be before the voters of Tennessee the same year and constitutional revision is an objective of civic groups in many other states, a number of Conference sessions will be devoted to state constitutions.

There will be morning group sessions on the governor and state administration, the state legislature and the courts, as well as one on direct legislation.

Charles Edison, chairman of the League's Council, former secretary of the Navy and former governor of New Jersey, will speak at the annual dinner Tuesday night on the long fight for a modern constitution in New Jersey which he launched in 1940.

At the closing luncheon Wednesday noon, James Kerney, Jr., editor of the *Trenton* (N. J.) *Times,* will speak on the citizen's part in constitutional revision and report on some of the benefits resulting from the new constitution in New Jersey. Mr. Kerney, a crusading editor, was a member of the Commission on Revision of the New Jersey Constitution in 1942 and chairman of the New Jersey (Citizens) Committee for Constitutional Revision at the time of the successful 1947 campaign.

Mr. Kerney's speech will be a curtain raiser for a post-Conference meeting Wednesday afternoon under auspices of the Citizens Committee on the Ohio Constitution, of which Robert H. Rawson of Cleveland is chairman. Leaders of successful constitutional revision campaigns in Missouri, New Jersey and New York will speak and answer questions.



CHARLES EDISON
Dinner Speaker

JAMES KERNEY, JR.
Crusading Editor

National Municipal Review

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Editorial Comment

When Economy Is Not Economy

A YEAR ago the NATIONAL MUNICIPAL REVIEW reported[1] the good news that Congress had passed, and the president approved, a new law providing for a "census of governments" in 1952 and each fifth year thereafter. The enactment presumably provided an improved statutory basis for periodic reporting of basic statistics on state and local governments—a vital information service regularly provided by the federal government since 1850.

In accordance with this law the federal budget this year included a proposal for funds to conduct such a census. To help prepare for this job the Census Bureau enlisted the advice of such recognized authorities as William Anderson, Frank Bane, Frederick L. Bird, Carl H. Chatters, Rowland Egger, Luther Gulick, Simeon E. Leland and Clarence E. Ridley. Associations of governments and public officials such as the Municipal Finance Officers Association, the National Association of Tax Administrators and the National Association of County Officials pledged their cooperation.

It now develops, however, that no funds have been provided to carry out this important task, which Congress explicitly authorized a year ago without a dissenting vote and on which much important preliminary work had been invested. The only reason given is in the comment by the House Appropriations Committee:

"In view of present world conditions and the amount of expenditures necessary for defense purposes, the committee is of the opinion that there are many more urgent undertakings at this time and has therefore denied the budget estimate of $2,250,000 for this purpose."

By rather similar reasoning, a business firm, hard put to keep up with current orders, might decide to "save money" by dispensing with its periodic inventory or with its auditing of accounts. Or, on such reasoning, Congress might eliminate the Budget Bureau or the General Accounting Office to free employees for work in federal defense agencies.

The unfortunate fact is that less basic statistical information is available about state and local governments than about any comparable segment of our economy. These governments provide a wide variety of vital services; their cost approaches one-tenth of the national income; they employ about one out of each fifteen persons gainfully occupied; they receive over two billion dollars a year from the federal government.[2] Yet the government, now and in recent years, has issued far more statistical information about literally scores of fields of industrial, commercial and agricultural activity than it has regarding state and local governments.

The most recent census of governments was for 1942. Limited figures available indicate that state and local governments have more than doubled their expenditures and have increased their indebtedness to an all-time high since then. But—unbelievable as it may seem—there is no official source of information for any of the past eight years as to the nationwide total of spending by local governments, nor as to comparative totals of state and local revenue, expenditure and debt. To find such totals for local governments by county, one must go back twenty years to the census of governments for 1932.

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[1] See November 1950, page 508.

[2] See also "State and Local Government is Big Business," Editorial, the REVIEW, September 1951, page 396.

As state and local officials and civic groups know only too well, the present period of chronic crisis and national preparedness greatly increases the problems and difficulties that confront state and local governments. Up-to-date information as to their status will surely not solve these problems. But the information that could be provided by a new census of governments should permit savings—through better public policies and administration at all levels—far exceeding the project's cost.

Our system is necessarily a complicated one. Complexity frustrates the citizen with the result that ultimate control slips farther and farther from his hands. For this reason, a continuous flow of accurate up-to-date information about all our governments and their activities is the very breath of life to our democracy. With each passing year, the need for affirmative action by government to supply relevant information about itself becomes greater. The heavier the load imposed upon government, as in the present emergency, the greater the need.

Elimination of the appropriation for the census of governments is not a measure of economy but rather one of improvident extravagance. Neither is it a measure to reduce the federal establishment. Rather it will tend to expand it, because the less information there is available to citizens about state and local governments, the more they will be drawn as by gravity to dependence upon the central government. Any believer in real economy or in keeping as much as possible of the business of government at the state and local levels should insist upon adequate appropriation for the census of governments.

The People Want Home Rule

When Rhode Island voters adopted in June by more than six to one a constitutional amendment to make home rule charters available to cities and towns, they simply confirmed what every politician knows: *the people like home rule.*

That knowledge, paradoxically, is precisely the reason why "professional" politicians have for years used every undercover trick to deny home rule to the people in all or most of the municipalities of Pennsylvania, Indiana, Illinois, Connecticut and numerous other states besides Rhode Island. Of course no politician is crazy enough to admit publicly that he is against home rule. That would be like Stalin admitting he was really opposed to communism. But the record shows that local officials who inveigh against "mandatory legislation" and "state interference" often

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The Governor Needs Staff

If chief state official is to carry the many increased burdens of his office, he must have more adequate help.

By HOMER E. SCACE*

"IT IS a lie to say that I didn't cooperate with the governor on budget matters. I arise in wrath because our record is being sullied." James B. Lowell, Connecticut's state commissioner of finance, shouted these words from the floor of the Connecticut legislative hall where a hearing was being held on the proposed reorganization of the state government.

A management consultant had just suggested that if the governor were to be held responsible for the program on which he had been elected he must have executive control over the budget. The consultant had found that the powers of the commissioner of finance in connection with the preparation and administration of the budget exceeded those of the governor. Mr. Lowell, an active member of the party opposite to the governor, had been appointed by a preceding governor for an overlapping term and could not be removed. The consultant had simply said such an arrangement was not conducive to cooperation in budget-making.

This dramatic episode shows how deeply state officials, and others, feel about reorganization proposals. State reorganization plans often strike a snag because they are studied and proposed simply as administrative changes, ignoring the shifts in political and personal power involved. If the studies showed the actual day-to-day political-administrative relationships in the state, rather than the "paper" structure, others besides political insiders could appreciate the impact of reorganization moves and anticipate the source and intensity of resistance.

The typical governor gives the greatest share of his time to public and party leadership. He works most intensely and encounters his toughest problems in his contacts with the legislature. Administrative management of the state government is a poor third in commanding his time and energy.

The executive staff helps the governor do those things he himself would do if he had unlimited time and capabilities. Essentially, then, the staff aids the governor in his public and party contacts, in drawing up his program and selling it to the public and the legislature, and in exercising administrative control over the various agencies in the executive branch. Specifically, it has been found that it is helpful if the executive staff includes people for these jobs:

1. Certain public relations activities which affect public leadership,

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party leadership and legislative relations;

2. Preparation of the governor's legislative and administrative program, including use of objective research and expert legal advice and review;

3. Preparation and presentation of the executive budget; executive control of expenditures;

4. Concern with the quality and performance of state personnel;

5. Administrative coordination and control.

Some General Guides

There is great diversity in the organization and duties of the staffs of the governors, caused by such factors as personality differences and differences in state political traditions as well as governmental size, services and structure. But there are basic similarities that suggest helpful guiding principles.

The governor must be able to staff his office with men loyal to him, responsive to his particular nature and capable of bolstering his weaknesses. The staff should form the governor's "team." That means it must be small, seldom more than five key men. The staff must be flexible. The governor should be able to appoint a man for a special job and drop him when it is completed. Furthermore, the men on the staff must be versatile, for the governor will want to use them on a variety of problems as urgency demands. So far as possible, these staff aides, including the budget officer, should be free from direct administrative duties.

In this discussion duties are somewhat rigidly compartmentalized for the sake of clarity. In actual practice, the budget officer, for instance, may advise on public relations, as in Oregon, or research may be carried out under the executive secretary, as in Texas.

Every governor but one has an executive secretary whom he appoints and can remove. This man is usually personally loyal to the governor and has a wide political acquaintance. He acts as a buffer between the governor and the public, supervising handling of correspondence and complaints, and often keeps the file of appointments to be made and the names of likely appointees. In states where there is a rift between the governor and other top men in his political party, the governor's ability to obtain independent information on political appointees' records is particularly important. It is significant that this virtually universal staff arrangement is in the field of practical political power—a field in which nearly every governor, past and present, has recognized the need for facts at the time a decision is to be made.

Until recent years, it was not unusual to find a governor's public statements being prepared and issued at party headquarters with the help of men paid by the party. Public relations men on the party payroll are sometimes faced with the problem of whether to be loyal and responsive to the party officials or to the governor. Today, many governors have public relations men on their official staffs. In California, the governor's press secretary is responsible for public relations work, press relations, radio arrangements, public proclamations, statements and articles and recommendations regarding acceptance of invitations for speeches and public appearances. Similar positions may be found in Connecticut, Michigan, Pennsylvania and, with slightly different arrangements, in New York, New Jersey and other states.

Including these activities in the governmental structure changes relations between the governor and political leaders in ways not always easy to trace. But observation seems to indicate that the elected governor, properly staffed, tends to become the actual head of the party.

Legislative Aides

Since many governors list legislative relations as their most vexing problem, it is not surprising to find that a good many have made a staff position for a legislative aide not only in large states such as California and Michigan but also in smaller states such as Arkansas where this work is combined with that of the governor's legal counsel.

The strongest resistance to staffing the governor effectively is usually found in the legislature. Some legislators sincerely fear the creation of a "steamroller" in the executive office against which they will be virtually powerless. Where there is a tradition of legislative confirmation of appointments, denial of that prerogative in connection with important posts is not lightly agreed to.

Legislative fear of the executive is often based on such matters as the traditional workings of the patronage system, as in West Virginia and in Oklahoma, or on the lack of control which biennial sessions of limited length give. The key to the maintenance of legislative power, however, lies not in depriving the executive of sorely needed aid but in strengthening the legislative process through higher salaries for legislators, annual sessions and adequately staffing the legislative council, the legislative auditor and the joint finance committee.

The governor, in setting up the program for which his administration will be remembered, wants to base his policy decisions on the best facts he can gather. He may turn to the departments for suggestions and for help on technical details of a program, but departments usually are helpful only in their special fields and their viewpoint can be narrow. For programs which deal with such problems as veterans' demands, benefits for the aged, housing, cash sickness benefits or new taxes, the governor cannot usually depend on the departments. He may establish his policy after talking with party leaders and his wide circle of friends. He often depends for advice on technical details on the special interest group involved.

Lack of systematic study of impending problems has often led a governor to move from crisis to crisis, making decisions with conscientious good faith but with too little time to check into basic facts. Sometimes a good alternative to a suggested course of action will crop up later to embarrass the governor; sometimes a whole problem area will be missed by the governor and exploited successfully by the opposition party.

This situation has led governors to include research in staff assignments in states such as Massachusetts, New York and Texas. Governors seem to have an increasing willingness to consult academically trained research men on university bureau staffs, as in New Jersey, or at the head of the legislative research staff, as in Kansas and Nebraska.

But placing an academically trained research man on the governor's staff is not common.

The Budget Problem

Because budgeting involves the financial implementation of the governor's program and provides certain controls in the administration of the executive branch of the government, it is particularly important that the governor have organizational control over it. Some 40 states subscribe to the principle of the executive budget.

In small states it is possible to place the entire budgeting function in the governor's office without doing undue violence to the principle of a compact staff. In the larger states most of the major departments are of sufficient size to contain within themselves a budget division. The central budget division may then be, as in New York, in the executive office of the governor. More common is the arrangement, as in New Jersey, of placing in the department of finance a budget and accounting division with a director appointed by the governor. In Connecticut, the proposal was to place a budget officer on the governor's staff and place the routine accounting and detail work in the department of finance. The proposal emphasizes the budget officer as the top level budget advisor to the governor and relieves him almost completely of the administrative routine involved in budget preparation and execution. The budget officer would be appointed by the governor, would serve at his pleasure, and would be in direct contact with him.

Although the principle of the executive budget is widely supported, so powerful is the right to prepare and administer a budget that there is a marked reluctance on the part of legislatures and interest groups to put the principle into actual operation. In Wisconsin the director of the budget is appointed for a fixed term with the confirmation of the Senate and cannot be removed without senatorial concurrence. (The governor has added a financial secretary to his staff to help with budget preparation.) In New Jersey also, the governor appoints the budget officer with the advice and consent of the Senate.

Dedicated funds are favored by special interests seeking to keep education, highways or game "out of politics." This prevents the governor (and the legislature) from carefully weighing each year the need for the service against all the other needs requiring state money.

The administration of the budget has considerable effect on the governor's relations with operating department heads whether they are his appointees or not.

Considering the pervasive influence of the policy decisions made in preparing a budget and of the administrative decisions made in its execution, does it make sense to have a comprehensive executive budget—an idea widely accepted and generally approved—and have "independent" boards and elected department heads, as many states do? To state the question indicates the degree to which proposals to strengthen the executive budgeting process are political as well as administrative in nature.

Personnel Relations

The governor cannot be responsible for the cost and quality of state services and be isolated from personnel policy, which so greatly affects the productivity of public employees. For instance, if the governor should believe that good personnel relations call for the development of the employee as an individual and the promotion among state employees of the will to cooperate, he should have directly available to him such experienced and competent help as is necessary to work out and put into effect the practical steps by which these ideals may become operative.

Among states having civil service for only part of their employees, Arkansas has placed the personnel function in the governor's office. Utah, Idaho and New Mexico, similarly with only limited civil service coverage, have placed most of the personnel function in the operating departments. In Oklahoma, some of the bitterest fights between the governor and the legislature have been over the extent to which the personnel function should be lodged in the governor's office. In states not having a merit system, political tradition can effectively keep the governor from carrying out any constructive personnel policy.

In the twenty states having civil service, the department of civil service performs the routine functions of recruitment, testing, position classification, etc. In such states a personnel officer in the governor's office would make recommendations for a constructive, progressive personnel program based on factual research, and conduct post-audits, at irregular intervals, of civil service practices and procedures.

This would be a new field for many governors who, under present laws, do not regard themselves as primarily responsible for personnel policy. An experienced, competent staff man can make the governor a more potent force in personnel relations, but such a development involves delicate political and personal adjustments. A personnel man on the governor's staff needs to explore carefully the relations between his boss and the civil service commission, for example. And civil servants themselves tend to be defensive where efforts are made to change past relationship patterns in the personnel field.

While forming his program, the governor needs to have immediately available to him expert and creative legal advice on what he can do within present statutes and the nature of new laws necessary to permit him to accomplish his aims. When the necessary bills are finally drawn, he must have some reliable check against undesirable loopholes. In tax laws, for example, obscure word changes may determine who pays and in what amount. In New York the governor has a general counsel attached to his office. In New Jersey, through a slightly different organizational arrangement, the same end is accomplished; the governor has legal advice during policy formulation from men accountable and loyal to him. In Michigan the governor has a legal advisor on his staff. In Illinois two administrative assistants perform this function along with other duties.

It is not always easy to tell from whom the governor seeks legal advice. Very often it is from outside the government structure. But the governor must remember that outside lawyers are bound to have loyalties and concerns which are not the same as his.

Cabinet vs. Staff

Realizing the multitude and difficulty of the problems that beset him, the governor sometimes thinks in terms of convening his department heads as a cabinet to provide him with advice on policies and to promote coordination. If these two functions can be performed more effectively through a well staffed executive office, the cabinet device may not seem so attractive. There is an essential difference in the qualities that a governor may look for when he appoints a man to his "cabinet" and when he appoints a man competent to administer a department engaged in a complex, perhaps technical, public service. The cabinet member is expected to give high-level political advice, to have some acquaintance with his department and to leave his post when a new governor is elected. The ideal department administrator should know his department intimately and run it according to the policies set forth by the elected head of the state government. He may remain at his post through several changes of administration unless there is a clear-cut difference of opinion between him and the governor. Consideration should be given to the possibility of a fundamental change in the attitude of the governor in selecting his department heads if the executive staff proves its effectiveness in meeting his needs.

Reorganization of state governments in the United States has aimed, in part, at concentration of authority and responsibility in the governor's chair and coordination of the staff services of administration there. The new governor sets the pace of leadership in policy formulation as well as in administration of the state government. His position as head of the party has been strengthened. The public has been taught by the reorganization movements to look to the governor to dramatize the objectives of the state government, to personalize state government actions, and to give character to the state machinery.

The office has attracted a new type of man. This "new governor" interprets and explains state government plans and activities in over a hundred major speeches a year. He holds press conferences, sometimes almost daily over periods of many weeks. He has personal appointments with from 15 to 25 persons a day. Over 500 telephone calls may reach him a week and two to four hours a day may be devoted to urgent correspondence. In the midst of these hectic, vital, public relations activities, the new governor creates state

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Ohio Legislators Get Help

Set up eight years ago, the state's Program Commission has proved worth in both law-making and administration.

By LAUREN A. GLOSSER*

IN THE past half century the role of state government has expanded into a multiplicity of functions extending into all phases of our complex social and economic life. State legislatures, which define the policies of state government, are required to project their judgments into many highly technical fields. But it is impossible for legislators to become thoroughly informed on the wide variety of matters presented to them for action.

In the absence of independent and impartial sources of information, the legislator's principal knowledge comes from advocates or opponents of particular legislative proposals. The legislature, besieged by hundreds of bills and resolutions, has neither the time nor opportunity for extensive research and study. It is not prepared to plan complete programs in such fields as school subsidies, highways and welfare. Consequently, programs are often of a piecemeal, unintegrated design.

State legislatures have created several different types of agencies to aid them. These agencies all have the same general purpose, to conduct studies, gather information and make recommendations in regard to problems of state government. Their functions are performed between legislative sessions and the data and recommendations are submitted for the use of succeeding legislatures.

The most common type of agency is the legislative council or legislative research commission, a continuing body made up of legislative members, which may study any problem presented to it. Another type is the *ad hoc* or temporary commission, created to study a single specific problem, which expires when the study is completed. The latter may or may not include private citizens and administrative officials in addition to legislative members.

The General Assembly of Ohio has created the Ohio Program Commission, which is designed to combine the advantages of the other two types by providing the continuity of the legislative council and by including administrative officials and private citizens in its study groups as in the *ad hoc* commission.

The Program Commission is composed of the president and president pro tempore of the Senate, the speaker of the House of Representatives, five other members of each house, five directors of administrative departments and three members appointed by the governor.

The commission may study any problem which confronts the state, either upon its own initiative or by request of the governor or the General Assembly.

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*Mr. Glosser has been executive secretary of the Ohio Program Commission since 1949 when it was set up as a permanent agency. Previously he served on the administrative staff of the Ohio legislature and as executive of the Ohio Public Welfare Department.

Requests for studies submitted by the governor or the General Assembly have been considered as mandates by the commission. However, suggestions for studies have been made by various private agencies and these are screened by the commission. Only a few emergency study assignments have been received from the General Assembly during legislative sessions.

Committees for Research

A separate committee is created for each study. These committees ordinarily include only a few members of the commission, a substantial number of legislators, representatives of the administrative department responsible for the function being studied, several technical experts from the universities and a great number of private citizens who are particularly interested or experienced in the field of inquiry. The commission does not direct the committees other than to define the scope of the study. It does, however, review their reports and may modify, accept or reject their recommendations before they are submitted to the General Assembly and the governor.

Representation of state departments on a committee affords a background of administrative experience and provides sound evaluations of how proposed recommendations may work in actual execution.

The contribution of private citizens has been of incalculable value. Motivated by a sense of public service, hundreds of eminent and able citizens have accepted assignments. They have provided, without compensation, technical, professional and general knowledge of an inestimable monetary value. Former governors, nationally known scientists and other experts, outstanding attorneys and jurists, eminent physicians and industrialists and men and women of ability from every walk of life have willingly contributed their time and capacities to the betterment of state government by service on these committees.

The prestige of such citizen members has facilitated the acceptance of recommendations by the public and by administrative and legislative representatives. The active devotion to democratic government manifested by such citizen service is a most hopeful and encouraging indication that democratic institutions will endure.

The various elements of these committees—legislative, administrative and citizen representatives—have worked in a spirit of harmony and close cooperation. Legislators have been glad to receive administrative advice and citizen viewpoints on public problems. Administrators have welcomed this opportunity of presenting problems for legislative consideration. Citizen members have willingly learned and accepted the administrative and political considerations inherent in public problems.

The regular administrative staff of the commission is small considering the large number of committees engaged in studies. It consists of an executive secretary, a technical advisor and two secretaries. The commission is able to operate with such a small staff only because most of the research work of the committees is conducted by administrative departments, the Ohio State University and private agencies. During the past biennium such groups as the Ohio Farm Bureau Federation, Ohio Chamber of Commerce, Ohio Educational Association, Ohio Public Expenditure Council and the Ohio Council on Health and Welfare have contributed substantially in matters of research and statistical data.

Accomplishments Noteworthy

While the Ohio Program Commission has existed as a state study and planning agency for only eight years, it has attacked the problems of state government along a broad front, including highways, schools, welfare, conservation and the development of a building code. A number of its programs and recommendations have been enacted into law. Others remain as a pattern for future development. As a newspaper reporter reviewing the work of the commission stated, "Accomplishments are noteworthy and blue prints of tomorrow are taking shape. Its biennial report is a format of the future. Some time, somehow, you seem to sense, a large part of it will find its way into law."

All conservation functions of the state, which had been divided among a number of independent agencies, were unified in 1948 under a single Department of Natural Resources as a result of the efforts of the Program Commission. The unification was first proposed by the commission in 1944 but it required sponsoring by several succeeding commissions before it was finally enacted. In 1949-50 the commission studied the operations of the new department and, as a result, extensive remedial amendments, suggested by administrative experience, were approved by the legislature in 1951.

The state's role in the public school system was studied in 1950. The committee lacked the time to conduct a thorough study of the program of state subsidies to public schools, now amounting to more than a hundred million dollars annually, but it strongly recommended that the commission conduct an extensive review of the program this biennium, with adequate research to substantiate its conclusions. The Schools Committee recommended—and the legislature enacted—amendments to the school building code which will save school districts between five and ten million dollars in the school building program for the next biennium.

The commission is also preparing a revision of the building code of the state which will effect similar economies in private construction and public buildings. This project is expected to require another eighteen months to complete.

An engineering survey of every road, street and highway in Ohio was conducted under the auspices of the Program Commission by the Automotive Safety Foundation. For the first time the state now has comprehensive data on its highway needs, along with recommendations as to the classification, planning and management of the highway system. A fiscal study was also made to determine the most practicable methods of raising revenues for highway needs and to recommend the proper allocation of revenues among the various jurisdictions on the basis of need. It is generally accepted that a highway program is necessary and will eventually be enacted in Ohio. Whatever program is ultimately adopted will be predicated in a substantial measure upon the information developed by these studies.

The state's penal administration has been studied by three separate committees of the commission in successive bienniums. Many of their recommendations have been put into effect either through new laws or by administrative action. A minimum security type reformatory has been established. A special unit for the care and study of psychopathic offenders is being created. The Bureau of Examinations and Classifications has been organized and a director has been appointed to supervise the Division of Corrections. The 1949-50 penal study described a complete program of the institutional, organizational and personnel needs required for the proper classification, segregation and rehabilitation of prisoners.

In 1945 the commission recommended a $25,000,000 building appropriation for mental institutions. Between 1945 and 1950 the General Assembly appropriated in excess of $50,000,000 for capital improvements in state mental institutions. In 1947 the Program Commission recommended acquisition by the state of the army hospital at Cambridge, Ohio. It was subsequently acquired and is now serving as one of the largest and best of the state mental institutions. In 1950 the commission made a number of recommendations regarding mental hygiene administration in the matters of laws, out-patient clinics, personnel training, facilities and charges for care of patients.

In addition to the school building code and the conservation amendments mentioned above, the General Assembly enacted a number of laws in 1950 on recommendation of the commission or its committees. The authority and the assessments—the commission is supported by assessments made on public utilities—of the Public Utilities Commission were increased to improve rural telephone service. Agricultural research and education were expanded and improved by increased appropriations. Truck license fees were increased, compulsory motor vehicle accident reporting was required, and the number of state highway patrolmen increased. Civil defense functions were supported by an appropriation and provision was made for an Ohio Defense Corps to succeed the National Guard should it be called into federal service.

Salaries of the governor and other officials were increased to make state service more attractive to competent persons. The renting of state office space was consolidated in one agency to promote economy and efficiency. The school building program was aided by an appropriation and by authority to issue bonds for such purpose.

Constitutional Revision

The commission is continuing a Committee on the Organization of the Executive Branch of State Government. This committee has submitted reports on the terms and salaries of elected state officials, fiscal administration and personnel administration. It is expected to cover the other fields of state government during the coming biennium.

In November 1952, the people of Ohio will vote on the question, "Shall there be a convention to revise, alter or amend the constitution?" This question is presented each twenty years by provision of the constitution. If a majority voting on the proposition is in favor of a convention, the General Assembly must provide, at its next regular session, for the election of delegates and the assembling of such a convention. In 1949 the commission created a committee to focus public attention on the question and it will continue such a committee for the next biennium to promote public interest and furnish information on this important issue.

During the past two years the committee has held public hearings in several cities on the advisability of a constitutional convention and it is contemplated that these meetings will be extended to cover other areas. Publications have been prepared and issued by the commission for use in the consideration of constitutional questions. A short history of the development and content of the constitution, *Ohio's Constitution in the Making*, was compiled by the secretary of the commission. Thousands of copies have been issued to discussion groups and civic organizations and many schools have used it. The commission also published *Constitutional Revision in the States of the Union*, *Alternatives to a Constitutional Convention* and *A Statement Against a Constitutional Convention.*

Agency Fills a Need

The Ohio Program Commission has afforded a medium through which legislators, administrators and interested citizens can collaborate in an unhurried and considered approach to the problems facing the state government. These committees are free of the pressures incident to the legislative session. They have ample time to give a thorough consideration and to gather necessary information on matters within their purview. The recommendations proposed by these studies are being translated, year by year, into legislative enactments and administrative practice. The Ohio Program Commission is now recognized as filling a real need as an advisory agency in the formulation of public policy for the state.

The 'Third' House in Indiana

Lobbyists for pressure groups, outnumbering members of legislature, strive to impose their programs on state.

By **MELVIN PIERCE***

ALL visitors to the Indiana State House during the 1951 legislative session were introduced to the term "third house." Midway between the House and Senate chambers stood a table bearing the sign:

Special Service and General
Information for Hobbyists, Lobbyists
and Members
of the Third House
Checking, Cleaning and Pressing
2 Hour or One Day Service

This widely recognized third house is the extra-legal—and occasionally illegal—group of men and women, usually representing a particular interest group, who exert pressure upon the legislators. These lobbyists have become an integral part of the American system of representation.

Lobbyists and pressure groups have become such an important segment of our political process that the problem is not now one of whether pressure groups are desirable or undesirable but rather of determining how they can best be controlled and utilized in the public interest.

It is in the third house that the bulk of legislation is germinated and carefully cultivated. Pressure politics has become such a vital part of the American political system that it must be examined in detail if we are to achieve an understanding of the workings of government.

In Indiana there were 93 groups which registered 180 lobbyists for the 1951 session—a little more than one lobbyist for each legislator. An analysis of registrations during the 1949 and 1951 sessions reveals:

	1949	1951
Organizations with registered representatives	82	93
Individuals representing themselves	2	4
Total	84	97
GROUP REPRESENTATIVES		
Labor	74	28
Businesses or business organization	33	30
Women	14	7
Professional	10	16
Taxpayers and real estate	9	9
Teachers and other school	9	7
Farm and cooperative	7	3
Veterans	2	9
Miscellaneous	33	71
Total	191	180

This picture is at best misleading since it is not clear just what constitutes a lobbyist under Indiana law. A person is not required to register unless he receives pay for his lobbying services. This provision, along with the decision of the attorney general that a person who receives no extra compensation for lobbying for his regular employer is not subject to registration, has enveloped the law with a nebulous haze. For instance, during the 1951 session, a front page story in the

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Indianapolis *Times* criticized Jim Nicholas, secretary of the Indiana Motor Truck Association, for not registering. Asked why he wasn't, Mr. Nicholas, who had registered at previous sessions, said:

> Two years ago, all the other lobbyists gave me a ribbing for registering. They said it wasn't necessary because there is a provision in the lobbyist law which says you must receive extra compensation for lobbying. Well, I don't get anything extra for coming over here. And I don't see why I should register. Maybe I should register. I don't know.

It has been estimated that, if the law were strictly construed and strictly abided by, the number of registered lobbyists would be tripled. Many people who should register fail to do so. Conversely, a few people who are not legally required to register do so anyway.

Labor union lobbyists are registered in full force largely because they fear exposure if they fail to register. Some of these men could rightly claim that lobbying is incidental to their regular employment, that they receive no extra compensation for it and therefore do not have to register. They feel they have more to lose by not registering, however.

Categorizing the number of registered lobbyists is further complicated by the fact that organizations which appear to be logically grouped together may have entirely different, or even violently opposing, interests. This is demonstrated by an examination of the conflicts between the lobbyists for the Congress of Industrial Organizations and those for the American Federation of Labor.

It would hardly be disputed that the Indiana Farm Bureau is one of the more important influences on the legislature. The large membership of the bureau provides a good source of revenue as well as potential bargaining power. The membership of almost 100,000 (for 1951) pays dues of $10 a year, of which $3.25 is retained by the state office for operating expenses. Following the legislative session, Farm Bureau lobbyists tour the state to acquaint members with the activities of the legislature. Mr. Thomas, leader of the Farm Bureau lobby, and his assistants attend local meetings and discuss measures of interest to the farmer and answer questions.

No More Entertaining

Lavish parties have proved costly and are considered unnecessary by the Farm Bureau lobbyists. The bureau formerly had a dinner for the farm bloc in the legislature but some of the legislators felt slighted. This resulted in the bureau inviting all legislators to a dinner. The invitation was then extended to families of the legislators. This became so expensive the entire procedure was dropped. The Farm Bureau lobby now feels it has considerable support and can exert sufficient influence simply by explaining its views to the legislators.

The Farm Bureau also wields influence without the open knowledge of the legislators and many of the other lobbies by informal agreements with other organizations. During the session one particular group was often referred to by those few aware of its existence as the "unholy alliance." It consisted of lobbyists from the Farm Bureau, real estate, office managers, tax and other groups. A fund was established for expenses incidental to certain legislation inimical to all concerned.

Lobbies Cooperate

The cooperative aspect of lobbying is evident in another field. The Farm Bureau Corporation is the agency outlet for Farm Bureau insurance companies which supply the farmers with full insurance coverage. The Farm Bureau therefore has a working agreement with various insurance lobbies. Insurance companies supply legal and technical information pertaining to the insurance aspect of legislation. They study proposed bills and determine how they will affect member companies. They also write and otherwise sponsor legislation favorable to the insurance business. The Farm Bureau, on the other hand, supplies the needed legislative votes to pass or defeat the agreed upon insurance legislation. Occasionally the Farm Bureau lobby finds itself at odds with some of the insurance lobbyists, but for the most part it feels that what is good for the large insurance companies is good for the Farm Bureau.

In the 1951 session there were 68 bills affecting insurance companies. Bills which were objected to by the large, organized concerns failed to pass. An interested lobbyist said, "The greater part of the 68 bills which would have affected insurance were successfully held in committee and perished with the end of the session."

Although much of the activity of the insurance lobby is directed toward preventing passage of certain legislation, numerous laws favorable to insurance companies have passed the Indiana General Assembly. As an example, in the 1949 session casualty insurance companies were allowed to invest 10 per cent of their reserves in real estate. In 1951 this privilege was extended to life insurance companies.

Several years ago the Indiana legislature stipulated that the Highway Department was to keep a file on every person in Indiana who caused an accident by committing a traffic violation. As this information was of value to insurance firms, the cost of this procedure, about $400,000 annually, was to be borne by the insurance companies. In 1949, these companies successfully lobbied for legislation requiring the violator to pay $1.75 in addition to the usual fine, to be set aside to help pay for compiling the information. This raised approximately $200,000, saving the insurance companies a considerable amount of money. In the 1951 session the insurance lobby persuaded the legislature to require that this fee be collected in the so-called "cafeteria courts" in Indianapolis, Hammond and Evansville as well as in other courts.

Smaller organizations interested in lobbying must rely upon different techniques. For instance, the trucking lobby and its adversary, the railroad lobby, resort to greater expenditures for entertainment and propaganda purposes than most of the large organizations. Both groups publish a good deal of material in an attempt to convince the public, legislators and at times, perhaps, themselves, of the virtues of their program and the vices of the programs of their opponents. The truckers publish *Are You Interested in the Truth?* The railroad lobby, not to be outdone, distributes *The Highway Transportation Story . . . In Facts.*

Opposing Lobbies

Two other lobbying groups in conflict are the Indiana County Commissioners Association and the Indiana Petroleum Industries Committee. The former is composed of about 60 per cent of the county commissioners—200 to 225 members—and is supported largely by associated memberships. Highway contractors, material and equipment interests, and others who would benefit from highway construction, openly support the association, which publishes a directory in which these interests advertise.

In the 1951 session the association was concerned mainly with a two-cent increase in the gasoline tax, repeal of the law forbidding use of property tax funds for the improvement of county highways, and repeal of the law forbidding use of borrowed funds for the improvement of county highways. Published material was supplied to legislators and interested groups and upon two occasions legislators were visited by large numbers of county commissioners in an attempt to persuade them to enact the desired legislation. The association failed to achieve any degree of success, however, whereas the Indiana Petroleum Industries Committee, representing fifteen major petroleum companies and opposing the commissioners, claimed complete success.

In the 1951 session the Indiana Trustees Association, composed of most of the trustees from the state's 1012 townships and closely allied to the School Bus Drivers' Association, supported a bill which would have aided townships to borrow in order to enlarge or construct school buildings. It also would have given the state superintendent $100,000 of state funds to run a two-year survey of the needs for school reorganization and new buildings. It was generally conceded that this bill would have placed a brake on the school consolidations which are presently being planned.

The Indiana State Teachers Association, on the other hand, favored an alternate bill for new school construction with state assistance. This would have encouraged greater consolidation in line with the program of the teachers association which advocated larger school units in the interests of "better and more economical schools." The teachers association also feared that the provisions for a study committee were designed to counteract the recommendations already made by the Indiana School Study Committee, an unofficial body sponsored by the teachers association.

Among the tactics used was an "invasion" of the General Assembly by hundreds of trustees and bus drivers. The teachers association counter-attacked by sending thousands of telegrams to legislators from people "back home."

When it became evident that neither group could get its bill enacted certain legislators, as well as representatives of a few lobbying groups, intervened and a compromise bill was finally passed. It created an Indiana State School Building Authority composed of the governor, secretary of state, auditor, treasurer and state superintendent of public instruction. It gives the authority corporate status and permits it to buy, lease and hold school sites and buildings by issuance of bonds and to lease buildings to school corporations.

It should not be implied that particular lobbying groups are always opposed to one another. Rather, a fluid situation exists. Groups, or combinations of groups, may work together at one time and be opposed at another. Several groups may get together and gang up on one.

Interesting features of lobbying groups are the organizations they form to advance segments of their interests. Groups which may have sharply conflicting interests in one area band together in another. For instance, the Indiana State Industrial Union Council, the Federation of Labor and the Junior Chamber of Commerce, along with fourteen other groups, are members of the Indiana Merit System Association.

Almost every lobbying group of any significance belongs to one or more larger groups. Such a situation results in greater complexity and greater confusion for the legislator. It becomes a problem not only of discovering which interests are behind which organizations, but also which organizations are behind which larger organizations.

Gambling Lobby

The gambling interests add to the confusion. Representative Thomas C. Hasbrook of Marion County attempted to expose the influence behind the gambling lobby in the 1951 session. He issued a statement to the press that he believed the rumor that a Muncie man was at the legislature with a "suitcase full of money" while the anti-gambling bill was being considered. In a confidential report he says:

> The minutes of the Senate Public Policy Committee for the '51 session of the assembly will show that a Muncie man testified against the lottery bill. This man indicated that about 400 people were employed in the pool and lottery and punchboard manufacturing business in Muncie.

Another report by Representative Hasbrook comments:

> I was informed by a Mr. J. that I was wrong about the suitcase full of money coming from Muncie. This man said that the Muncie money ran out early in the session and that the funds finally came from Chicago. This man further said that according to his information this was the biggest payoff chest in years. He specifically mentioned the name of a representative who he said was paid but could describe no circumstances.
>
> An anonymous lady phone caller told me about two State House employees who she said were doing part of the dirty work against House Bill 128 [the anti-gambling bill introduced by Representative Hasbrook]. One of these ladies was supposed to have been brought in after 128 came out of committee in the House when it seemed as if the bill was gaining momentum. Reputedly she was the contact between the legislators and the gamblers. . . .

Representative Hasbrook's anti-gambling bill, which never came out of conference committee, would have set up the state attorney general as a statewide crime commissioner with sweeping powers. It passed the House with only three dissenting votes but when it reached the Senate bedlam broke loose. The bill was amended several times in an obvious attempt to destroy it. After great controversy on the Senate floor it was sent to a conference committee. Representative Hasbrook, a blinded veteran of World War II, tells of an incident which occurred at a meeting of this committee.

> Our meeting, which was closed, started by my placing the original copy of the bill in the middle of the table. No concessions would be made by [Senator] Conrad and [Representative] Churilla but they did want to talk to the attorney general. We started in a body for the attorney general's office.
>
> As we were leaving the committee room, I remembered I did not have the bill. . . . I told Miss Cooper, my secretary, to see who had the bill. . . . She told me that Churilla had the bill. . . . When we stopped at the elevator, Miss Cooper said that she didn't think Churilla had the bill any longer. I immediately said, "Churilla, have you got the bill?" He said, "Sure," and pushed some folded papers up against my hand. Miss Cooper looked them over and said, "That's not the original copy of the bill which you had in the meeting. I saw Mr. Churilla hand something to that man standing over against the wall."
>
> Senator Anness, hearing this, ran over to the man Miss Cooper pointed out and grabbed the original copy of the bill out of his hand without resistance. . . . Miss Cooper and Senator Anness tried to identify the man to whom the bill was handed but could not do so.

Following the 1951 session Representative Hasbrook has spent a good deal of time uncovering material and giving lectures on the sordid aspects of legislating. He is a newcomer to the state legislature and is appalled by the activities of the gambling lobby and other corrupt practices which occurred during the past session.

Lobbyists Are Realists

This short review of the habits and coloration of the species *Lobbiensis* is no more than a profile study. Suffice it to say, there are big lobbies, little lobbies, good lobbies and bad lobbies, successful lobbies and not-so-successful lobbies. Their organization and techniques vary but all have one thing in common. When the General Assembly meets, the lobbies, each professing to represent the interests of the public or a segment of the public, swarm to the State House as to the feast of Scheherazade, each intent upon converting into public policy what each advocates as a private policy.

Lobbyists as a species are complete realists, believing firmly in the first law of nature, the survival of the fittest, with survival meaning public ratification of the lobbyist's program. The lobbies follow, in general, a policy of expediency, using those techniques of persuasion and, on occasion, intimidation which will most likely crown their efforts with success. The numerous alliances, cross alliances, balances of power and marriages of convenience occurring between lobbying groups have only the sanction of mutual advantage to justify them.

Upon the hapless legislator, then,

is placed the great responsibility of somehow, virtually unaided by an objective source of information, creating legislation which will be in the interests of the general welfare. The fact that some constructive legislation does emerge from the 61 days of labor each biennium is one of the great continuing miracles of nature.

THE GOVERNOR NEEDS STAFF

(Continued from page 467)

policies on pressing issues for the consideration of the public and the legislature, makes major budgeting decisions and worries about the morale and activities of the thousands of public officials and employees for whose actions he must answer. The new governor may put in a carefully scheduled 55- to 60-hour week of high tempo activity and leave undone much of what is expected of him.

Although state government reorganizations have almost invariably increased the responsibilities and duties of the governor, they have seldom provided him with the kind of help most useful to him in meeting the demands of his new position. Under these circumstances, the check imposed on the new governor by limitations of his personal time and strength has rivaled the traditional check on the activities of the strong executive—the considered judgment of a hard-working legislature and the expressed interest of an informed electorate. In transforming the governor from figurehead to leader, did the reorganizers hope to find an "armless wonder"?

Through actual experience, governors are finding much needed additional eyes and arms in the small special staff. The governor's "team" requires men who are versatile, talented and personally loyal. The pattern of their duties is fairly definite but the organization of their duties must be flexible.

Even this relatively simple adjustment in a state's organizational structure alters intricate political and administrative relationships. It is important to remember that it involves politics as well as administration.

LABORATORIES FOR CITIZENSHIP

(Continued from page 457)

the activities of voluntary civic research and action organizations. One, in cooperation with the National Association of Civic Secretaries, will discuss methods of civic organizations used to inform the public about candidates for public office.

One Conference session will feature outstanding city managers who will discuss the work of the manager and his relations with the mayor, city council and public.

Another afternoon session will bring together a group of representative business and industrial leaders under the chairmanship of League president Henry Bruère to discuss the businessman's stake in and responsibility for good government. Charles Edison, chairman of the board of Thomas A. Edison, Inc., will open the discussion.

News in Review

City, State and Nation . . . . *Edited by H. M. Olmsted*

States and Cities Further Civil Defense

Congress Criticized for Cuts in Proposed Appropriations

DESPITE the discouraging effect of drastic cuts by Congress in administration requests for civil defense appropriations, states and cities are taking steps to cooperate with one another and to provide limited means for minimizing disaster from possible enemy attacks.

Federal appropriations for civil defense in the last fiscal year totaled $31,800,000. For fiscal 1952 the budget request was $535,000,000. Late in August the House Appropriations Committee recommended $65,255,000—a cut of 88 per cent—and the House accepted the recommendation. Senate action remained to be taken.

Of the $535,000,000 budget request, $250,000,000 was for construction of shelters on a 50 per cent matching basis. The House committee allowed nothing for this. An additional $45,000,000 was for matching expenditures by local governments for attack warning systems, communications, fire-fighting services, warden service, rescue service, medical supplies and equipment, and training and education. The committee allowed $4,500,000. Emergency supplies and equipment came to $200,000,000, without matching. The committee allowed $50,000,000, for medical purposes only.

The House action caused vigorous criticism by municipal representatives. The Washington *Newsletter* of the American Municipal Association said:

"The whole attitude of the committee is difficult to understand or to rationalize. It evidences a shocking disregard for the safety of the American people, a completely unrealistic concept of national defense and of the responsibilities and the fiscal capacity of local governments, and a nonchalant refusal to use even elementary logic. While refusing to appropriate a relative pittance for civil defense, this same committee approved billions for the armed services and for foreign aid, all of which must depend, for effective results, upon maintenance of high morale and unprecedented and uninterrupted production at home.

"Its 'belief,' so sanguinely and naively stated, in the ability of states and local governments to cope with the results of atomic attack cannot be regarded seriously when the Congress recently found it necessary to appropriate a sizeable sum to assist a flood-stricken area which suffered a much less unexpected and devastating damage than enemy attack would bring."

Data reported to the AMA reflect local officials' increasing awareness of their responsibility for urban residents' safety. More than $4,300,000 for civil defense was appropriated for fiscal 1951 by 78 U. S. cities, ranging from 15,000 to 8,000,000. This contrasts with but $275,000 spent for this purpose in fiscal 1950 in the same cities. For fiscal 1952, however, with less than half the 87 reporting cities having finally approved next year's budget, civil defense appropriations rose to more than $12,000,000.

New York leads all other cities in civil defense appropriations for 1952; more than $9,000,000 is budgeted for this purpose as compared to some $2,000,000 spent last year. Detroit has allocated $1,500,000 for civil defense expenditures—two-thirds for purchase of equipment—during the 1952 fiscal year.

The states of New York and New Jersey have concluded a civil defense mutual assistance pact, expanding a military defense pact made between those states in September 1950; the latter provides for interchange of militia in a defense emergency. The new pact provides that each state will send civilian defense workers and equipment if needed by the other, and each will try to adopt the same equipment, organizational methods, warnings, drills and type of training.

Action has also been completed by all ten states in the northeast to participate in a uniform civil defense and disaster compact.

Such compacts have also been made by various cities, including eight in the state of Washington.[1] The city of New Haven, Connecticut, has entered into a compact for cooperation and integration of civil defense planning and services with six surrounding towns: East Haven, Milford, Orange, North Haven, West Haven and Woodbridge.

Constitutional Amendments Beaten in New Mexico

The voters of New Mexico defeated eight proposed constitutional amendments on September 18. That providing absentee voting received a majority but failed to meet the requirement for any amendment affecting the elective franchise of a two-thirds vote in each county and three-fourths over-all.

Other amendments would have: eliminated the prohibition against selling or giving liquor to Indians; provided for appointment instead of election of the superintendent of public instruction and required that he be an experienced educational administrator with not less than a master's degree; permitted the legislature to fix salaries of the Supreme Court and district courts, now frozen into the constitution (except that supplementary duties and compensation therefor have been assigned by the legislature); permitted municipalities to vote on bond issues at special as well as regular elections; and doubled the per diem compensation of legislators (now $10).

The heaviest adverse vote was on nonpartisan appointment of Supreme Court and district judges by the governor from panels of three names submitted by nonpartisan commissions. For the Supreme Court the commission would have consisted of the chief justice as chairman and the Board of Bar Commissioners of the State Bar, composed of one from each judicial district. A commission for a district judge nomination would have consisted of the chief justice, two lawyers selected by the bar of the district and two non-lawyers, also residents of the district, one appointed by the governor, the other by the Supreme Court. After a year, if the judge desired to remain in office, a vote was provided, at the next congressional election, on the question of retaining him. The plan was proposed by the Bar Association.

Employee Suggestion Plan Saves New York State $435,000

In four and a half years of operation of its employees' suggestion plan[1] New York State has paid out more than $18,000 in awards ranging from $5 to $500. As a result of the suggestions an estimated $435,000 in savings has accrued to the state.

A board of three members, appointed by the governor, administers the program. Awards are in the form of cash, salary increments, medals or certificates.

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[1] See the Review, September 1951, page 422.

[1] See the Review, January 1948, page 36.

More Organization Reports of Massachusetts Commission

The Massachusetts Special Commission on the Structure of the State Government, after making three preliminary reports,[1] has issued two larger reports. The fourth deals with industrial relations, the fifth with public welfare.

The fourth report recommends that the present Department of Industrial Accidents be merged into the Department of Labor and Industries and that six existing boards and commissions be reduced to three. One of these, the Development and Industrial Commission, would be transferred elsewhere, leaving only two in the reorganized Department of Labor and Industries—the Industrial Accident Board and a new Industrial Relations Board. Eight present divisions would shrink to seven and one of these, the Division of Standards, would be transferred. The Divisions of Apprentice Training and of Employment Security would remain; new divisions resulting from reassignment of functions of existing divisions would be conciliation, economic research, industrial health and safety and workmen's compensation.

Responsibility would be centered in the commission instead of being diffused as at present. The three positions of associate commissioner would be abolished. An unpaid Advisory Council would be created, consisting of three representatives of organized labor, three of management and three of the public.

The fifth report proposes a complete reorganization of the Department of Public Welfare to eliminate waste and duplication and to produce substantial economies. There would be a Division of Public Assistance, a Division of Child and Youth Services, and an Administrative Division, instead of various scattered and overlapping units. Top administrative personnel would be reduced and strengthened and district offices would be cut from seven to six. A stronger lien law is urged, to permit much larger recoveries from estates of old-age assistance recipients.

More Legislative Research Bodies

Establishment of legislative councils this year by New Mexico and South Dakota brings to 26 the states with interim legislative study committees, the Council of State Governments reports. Since the end of World War II twelve states have created such agencies. Kansas established the first in 1933.

States now having such councils are: Alabama, Arkansas, Connecticut, Florida, Illinois, Indiana, Kansas, Kentucky, Maine, Maryland, Minnesota, Missouri, Nebraska, Nevada, New Mexico, North Dakota, Oklahoma, Pennsylvania, South Carolina, South Dakota, Texas, Utah, Virginia, Washington, Wisconsin and Wyoming.

Other developments during 1951 designed to facilitate the legislative function included creation of a Georgia bill-drafting unit within the attorney general's office; establishment in Colorado and Washington of permanent committees on statutory revisions; and establishment of new legislative budget and auditing control staffs under legislative committees in Iowa, Oklahoma and Washington.

Oregon Sets Up Finance Department

The Oregon legislature has established a new Department of Finance, consisting of the budget office and the former purchasing and printing departments. These two departments were under the State Board of Control but will now be under a finance director appointed by the governor.

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[1] See the Review, April 1951, page 209.

Consolidation of State Agencies in Michigan Urged

Recommendations recently made by the Michigan Joint Legislative Committee on Reorganization of State Government would combine the functions of 22 existing state agencies under three, according to the Council of State Governments.

A department of professional licensing would integrate the functions of boards now regulating various professions and trades; advisory boards for each would conduct examinations and decide on issuance of licenses. The Treasury Department would be expanded to include custody and investment of state funds, revenue collection, and representation of the state in dealing with local governmental units on tax and bonding matters. Under a third proposal a division of drivers and motor vehicle service, with a number of related functions, would be created in the State Department. Legislation and constitutional amendments would be required to put the recommendations into effect.

34 States Adopt Federal Social Security

Legislation enabling cities to participate in the federal old age and survivors' insurance program has been adopted in 34 states since the 1950 amendment to the social security law extended coverage to state and local government employees. Under such legislation the state can enter into an agreement with the federal government to provide coverage for local government employees, except those covered by a local retirement system or pension fund at the time the agreement is made.

States Adopt New Laws for Crime Control

State legislatures in 1951, according to a summer survey by the Council of State Governments, enacted a large volume of new crime control legislation.

Stiffer regulations and penalties for narcotics traffickers were provided in Arkansas, Illinois, Maryland, New York, Oklahoma, Tennessee and Utah. Florida, Maine and New Hampshire strengthened controls over bookmaking. Iowa passed a law—similar to laws in Minnesota and Wisconsin—providing that "intentional possession or wilful keeping of a gambling device upon any licensed premises is cause for the revocation of any license." Idaho, Iowa, New York and Ohio strengthened state supervision over local law enforcement. Three states —Illinois, New York and Texas—strengthened their grand jury systems to enable local communities to uncover corruption and improper conduct.

Seven states added stiffer controls over horse and dog racing and sporting events, and an equal number over slot machines and games of chance. Ten new enactments of the interstate crime control program were recorded: North Carolina and Texas enacted the interstate probation and parole compact; Georgia, Tennessee and Texas passed the uniform extradition act; Kansas, Nevada and Texas passed the out-of-state witnesses act; and Arkansas and Missouri enacted the fresh pursuit act. Eight states—Alabama, Arkansas, California, Maine, Maryland, Missouri, New York and Texas—authorized crime investigations.

One-man Grand Jury Restored in Michigan

Governor Williams of Michigan has signed a bill restoring the one-man grand jury system, which began in 1917 but was abolished in 1949. It enables a single judge to conduct a crime investigation and to grant immunity to witnesses.

Commission to Overhaul Missouri Election Laws

The Missouri legislature has passed and Governor Smith has signed a bill creating a special twelve-man commission to study the state's election laws and submit recommendations to the 1953 legislature. The commission consists of six members from each house of the legislature and is headed by Senator Edgar J. Keating of Kansas City, sponsor of the bill.

The St. Louis *Globe-Democrat* hails the act and urges consideration of changing the date for primaries from August to May, the use of voting machines, and review of the absentee voting law as well as correction of conflicts, overlapping and obsolete features of existing laws.

New Florida Laws for Municipalities

The 1951 Florida legislature considered the usual multitude of bills affecting city and county government but enacted only one significant piece of legislation for cities. A state enabling act to permit municipalities to participate in the federal social security program is now in effect. This law permits cities having no pension plans or other retirement coverage for employees to make agreements with the federal agency through the State Industrial Commission, which will have responsibility for supervising the operation of the plan. Full details of the Florida plan have not yet been announced by the commission.

Lesser bills affecting cities include: (a) clarification of the controversial cigarette tax law whereby the state-collected moneys are largely returned to the municipalities and (b) a general act to permit cities to acquire, construct and finance off-street parking facilities.

A movement for state constitutional revision failed in committee during the early days of the session and no further major constitutional activity is anticipated for the succeeding biennium.

William F. Larsen
University of Florida

Council-manager Plan Developments

Englewood, Colorado, (1950 population 16,619) voted 764 to 180 for the council-manager plan at a special election on August 7. It carried in each of the ten voting precincts by wide margins. At the November election nine councilmen are to be elected, two from each of four wards and one at large, to take office in January 1952.

The council-manager plan has been adopted in **Black Mountain, North Carolina,** (1,165) and **Bowdoinham** (town), **Maine,** (1,033).

Petitions in **Quincy, Massachusetts,** for substitution of Plan A (mayor-council) for Plan E (council-manager) have been thrown out because of irregularities.

In **Lynn, Massachusetts,** two protests which had been filed against the holding of a referendum at the November election on adopting Plan E—statutory council-manager plan—have been rejected. One appeal, concerning the validity and sufficiency of the signatures to the petitions filed by the Plan E Association, was thrown out by the city council September 11 because of lack of proof. The appellant, a city fireman, announced he would carry the matter to the Superior Court. The other, claiming that a prohibition against city employees making political contributions is illegal, was ruled invalid.

A slate of candidates pledged to the council-manager plan was nominated in **Schuylkill Haven, Pennsylvania,** and will appear on the November ballot.

The Junior Chamber of Commerce of **Washington, D.C.,** is conducting an educational campaign for the manager plan.

In **Hialeah, Florida,** a council-manager proposal was defeated by a vote of 1,801 to 1,511 on September 11. Over 2,000 who voted at the election failed to vote on the manager question. The proposal was bitterly opposed by the mayor and council. It was supported by an organized citizen group and by the *Home News.*

Fort Myers, Florida, will hold a referendum on the council-manager plan in the near future.

The city council of **Warren, Ohio,** on August 22 accepted petitions of the Warren Charter League for the election of a charter commission. The election will be on November 6 and the commission will have a year in which to prepare and submit a new charter.

The council-manager plan is under consideration in **Salem, Ohio.** C. H. Vaughan, president of the city council, advocates the plan, along with nonpartisan elections. He is not seeking re-election.

Delaware, Ohio, plans a vote on adoption of the council-manager plan.

Petitions have been circulated in **Ashtabula, Ohio,** for a vote at the November 6 election on the question of returning to the appointive city manager plan. This was adopted in 1916 but amended in 1948 to require election of the manager, thus making it no longer true council-manager government.

The *Public Ledger* of **Maysville, Kentucky,** is campaigning for the manager plan.

Voters of **Burlington, Iowa,** turned down a council-manager proposal 4,764 to 3,415 on August 11. Thus the present commission plan is retained. The total vote was about half the registration. The manager plan was advocated by the Citizens Committee for Good Government composed chiefly of business and professional people and housewives. It was opposed by the present mayor and commission and various labor leaders, including the Building Trades Council; however, the Trades and Labor Assembly (AFL) and the Auto Workers Union (CIO) took no stand for or against the plan. Another manager proposal was defeated in Burlington in 1924.

In **Idaho Falls, Idaho,** the mayor recently appointed a committee to study the manager plan and report its recommendations to the mayor and commission. There has also been established a Citizens Committee of 100 to keep watch over the city's government and to consider the desirability of the manager plan.

The **Thermopolis, Wyoming,** Chamber of Commerce has established a committee to study the council-manager plan and submit recommendations. Wyoming has one manager city, Laramie.

Port Angeles, Washington, will vote on adoption of the manager plan at a special election November 27.

Council-manager cities receiving awards in the 1950 traffic law enforcement contest conducted by the International Association of Chiefs of Police are Oakland, Pasadena, Sacramento and San Jose, California; Dallas, Texas; and Dayton, Ohio. Winners in the 1950 National Traffic Safety Contest included the following manager cities: Kansas City, Missouri; Rochester, New York; Wichita, Kansas; San Jose, California; Winston-Salem, North Carolina; Dubuque, Iowa; and Tucson, Arizona, according to the International City Managers' Association.

City Managers Hold Annual Meeting

The annual conference of the International City Managers' Association, at Poland Spring, Maine, in September, was attended by over 600 people of whom 323 were city managers, a record. Bill N. Taylor, manager at Wichita Falls, Texas, was elected president. Seven managers received certificates for completing 25 years of manager service; a total of 50 now have such certificates. Kansas City, Missouri, was chosen for the 38th annual conference in the fall of 1952.

Interstate Port Authority for Philadelphia Area

The legislatures of Pennsylvania and New Jersey have ratified an interstate compact creating a Delaware River Port Authority to improve the river, develop the business of the port of Philadelphia-Camden and provide transportation and river-crossing facilities in the port district, including a high speed transit system in South Jersey. The port district is defined as Delaware and Philadelphia Counties on the Pennsylvania side and eight counties in New Jersey starting at a line a little south of Trenton and running generally eastward to the Atlantic Ocean.

Phoenix Greets Its New Citizens

Directed particularly to new citizens of Phoenix, Arizona, as a result of recent annexation, Mayor Nicholas Udall and City Manager Ray W. Wilson prepared and distributed messages welcoming the new residents and setting forth their rights and the services and other advantages offered by the city. The manager's notice specified how to obtain information concerning the various city functions as affecting the individual citizen.

Detroit Adopts Compulsory Arbitration for Firemen

In Detroit, a charter amendment recently adopted by a vote of 96,193 to 61,262, requires compulsory arbitration of labor disputes between the city and employees of the fire department when requested by half or more of the firemen. The Detroit Fire Fighters' Association, which urged the amendment, has a no-strike clause in its constitution. City officials opposed the amendment.

Under its provisions one arbiter is to be appointed by the city, one by the employees and a third is to be selected by one of four alternative methods—by the two arbiters, by the governor, by the State Mediation Board or by the National Labor Relations Board. Decisions handed down by the arbiters on questions submitted by the firemen are binding on them, on the board of fire commissioners and on the city council.

New York University Trains for Governmental Publicity

One of the first courses in any American university in government publicity and information has been established at New York University's Graduate Division of Public Service. Lecturers for the course, which began September 26, are Maxwell Lehman, editor of *The Civil Service Leader,* and Leo J. Margolin, public relations executive and former newspaperman. It offers graduate students preparing for government service, or already in government, systematic study of philosophy, problems and techniques of public relations and the dissemination of government information to the public.

At the New School for Social Science, also in New York City, a fifteen-weeks course in municipal public relations began September 27 under Henry Davis Nadig, executive director of the Government Public Relations Association.

County and Township . . . . *Edited by Elwyn A. Mauck*

City, County Officials Consider Joint Action

Localities in Tennessee and Colorado Seek to Cooperate

IN COLORADO, city-county cooperation was given renewed emphasis recently when the following letter was sent by the president of the Colorado Municipal League to all county board chairmen:

"Both you and the officials of the cities and towns in your county are responsible for local government, that government which is closest to the people. County and municipal officials have many problems in common and on many of them cooperation has occurred. Among our mutual problems are highway planning, property reappraisal, civil defense, planning and zoning, public health, etc.

"Because of our common interests, the officers of the Colorado Municipal League have decided to provide for each board of county commissioners a complimentary subscription to *Colorado Municipalities,* our monthly magazine.

"The June 1951 issue is enclosed. In it you will find a report of the proceedings of our convention. Also enclosed is a list of the resolutions adopted which are of most interest to county officials. Your president, Mr. Walter Stout, spoke to us on the subject of highway planning and we shall look forward to reporting his speech in an early issue of the magazine.

"We hope that you will find our magazine of interest and that you will pass this letter and copies of it along to other members of your board and to other officials of your county."

The September issue of *Colorado Municipalities* reports that although the Boulder city council postponed consideration of a county health unit, it "went on record for improvement and coordination of city and county health services as desirable preliminary steps toward creation of a county health unit."

The committee on city-county cooperation set up by the Tennessee Municipal League at its June meeting has scheduled meetings with the County Judges Association (county commissioners) and the County Highway Officials Association, to discuss a joint local government legislative program which the three groups would submit to candidates for governor and the legislature next year. If the work of the committees of the three organizations produces some area of agreement for a joint legislative program, a convention of city officials, county judges and county highway officials may be scheduled for next spring.

Dallas, Texas, has renewed its contract with Dallas County regarding fire calls beyond city limits, but it has served notice that in 1952 the price will be $50 per call, which may more than treble the cost to the county.

Effective last July 1, Cooke County and Gainesville, Texas, began operation of a joint city-county health unit. They are sharing the costs equally.

City and county officials of Maricopa County and Phoenix, Arizona, recently discussed jointly mutual problems including appraisal of the city side of the city-county building, a rental agreement for use of county voting machines in city elections, care of city jail prisoners in the county hospital and routing of heavy trucks.

Erie County Candidate Recommends Manager Plan

In Erie County (Buffalo), New York, a candidate for office of county supervisor recently declared: "It is time the government of Erie County provided for orderly and intelligent management of the public's business. The rapid growth of Erie County demands that the old fashioned and cumbersome board of supervisors be made a more modern and representative body. The time has come to eliminate overlapping functions, official deadwood and jurisdictional conflicts. The time has come for the establishment of a county manager system as provided by the New York State legislature in 1935."

King County Votes in March on Home Rule Charter

The King County (Seattle), Washington, Board of Freeholders has advised the county commissioners that it will have a proposed county charter ready for submission to the voters in next March's municipal elections.

Officials Organize to Retain County Government

A summer meeting of commissioners from Connecticut's eight counties was largely spent in discussing the bill, nearly passed by the 1951 legislative session, which would have abolished county government. It was decided that positive action in public relations should be attempted to convince the state that county government still was essential. Only disagreement on details between the House and the Senate prevented county government from being abolished. The county commissioners plan to approach both parties in an attempt to forestall a platform plank in the next campaign calling for abolition of counties.

Connecticut's eight counties have only a few duties, the most important of which are those they exercise as judicial units. The only elective official is the sheriff. The three commissioners for each county are appointed by the members of the state legislative delegation from the county.

Kansas Counties Assume Road Functions

In commenting on the fact that in approximately 30 years over half the Kansas counties have abandoned township road administration in favor of the county unit system, a recent editorial in *Better Roads* declared:

"It has been apparent for a long while that the middle western township, although continuing as an active governmental unit, is losing out as a highway administrative agency. The major reason is that modern highway operations, unlike some other governmental functions, demand machinery and management that the township unit usually cannot supply.

"Township highway activity is terminated in one of three ways. Township road systems may be turned over to the counties by legislative act, all at once as in Iowa and Indiana or over a period of years as in Michigan. In Minnesota and Wisconsin, county operations on local roads are being gradually extended as individual townships make arrangements with county highway departments to take over the work. Under the third method, which might be called the Kansas plan, through citizen or official initiative an individual county may consolidate all township mileage within its borders, placing it under control of the county board and the county engineer.

"The same inevitable forces that have operated elsewhere have brought half the Kansas counties under the unit plan. This has taken more than 30 years, but the Kansas pace has stepped up as the years have gone by.

(Continued on page 502)

Taxation and Finance • • • • *Edited by Wade S. Smith*

Toledo Makes Five-Year Report on Income Tax

About Half of Receipts Go for Payment of Debt

TOLEDO, first Ohio city to adopt a local income tax and second only to Philadelphia among U. S. cities using it, recently published[1] a summary of the use made of the income tax revenue during its first five years. The tax, levied at one per cent on salaries, wages, commissions and other personal compensation, on residents and non-residents who work in the city and on the net profits of business, professions and other activities in the city, became effective March 1, 1946, and was approved at a referendum the following month.

In the five years 1946-50, inclusive, the city collected $28,486,760 from the income tax. Approximately half this total has been expended or set aside for debt service, $14,356,665. Next largest sum has been allocated for city general operations, $5,375,000. Capital outlays claimed $4,134,175 and $2,400,000 was used for a stabilization fund set up to provide for an annual reduction in the tax rate of up to $1 per $1000. The remainder, $970,919, was expended to administer the tax, collection expense thus representing approximately 3.4 per cent of the collections.

The ordinance enacting the tax had provided for the revenues to be allocated: (1) to defray administration of the tax, (2) $1,388,543 annually for five years for service on general purpose bonds payable within the 10-mill tax rate limit, (3) not exceeding $800,000 annually for general operating purposes, (4) $250,000 annually for maintenance and new equipment, (5) $550,000 annually to capital improvements, (6) $480,000, or the equivalent of $1 per $1000 of the tax rate, to a stabilization fund, to be used for tax reduction, and (7) the remainder to the bond retirement fund.

By the close of 1949 it was evident that the bond retirement fund would shortly have sufficient money to pay off at maturity the city's remaining general purpose bonded debt, and the ordinance was amended to permit use of larger amounts for general operations and the remainder for capital improvements.

The five annual allocations of $1,388,543 each have provided in full for the payment of the city's general purpose, limited tax, bonded debt outstanding at the time the tax was enacted, $6,369,531, as well as the $573,184 interest thereon, a total of $6,942,715. To the end of 1950, $4,488,022 of this amount had matured and been paid, while $2,454,693 was in hand to meet principal and interest maturities through 1958, when the last of the bonds are due.

In addition to providing for the city's general bonds payable inside the tax rate limit, the income tax also provided for payment through the end of 1950 of $3,247,558 principal and interest on general purpose bonds payable from taxes levied outside the 10-mill limit, pursuant to voter authorization. Additionally, payments to the bond retirement fund sufficed to meet the remaining $4,166,392 principal and interest due on the unlimited tax bonds to their final payment date in 1976.

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[1] The *Toledo City Journal*, September 1, 1951.

In other words, after five years the city had set aside from its income tax collections sufficient money to meet all remaining charges on its general purpose bonded debt, whether payable inside or outside the tax rate limit. (The city has other bonds which are paid from other sources, mainly water bonds paid from water revenues, but including special assessment bonds payable primarily from special assessments, and a small airport debt paid from airport receipts.)

The income tax ordinance was originally enacted to expire December 31, 1950. It was reenacted last year, however,[2] and provision made for use of the funds for a wider range of purposes, including improvements to the municipal university and aid to the schools.

United Nations Views Local Finance

Among the resolutions adopted at the August plenary session of the Economic and Social Council of the United Nations in Geneva was a proposal of the International Union of Local Authorities for the inclusion of local and provincial finance in the program of the council.

Thirteen member nations voted in favor of the resolution with three against—U.S.S.R., Poland and Czechoslovakia. Canada and Peru abstained from voting.

Adoption of the resolution indicates a recognition of the importance of the coordination of the fiscal policy of central governments with that of provincial and local governments in achieving effective economic stabilization, in the view of the American Committee for International Municipal Cooperation, which reports the development.

Chief arguments advanced for the resolution were: (1) that the study by the council of public fiscal policy as an instrument of economic stabilization would be incomplete if it did not take into account the impact of local taxation and borrowing upon the economy; (2) advisors sent by the U. N. to underdeveloped countries to discuss public finance and other problems of economic development often are asked to advise on problems of finance confronting local communities—problems that are being heightened as a result of the shift from a rural to an urban economy in these countries.

Ridgewood, New Jersey, Revokes Tax on TV

Citizens of Ridgewood, New Jersey, no longer have to worry about their TV antennas showing. The Municipal Finance Officers Association reports that a personal property tax on television sets, assessed by counting the TV aerials on the rooftops, has been repealed effective January 1, 1952, by the village commission. This action was taken after protest by citizens of the assessment of $200 per set per year, amounting to a tax of $11.60.

Chief objections to the tax were that many TV sets with indoor antennas escaped assessment and that some sets cost considerably less than $200 while others cost much more, but all were assessed at the same value.

The TV tax has produced approximately $46,000 annually in revenue for the village on the basis of the current tax rate of $5.80 per $100. There are an estimated 4,000 owners of television sets in the village.

Connecticut Reduces Bridge Tolls

Toll rates on a bridge spanning the Connecticut River between Hartford and East Hartford have been reduced by half following receipt of revenues

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[2] See the REVIEW, February 1951, page 105.

Proportional Representation . . *Edited by George H. Hallett, Jr. and Wm. Redin Woodward*

(This department is successor to the Proportional Representation Review)

Oak Ridge Holds P. R. Election

Chooses Seven-man Council to Serve for Next Two Years

A NEW seven-man advisory council was elected on September 11 in Oak Ridge, Tennessee, in the community's second P. R. election. Nineteen candidates contested the election in the atomic energy center, and 3,073 voters, about 35 per cent of those eligible, went to the polls.

Mrs. Dana Nance was the only candidate to obtain the quota of votes entirely on first choices, actually gathering a substantial surplus. She and four other elected candidates had been endorsed, along with three defeated, by a group of interested citizens five days before the election.

The *Oak Ridger,* reporting the election the next day, characterized the result as follows: "The new council will represent a wide range of interests and activities in Oak Ridge. Mrs. Nance is a housewife and has been active in a number of community affairs; George is a labor leader and plant worker; Rothermel is an attorney and president of the safety council; Brill is an insurance agent and member of council committees; Cohn is a biologist and conductor of the local symphony orchestra; Teasley is a custodian and active in Gamble Valley affairs; and Mount is an engineer and connected with school activities."

The report pointed out that the only negro winner, Teasley, polled 190 first choice votes even though only 159 persons voted in Gamble Valley, the district of his residence, indicating that his support was drawn from the town at large.

On September 18 the ballots were further analyzed to select an alternate for each council member, who could succeed such council member in case of resignation, disability or death during the term. For this purpose the ballots which make up the quota for the elected councilman in question are recounted, together with the ballots not counted for any of the elected candidates (the latter being necessarily less than a quota in the original election) and the next most preferred choice among the originally defeated candidates is determined by the single transferable vote principle. The process is repeated for each of the elected candidates.

This arrangement permits a single candidate to be designated as alternate for two or more elected members. Further examination of the ballots to fill vacancies by this arrangement would not be necessary unless two vacancies occur for which there is but one alternate, or unless both a member and his alternate become unable to serve before the term ends.

According to the *Oak Ridger,* only 46 ballots were marked incorrectly, indicating that citizens were familiar with their part in the election.

Eight Cities Plan P. R. Elections

The six Massachusetts cities with Plan E council-manager charters will elect their city councils and school committees by proportional representation on November 6, to serve for two-year terms. Cambridge will hold its sixth P. R. election, Lowell its fifth; Worcester, Medford, Quincy and Revere their second.

According to the Worcester *Telegram,* the Citizens Plan E Association of Worcester interviewed candidates for council and school committee during September as a guide to its campaign endorsements. Two years ago five candidates endorsed by the association were elected to the nine-man council. Local civic groups in Cambridge and several other cities also plan to endorse slates for both the council and the school committee.

Cincinnati will hold its fourteenth P. R. election for its city council and Hamilton, Ohio, its thirteenth. As it has done ever since its city's council-manager-P. R. charter was adopted in 1924, the nonpartisan Cincinnati City Charter Committee will nominate and support a full slate of candidates. The committee now has a majority on the council.

Saugus, Massachusetts, Plans P. R. Referendum

A special election to determine whether proportional representation shall be continued for the election of selectmen under town manager government in Saugus, Massachusetts, will be held October 8. The result will determine the system of election to be used at the regular town election next January.

The referendum was required by a recent act of the state legislature and the date was fixed by the town selectmen after a debate in which Selectman John J. Bucchiere pointed out that only two residents of the town had taken part in submitting the petition resulting in the enactment to the legislature.

Results of Israel's Parliamentary Election

The final returns for the election of the Israel Knesset (parliament) on July 30, described in general terms in this department last month,[1] are as follows:

PARLIAMENTARY ELECTIONS, ISRAEL, JULY 30, 1951

Party	*Percentage of Votes*[a]	*Seats*	*Percentage of Seats*
Mapai	37.1	46	38.3
General Zionist	16.4	20	16.7
Mapam	12.3	15	12.5
Hapoel Hamizrahi[b]	6.8	8	6.6
Herut	6.6	8	6.6
Mapai Arab	4.9	5	4.2
Communist	3.9	5	4.2
Progressive	3.3	4	3.3
Agudath Israel[b]	2.0	3	2.5
Agudath Israel Workers[b]	1.6	2	1.7
Mizrahi[b]	1.5	2	1.7
Sephardim	1.7	1	0.8
Yemenites	1.2	1	0.8
Others	0.6	0	.0

[a] As reported in the *New York Times* for August 2; a very small part of the vote was still uncounted.

[b] These parties contested the 1949 election jointly as the United Religious Bloc.

What's Wrong in Toledo? Asks Local Newspaper

The Toledo *Blade,* in an article on August 19 by George Jenks, staff writer, reports some disappointment in that city with the effect of the repeal of P. R.:

"When only 30 candidates qualified this summer for the October 2 elimination heat of the councilmanic election, local politicians began to wonder if they scored an empty victory in getting rid of proportional representation two years ago.

"For fifteen years or more disciples of the two-party system have been complaining that P. R. was not only lousing up their county organizations but was promoting a serious dearth of candidates for city office.

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[1] See the REVIEW, September, page 433. That account is in error in reporting 150 seats in the parliament. The number is 120.

. . . After the adoption of P. R. in the new city charter of 1935, both county 'machines' began to deteriorate largely because of a halt in the influx of new and younger workers in the wards.

"The first P. R. election in 1935 drew 58 candidates. Thereafter the fields dropped off sharply, descending to 18 candidates in 1943, 21 in 1945, 21 in 1947 and 34 in 1949.

"There was rejoicing within both parties when P. R. was laid to rest two years ago. It was conceded that the 1951 election under the plurality system would bring out scores of candidates, breathing new life into ward politics and, perhaps, rescue both Democratic and Republican organizations from the shadows into which they were drifting.

"Detroit, with a councilmanic electoral system similar to the one Toledo will test this year, customarily draws between 100 and 200 candidates for its primary. It was the Detroit experiment which persuaded the sponsors of the 1949 charter amendment, the Democratic county organization, to provide for a primary in Toledo municipal elections. . . .

"Board of Elections officials estimate that the cost of the October 2 elimination election will approach $50,000 for the hiring of crews for the city's 361 precinct voting places and for printing of ballots, poll books, etc. It is being argued that with only 30 candidates, there is no need for a primary and the consequent expenditure of $50,000 of taxpayers' money, particularly since the primary is not expected to draw more than 30,000 voters. . . .

"The process of separating 18 finalists from 30 candidates is not going to inspire any feverish interest among the voters and neither is it going to support the 1949 contention that P. R. was what was wrong with Toledo municipal elections."

TAXATION AND FINANCE

(Continued from page 490)

producing more than enough money to pay operating expense and amortize the cost of the bridge. A state law provides that tolls must be reduced if they bring in more money than needed for these purposes, according to the American Public Works Association.

Rates on the bridge—a part of Connecticut's throughway which crosses the state from the southwest to the northeast corners—were originally set at ten cents. In addition to cutting rates for "sometime crossers" to five cents, the state set commuters' rates at a penny a crossing—a book of 100 tickets costing a dollar.

The toll bridge, which has been operating for nearly ten years, was financed with a bond issue of $4,400,000. The bonds were to be amortized at the rate of $160,000 a year and are not payable at an earlier date. With the ten-cent toll more than meeting all expenses including principal payment, a surplus of some $1,500,000 has been created in the sinking fund.

The five-cent toll, it is believed, will produce enough revenue to finance bridge operation and amortize the bonds inasmuch as the reduction in rates increased traffic spectacularly. A free bridge, a short way upstream that necessitated a short detour from the parkway, was almost deserted after the rate cut became effective.

Tolls on all other Connecticut state highways and pay bridges are still ten cents.

Citizen Action . . . . . . *Edited by Elsie S. Parker*

Greenwich Citizens Survey Their Town

Suggest Centralization of Administration in Manager

THE report of the Citizens' Committee of Greenwich, Connecticut, recently submitted to the town's board of estimate and taxation,[1] includes these three basic recommendations:

1. Make the board of selectmen a policy-determining body with no administrative authority or responsibility, but with power to appoint and remove a chief administrative official, to be known as the town manager, as well as town counsel and the plan commission;
2. Create the position of town manager to have complete administrative authority and responsibility over all operating departments;
3. Abolish the health, recreation and welfare boards, placing their activities under the manager.

Commenting that "Greenwich is governed not by an integrated town government agency but by a federation of largely independent offices and departments," the report points out that there are 268 elective officers in the town government, that five of the eight major departments are headed by boards while the remaining three are under the board of selectmen, that some department heads are responsible directly to the people, others to the representative town meeting, others to the board of estimate and taxation, others to the selectmen and others to several or all of these.

"The fact that Greenwich is as well governed as it is," the report remarks, "is in spite of rather than due to the basic plan of organization. Contributing to this has been the willingness of many responsible citizens to devote much of their time to making the system work through active participation on boards and study groups . . . . The most serious deficiency in the present organization is the almost complete lack of any meaningful centralization of administrative authority and responsibility."

Other recommendations of the committee include the centralization of staff functions of personnel, purchasing and planning under the chief administrative officer and the strengthening of financial administration by appointment of a financial director in place of the present comptroller, under whom would be the assessor and tax collector, appointed rather than elected as at present.

The committee considered both the council-manager plan as used in Hartford and the mayor-council plan of Stamford. It reached the conclusion, however, that "while there is good reason to believe that as Greenwich grows the need for a change to one of these forms will become more apparent, there is considerable reluctance on the part of the residents of Greenwich to depart from its traditional New England town government. The committee shares this reluctance and is not prepared to make such a complete change at this time."

The report discusses all departments and agencies of the town government in detail. Charts set forth the organization of the departments of health, welfare, recreation, public works, police, fire and education, as well as the over-all plan recommended for the town by the committee.

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[1] *Town Government—Organization and Administration, Greenwich, Connecticut,* Citizens' Committee Survey Report, 1951. 86 pages.

The Citizens' Committee of eight, headed by Paul Grady, chairman, made the report at the request of the board of estimate and taxation.

Planning Activities

The *Annual Report* of the Citizens Regional Planning Council for Jackson, Clay and Platte Counties in Missouri and Wyandotte and Johnson Counties in Kansas has been issued by Lyman Field, general chairman of the board of governors.

Organized in 1944 to "fashion and guide the reaction of citizens toward intelligent, long-distance planning through actual citizen participation in local and area problems and projects," the council works through large citizen committees, sometimes numbering several hundred. It does no technical planning but studies and makes recommendations to "proper authorities as to what appears to be the best development program."

Among the matters it has studied for the two-state, five-county area, including Kansas City, Missouri, and Kansas City, Kansas, as well as numerous smaller cities and towns, are airports, area civil defense, blighted areas and urban redevelopment, education, annexation, flood control, public health and welfare, traffic and transportation, recreation and population growth.

The Philadelphia Citizens' Council on City Planning recounts its activities in zoning, recreation, transit, highways and parking, air pollution, etc., in its 1950-1951 report. The council has established liaison between the city planning commissions of Philadelphia and its neighbor Bucks County; aided in securing a new city charter; and continued with its school program—helping in the initiating of courses in city planning in senior high schools, participating in courses for teachers in planning and on the new charter, servicing the Youth Planning Council program, conducting "Know Your City" tours, introducing workshops in junior high schools on planning and redevelopment, etc. The council is made up of some 150 member organizations.

Plans and Action, bulletin of the Poughkeepsie (New York) Area Development Association, devotes two issues to new Bureau of the Census figures on population and housing units for the city and surrounding area.

The Citizens Development Committee of Cincinnati reports progress in the city's efforts for urban redevelopment. The City Planning Commission has approved ten sites for first priority study. "Although much remains to be done," says the committee's *Bulletin,* "it is encouraging to note that Cincinnati has progressed farther in its redevelopment program than other Ohio cities."

* * *

Victory after Five Years

The recent victory for consolidation of the town and city of Norwich, Connecticut, and adoption of the council-manager plan for the combined area, climaxes five years of hard work by the Citizens' Committee for Better Norwich Government. The committee put on an intensive compaign for adoption of the charter, which had previously been approved by the legislature, supported by some four hundred volunteers. Literature was distributed to each home in the city and town and a radio serial was conducted. A local newspaper ran a cartoon series on the proposal.

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New Groups Active

The Des Moines Committee for Good Government has become the Good Government Association, organized to promote businesslike, honest and efficient local government, induce citizens to take an active interest in municipal affairs, and encourage and support competent candidates for office.

According to the *News Letter* of the Citizens' Civic Association of Fort Wayne, Indiana, "residents of Waynesdale and of the east side of Fort Wayne, with the assistance of the Citizens' Civic Association, have completed reorganization steps to solve acute problems in their respective areas. Both groups represent large segments of Allen County's population and have elected a fine group of public-spirited citizens to membership on their boards of directors. They have recently voted to affiliate with the [local] Citizens Council."

A new Citizens Committee has been organized in Anne Arundel County, Maryland. At its first meeting the committee heard William R. Turner, executive secretary of a citizens group in Prince George's County, Maryland, organized last year. One of the first actions of the committee was the condemnation, by overwhelming vote, of the secret sessions held by the Anne Arundel board of county commissioners. John M. Whitmore was elected chairman of the committee.

* * *

Merit System Appraised

The "Plan of Improvement" for civil service in Atlanta and Fulton County, Georgia, has been given another "look" by the League of Women Voters of Atlanta. That organization's July issue of *Facts* reports on progress made since 1946, describes how civil service is working and the need for the merit system. The Plan of Improvement, reports *Facts*, includes the setting up of a joint committee from the city and county to work toward a uniform merit system for the two governments.

* * *

New Charter Sought

Acting under the new constitutional home rule provision adopted by Rhode Island,[1] the Citizens' League of Pawtucket is preparing to place a charter proposal before the voters of that city. It has organized a charter revision committee to canvass the city with petitions to place election of a charter committee on the ballot. The league is seeking the assistance of other nonpartisan organizations and of civic-minded individuals. It points out in a recent bulletin that twice as many Pawtucket voters went to the polls to "state their pleasure on the constitutional amendments" submitted, including the one on home rule, as in the state as a whole.

* * *

Hold the Fort

Municipal histories reveal many cases in which council-manager government has been launched with interest, enthusiasm and well organized plans and then left to flounder in ensuing political battles. In these cities a continuing organization charged with keeping its government responsible, honest and efficient would have forestalled the storm. Constructive citizen interest can best be sustained with an organization representing a cross-section of the people who are dedicated to maintaining interest in city affairs and to seeking out and electing to the council competent and responsible people.

Bert W. Johnson, City Manager of Boulder, Colorado.

Publications on Citizen Action

Education

Laboratory Practice Descriptions Relating to Citizen Education and the National Emergency. New York 27, Citizenship Education Project, Teachers College, Columbia University. 32 pp. (This is the first of the project's publications to be prepared for general school use.)

Philadelphia's Public Schools. An

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[1] See the Review, July 1951, page 360.

Appraisal and a Program. Philadelphia 7, Greater Philadelphia Movement, 1951. (Based on a 178-page report to the Greater Philadelphia Movement prepared by N. L. Englehart, Edward B. Shils and John W. Studebaker.)

Federal Government

Big Government and the Citizen. Washington, D. C., League of Women Voters of the United States, 1951. 27 pp. 15 cents. (Although "particularly directed toward administration of the federal government, many of the principles discussed are applicable to state and local government.")

Legislation

An Appraisal of the 1951 Legislature. By George H. Hallett, Jr. New York 7, Citizens Union, 1951. 8 pp.

Local Government

Overlapping and Duplication in Local Government. Report of Section on Municipal and County Government. San Francisco, Commonwealth Club of California, 1951. 12 pp.

Municipal Government

Know Your City. Columbia, South Carolina, League of Women Voters, 1951. 58 pp. ("An objective, factual picture of the city.")

1951-1952 Political Directory. Columbia, South Carolina, League of Women Voters, 1951. 16 pp. 25 cents. ("To make available all pertinent facts for city, county, state and national elections in so far as they are of interest to the citizens of Columbia.")

Pawtucket—Our City. Pawtucket, Rhode Island, League of Women Voters, 1951. 34 pp. 25 cents. ("To understand and share in your city government.")

What About Cincinnati? Cincinnati, City Charter Committee, 1951. 12 pp. ("Charter record of achievement.")

Organization Reports

48th Annual Report (1950). San Francisco 19, Commonwealth Club of San Francisco, *The Commonwealth* (Part II), September 3, 1951. 62 pp.

Greater Philadelphia Movement 1950. Report to Supporters. Philadelphia, Greater Philadelphia Movement, 1951. 12 pp.

Headlines of 1950. Annual Report. Philadelphia 10, Committee of 70, 1951. 21 pp. ("There's no greater extravagance in the world than bad government.")

New Haven Is Your Concern. New Haven, Connecticut, Taxpayers Research Council, 1951. 6 pp. (A plea for support.)

Radio

The People Act. By Mary Blackford Ford. New York 10, *Social Action,* April 15, 1951. 35 pp. (A report on the action ideas presented in the radio program produced by the Twentieth Century Fund and the National Broadcasting Company.)

Report on "The People Act." New York, The Twentieth Century Fund, 1951. 21 pp. (Origin of idea for radio series, preparing programs, cooperating organizations, promotion, speakers, audience response, etc.)

Taxation

What Is New Hampshire Worth to You? Durham, League of Women Voters of New Hampshire, 1951. 8 pp. (What taxes are best for the state?)

Voters' Handbooks

The ABC of Voting. Indianapolis, League of Women Voters of Indiana and of Indianapolis. 16 pp. ("This primer is designed to help you who feel that democracy is worth voting for.")

Women

Don't Underestimate Woman Power. A Blueprint for Intergroup Action. By Dallas Johnson and Elizabeth Bass Golding. New York 16, Public Affairs Committee, 1951. 32 pp. 20 cents. (In union there is strength.)

GRA Elects, Makes Annual Merit Awards

Tillinghast Succeeds DeWees as Over 200 Researchers Meet

NEW JERSEY carried off three top honors at the 37th annual conference of the Governmental Research Association which met in Washington, D. C., September 5-6-7. Over 200 were in attendance.

Carlton W. Tillinghast, executive director of the New Jersey Taxpayers' Association and former director of the Southeastern Division of the Pennsylvania Economy League, was elected president of GRA, while two of the three annual awards went to New Jersey bureaus. Tillinghast succeeds Merle W. DeWees of the New Haven Taxpayers Research Council.

The Certificate of Distinction for the "most noteworthy piece of research prepared by a member of the association in 1951," was awarded to the Department of Governmental Research of the New Jersey State Chamber of Commerce for its *Safeguarding Local School Funds.* This report, prepared by James McGrew, assisted by Steven Schanes, resulted immediately in legislation to require review by state authorities of all local school budgets and an annual audit of school finances. These new safeguards are roughly comparable to those to which county and municipal fiscal operations have been subjected for some years.

The Tax Survey Commission of Atlantic City, Howard G. Fishack, executive director, received the Certificate of Distinction for the most effective presentation of a subject with its *Material Used in Opposing a Referendum.*[1]

The Special Merit Award for the outstanding piece of research prepared for a governmental agency went to the Pennsylvania Economy League for *Pennsylvania Highways—Today and Tomorrow.* This trail-blazing report, prepared for a state commission under the direction of Welles A. Gray, director, provides a complete blue print for the development of Pennsylvania's highways and is based upon principles that make its findings highly significant for other states.

In addition to President Tillinghast, the officers of GRA elected for 1952 are: vice president—George Bestrom, executive vice president, Minneapolis Taxpayers Association; trustees — Howard Friend, research director, Governmental Research Department, Indiana State Chamber of Commerce; Albert J. Richter, managing director, Schenectady Bureau of Municipal Research; Calvin Skinner, director, Cincinnati Bureau of Governmental Research; Edward Staples, executive director, Missouri Public Expenditure Survey; and Harland C. Stockwell, executive secretary, the Civic Federation (Chicago).

The conference program included workshop sessions on municipal administrative management, performance budgeting and governmental reorganization as well as panel discussions on federal-state-local responsibilities for civilian defense, the publics of governmental research agencies, improving the quality of governmental research, urban congestion and budget balancing in the defense economy.

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[1] See "Tax Survey Group Beats Police, Fire Pay Raise." The REVIEW, March 1951, page 171.

A ten-page secretary's report reviewed GRA activities for the year and showed a membership of 391 as of August 31.

Bureau Notes

Princeton University's Bureau of Urban Research is sponsoring a series of lectures on urban problems—the planning process and public participation, land use and zoning, housing and urban redevelopment, transportation, finance—October 22, 23, 25, 29 and 30 at Princeton. The lectures will be open to the public without charge.

An Institute of Urban Studies, to be concerned with urgent municipal problems, has been set up at the University of Pennsylvania. The metropolitan region of Philadelphia in Pennsylvania, New Jersey and Delaware will be the major objective of a three-way attack to be made by the university, in three interrelated programs: education, basic research and service to the community. The program will be directed by Robert B. Mitchell, chairman of the Department of Land and City Planning.

Future Springfield, Inc., of Springfield, Massachusetts, has given unusual evidence of its active interest in the local traffic situation by giving a scholarship in the police traffic training course of the Traffic Institute of Northwestern University to Springfield's police department. Traffic Safety Officer J. Albert Murphy has been named by Chief Raymond P. Gallagher as the recipient.

For several years Future Springfield has recommended that the city budget provide funds for special police traffic training, but each time funds for this purpose were not forthcoming. In consequence, the research group made the award from its own funds.

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New Publication

In order to fill the need for a comprehensive review and digest of current civil service legislative and judicial trends, the National Civil Service League has begun publication of a monthly *Civil Service Law Reporter.* It will be divided into three sections: statutes, case law and special articles. The *Reporter* will be edited by H. Eliot Kaplan, deputy comptroller of New York State.

Research Pamphlets and Articles

Budgets

Budgeting (Some Observations). Cheyenne, Wyoming Taxpayers Association, August 1951. 4 pp.

1951 Budgets of Milwaukee's 89 Local Taxing Bodies. Milwaukee 2, Citizens' Governmental Research Bureau, *Bulletin,* June 1951. 3 pp.

1951-1953 Executive Budget. State Budget Growth. Madison 3, Wisconsin Taxpayers Alliance, *The Wisconsin Taxpayer,* September 1951. 2 and 3 pp. respectively.

1952 Budget Suggestions. Seattle 5, University of Washington, Bureau of Governmental Research and Services in cooperation with the Association of Washington Cities, 1951. 18 pp.

Performance Budgeting in Municipalities. By Walter G. Held. New York 20, Governmental Research Association, *GRA Reporter,* May-June 1951. 3 pp.

Proposed 1952 Expenditures. Des Moines, Taxpayers Association, *Civic Flashes,* August 3, 1951. 1 p.

Building Codes

Benefits of a New Building Code for Providence. Providence 3, Governmental Research Bureau, July 1951. 2 pp.

Charters

Possibilities for Charter Improvement. (Including organization chart of Providence.) Providence 3, Governmental Research Bureau, June 1951. 3 pp.

Constitutions

Proposed Constitutional Amendments in New Mexico 1951.[1] By Charles B. Judah. Albuquerque, University of New Mexico, Department of Government, Division of Research, 1951. 16 pp.

Debt

Public Debt Data for Milwaukee's Governments. Milwaukee 2, Citizens' Governmental Research Bureau, *Bulletin,* July 2, 1951. 3 pp.

Savings on Callable Bonds. City Has Effected Savings of Many Millions Through Retirements and Refundings. Philadelphia 7, Bureau of Municipal Research, *Citizens' Business,* June 25, 1951. 3 pp.

The State Debt of South Dakota. By Avon Dreyer. Vermillion, University of South Dakota, School of Business Administration, Business Research Bureau, *South Dakota Business Review,* August 1951. 3 pp.

Decentralization

Industrial Decentralization Detroit Region 1940-1950. Projection to 1970. By Paul M. Reid. Detroit 26, Metropolitan Area Regional Planning Commission, 1951. 29 pp. Tables, charts.

Directories

Directory Tennessee Municipal Officials 1951. Knoxville, University of Tennessee, Municipal Technical Advisory Service, in cooperation with the Tennessee Municipal League, 1951. 48 pp.

Sources of Information on State and Local Government. With Special Reference to the State of Washington. By Warren A. Bishop. Seattle, University of Washington, Bureau of Governmental Research and Services, 1951. 64 pp. $1.50.

Education

Clerical Service in the Schools. Newark, New Jersey, Bureau of Municipal Research, July 1951. 4 pp.

Here We Go Again. Pittsburgh's School District Needs More Money. Pittsburgh 22, Pennsylvania Economy League, Western Division, *P.E.L. Newsletter,* June 1951. 4 pp.

The Minimum Foundation Program for Education in Florida. By Joseph M. Leps. Gainesville, University of Florida, Public Administration Clearing Service, 1951. 12 pp.

Paying for Public Schools in Michigan. By Betty Tableman. Ann Arbor, University of Michigan, Bureau of Government, Institute of Public Administration, 1951. 70 pp.

Per Pupil Operating Costs in Schenectady's Public Schools. How Schenectady's Schools Compare: Current Expenses and Taxable Value Per Pupil. School Building Needs in Woodlawn and Grout Park. Estimated School Enrollment for Next Five years. Schenectady 5, New York, Bureau of Municipal Research, *Research Brevities,* May 3, June 19, July 6, 26, 1951. 4, 3, 6 and 3 pp. respectively.

A Survey of Costs Incident to Houston Independent School District Employee Salary Increases. Coordinated with the Tax Research Association Survey of Costs Incident to a Proposed Bond Issue, Published in December 1950. **Appendix to Survey.** Houston 2, Tax Research Association of Houston and Harris County, 1951. 41 and 58 pp. respectively.

Grants-in-Aid

Federal Grants in Aid. Intergovernmental Relationships Outlined. Los Angeles 14, California Taxpayers' Association, *Tax Digest,* July 1951. 9 pp. 25 cents.

Federal Grants-in-Aid to the State of Tennessee. Nashville, Tennessee Taxpayers Association, 1951. 6 pp.

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[1] See page 481, this issue.

Federal Subsidies to State Services. Cheyenne, Wyoming Taxpayers Association, 1951. 9 pp.

Legal Drafting

A List of Selected Publications on the Drafting of Legal and Legislative Instruments. By Robert D. Cultice. Columbus 10, Ohio State University, College of Law Library, 1951. 26 pp. 35 cents.

Legislative Assistance

How Should Legislative Investigating Committees Operate? San Francisco 19, Commonwealth Club of California, *The Commonwealth,* July 2, 1951. 26 pp. 25 cents.

Legislative Assistance. Some Staff Services Provided for Legislatures. By Lawrence W. O'Rourke. Los Angeles, University of California, Bureau of Governmental Research, 1951. vii, 39 pp.

Report of the Nevada Legislative Counsel Bureau. (Reports on progress made during 1949 legislative session and outlines further recommendations for 1951 session.) Carson City, State Printing Office, 1950. 69 pp.

Medical Colleges

Report of the New Jersey Medical College Commission. Trenton, the Commission, 1951. 64 pp.

Parks

Erie County Parks System. Buffalo's Park System. Buffalo 2, Municipal Research Bureau, *Just a Moment,* June 28 and July 26, 1951. 4 pp. each.

Planning

About—Master Plans. (Includes results of questionnaires to 19 cities.) Springfield, Massachusetts, Taxpayers' Association, 1951. 15 pp.

County Planning Commission Serves Municipalities, County, Region. Philadelphia 4, University of Pennsylvania, Associated Institutes of Government of Pennsylvania Universities, *Municipal Administration,* July 1951. 3 pp.

Progress in Urban Planning. Toronto 5, Citizens Research Institute of Canada, *Effective Government,* June 6, 1951. 5 pp.

Political Parties

Toward a More Responsible Two-Party System: A Commentary. By Austin Ranney. Washington 6, American Political Science Association, *American Political Science Review,* June 1951. 12 pp. $2.50.

Salaries

Legislative Salaries Paid in Other Cities and Counties. San Francisco, Bureau of Governmental Research, August 30, 1951. 2 pp.

1951 Salaries of City Officials. Waterbury 2, Connecticut, Taxpayers' Association, *Governmental Briefs,* July 12, 1951. 4 pp.

New Pay Scale for City Engineers. Brockton, Massachusetts, Taxpayers Association, *Your Tax Facts,* August 28, 1951. 2 pp.

Salaries of Policemen and Firemen of the City of Los Angeles. Los Angeles 13, Government Research, Inc., *Monthly Bulletin,* July 1951. 5 pp.

Shopping Centers

The Modern Shopping Center and Zoning. Philadelphia 4, University of Pennsylvania, Associated Institutes of Government of Pennsylvania Universities, *Municipal Administration,* June 1951.

State Government

Here is Your Indiana Government. 1951-1952 Edition. A book of facts . . . dedicated to a better understanding among all Hoosiers of the complex democratic government under which we live. Indianapolis 4, Indiana State Chamber of Commerce, 1951. 113 pp. $1.

Report on Industrial Relations. By the Special Commission on the Structure of the State Government. Boston, the Commission, May 1951. 22 pp.

Report on Public Welfare. Boston,

Special Commission on the Structure of the State Government. 1951. 27 pp.

State Government Reorganization. By Richard C. Anderson. Los Angeles 14, California Taxpayers' Association, *Tax Digest,* June 1951. 4 pp. 25 cents.

"Unspoken Premises." Basic Assumptions to Government Reorganization. (Excerpts from Section One of the First Partial Report of Assembly Interim Committee on Governmental Reorganization.) By Henry Reining, Jr. Los Angeles 14, California Taxpayers' Association, *Tax Digest,* July 1951. 11 pp. 25 cents.

Taxation and Finance

City's Income Tax. More Than One Fourth of Revenues During 1940-1950 Came from Income Tax. Philadelphia 7, Bureau of Municipal Research, *Citizens' Business,* June 4, 1951. 4 pp.

City Tax Rates Climbed $9 Per $1,000 in Past 7 Years, Survey Analysis Reveals. State Aid, Property Taxes Have Risen Simultaneously. Albany, Citizens Public Expenditure Survey, *New York State Taxpayer,* June 1951. 2 pp.

Comparison of State Government Expenditures, 1950. Baton Rouge, Public Affairs Research Council of Louisiana, *A PAR Report,* June 29, 1951. 4 pp.

Kentucky State Government: Where Do We Go From Here? Frankfort, Kentucky Legislative Research Commission, 1951. 12 pp. Illus.

COUNTY AND TOWNSHIP

(Continued from page 488)

And the Kansas experience is valuable, showing as it does that voluntary and mandatory plans lead to the same end."

Federal Legislation Promotes County Highway Units

In a recent memorandum clarifying and interpreting the federal aid highway act of 1950, the U. S. Bureau of Public Roads declared: "The objective sought is to assure the same degree of technical and administrative competence in the construction and maintenance of the local road portion of the federal aid secondary system as is obtained on the state highway portion and, as a means to that end, to bring about the development of self-sufficient county engineering organizations, able to assume their full share of responsibility in a continuing long-range program."

Wisconsin Counties Join Social Security Program

Thirty-one of Wisconsin's 33 eligible counties joined the federal social security system within a few months after state enabling legislation permitted them to do so. The other counties were ineligible under the federal law because they already were members of the state retirement system, which is much less generous in its provisions.

During the same period, 33 of 85 eligible Wisconsin cities and 52 of 350 villages also joined the federal system, as did 59 towns and 35 school districts.

Wisconsin County Officials Hold Institute

The Wisconsin County Boards Association and the Joint Association of County Officers, which includes the treasurers, registers of deeds and clerks of circuit court, recently attended a three and a half day institute sponsored by the Bureau of Government of the University of Wisconsin.

County Officials Hold National Conference

The National Association of County Officials held its fifteenth annual conference in Milwaukee, July 4-7, 1951. Topics discussed included highway administration, local tax sources and problems of organizing county officers.

Books in Review

Bureaucracy in a Democracy. By Charles S. Hyneman. New York, Harper & Brothers, 1950. xv, 586 pp. $4.

The author spent five years in various offices of the federal administrative service and his interesting worm's-eye view of the massive difficulties of that bulky bureaucracy has been informed by various other governmental experiences. His view of the factual realities and difficulties is sympathetic and not always in step with the programs of the Hoover Commission.

The author ends up with a demand for more purposive politics embracing the president, Congress and the administrative departments and proposes creation of a central council made up of leaders of the currently dominant party selected by the president from Congress with power to add to its membership some party leaders and key administrators. The composite policies of such a group, chosen primarily for the intrinsic influence of its members, might give more continuity, creativeness and solidarity of policy to our national affairs, modify the brittle individualism of presidents and the irresponsible bickerings of critics in Congress and reach down into departments with its sense of purpose.

In letting non-Congressional party figures into the new organism, he goes a step further than I did when I proposed in these pages[1] in 1924 an "executive committee," handpicked by the president from among congressional leaders, to meet with him regularly at the capitol to select the "administrative measures" and sponsor them on the floor—a kind of legislative cabinet.

To add party leaders to the group presupposes the existence of leaders who can add weight and the existence of parties which are more distinct in their respective philosophies than any in sight just now, when either party might be glad to recruit Eisenhower as its candidate!

The book is a fresh and important close-up of Washington these days.

R. S. C.

A Councilman Speaks. By Arthur W. Bromage. Ann Arbor, Michigan, George Wahr Publishing Company, 1951. v, 80 pp. $1.

This pleasant little brochure is a sequel to the author's previous one *On the City Council.* The author, having achieved reelection and a ripening knowledge of the political game in his city, takes us along with him in the process of learning the job and the nature of constituents and policies. His gentle and wise observations have the realism of a photograph and, like the true scientist he is, he provides fresh testimony and atmosphere on conditions which countless other aldermen in American cities know all about but never had the perception to analyze or the articulateness to put into print. A source book!

R. S. C.

Governmental Administration. By James C. Charlesworth. New York, Harper & Brothers, 1951. x, 713 pp. $6.

Despite the great sweep of the title, this author may have come somewhere near to covering it. In dissecting and classifying the endless things that government does, he finds more distinctions in executive conduct than this businessman ever noticed in his lifetime but deals with them forcefully and sensibly like an effective production engineer, which he has in fact been.

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[1] "What's the Matter with Congress," by Richard S. Childs, NATIONAL MUNICIPAL REVIEW, November 1924, page 621.

The author's reflections are based most commonly on the operations of our national government, where the vast scale of organization forces more emphasis on sound methods than would be required in smaller establishments. If science is the act of recognizing and naming things, this book does that with conviction and authority and has all the earmarks of an important contribution.

R. S. C.

The Governmental Process. Political Interests and Public Opinion. By David B. Truman. New York, Alfred A. Knopf, Inc., 1951. xvi, 544 pp. $5.

With evidence chosen mostly from the congressional scene, the author reviews the past and current activities of "interest groups," their methods, tactics and alliances, and just how the legislative and administrative machinery in Washington creates and adjusts itself to organized pressures. The importance of access is stressed and illuminated at all stages of the legislative process. Much of the material is fresh and analyzed with discernment and penetration.

The author gives us a good photograph of the murky and turmoiled scene, indicates no program for improvement and forecasts no drift toward better or worse.

The Organization of State Administration in Delaware. By Paul Dolan. Baltimore, The Johns Hopkins Press, 1951. 154 pp. $2.50.

A readable and interesting account of the growth and condition of the state administration and the political pressures which have shaped it. Despite its date it was evidently written before the excellent 1950 Griffenhagen report proposing sweeping simplification of the state's archaic and jumbled structure since the latter is not mentioned.

Who's Who in United States Politics and American Political Almanac. Edited by Richard Nowinson, Ruth Thornquist Potter, Nicholas Speros and Joan Duncan Kella. Chicago, Capital House Inc., 1950. 955 pp. $20.

This is a creditable first edition and could logically have been two separate publications, the first containing biographical data on nearly 10,000 American political characters and the second listing personnel of Congress, elective state offices, state legislatures and the larger city governments and the personnel of the national and all the state Republican and Democratic committees. It also reports tabular data on elections, laws, political calendars, etc. Its lists of officeholders ought to be accompanied by the dates of expiration of their terms.

Public Opinion and Political Dynamics. By Marbury Bladen Ogle, Jr. Boston, Houghton Mifflin Company, 1950. v, 362 pp. $3.50.

A keen dissection of the weird thing we call public opinion and its bearing on American government. This thoughtful volume finds a thousand components and currents which help make the great composite kettleful, identifying many you will be obliged to confess are obvious although you had never noticed them before. It achieves the author's stated purpose of making the reader able to "understand some of the moves and countermoves of the political actors whom he observes strutting their parts as he goes about the unquiet business of living in the modern world."

Additional Books and Pamphlets

(See also Researcher's Digest and other departments)

Debt

Directory of Municipal Bond Dealers of the United States. New York 4, *The Bond Buyer,* 1951. 471 pp. 75 cents.

Discrimination

1950 Report of Progress. Albany, New York, State Commission Against Discrimination, 1951. v, 112 pp.

Education for Citizenship

Report on an Educational Campaign: The Cincinnati Plan for the United Nations. By Shirley A. Star and Helen MacGill Hughes. Chicago 37, *The American Journal of Sociology,* January 1950. 12 pp. (Reprints distributed by Stephen H. Wilder Foundation, Cincinnati, and the American Association for the United Nations, New York.)

Federal Government

United States Government Organization Manual 1951-52. (Revised as of July 1, 1951.) Washington, 25, D. C., General Services Administration, National Archives and Records Service, Federal Register Division, 1951. 725 pp. $1. (Apply Superintendent of Documents, Washington 25, D. C.)

International Affairs

Economic Aspects of North Atlantic Security. A Statement on National Policy. By the Research and Policy Committee. New York 22, Committee for Economic Development, 1951. 43 pp.

Lessons from Asia. Edited by Ernest Minor Patterson. Philadelphia, American Academy of Political and Social Science, *The Annals,* July 1951. vii, 197 pp. $2.

Making Western Europe Defensible. By Theodore Geiger and H. van B. Cleveland. Washington 6, D. C., National Planning Association, 1951. viii, 87 pp. $1.

The New Dimension of Diplomacy. The Organization of the U. S. Government for Its New Role in World Affairs. By Don K. Price. New York 21, Woodrow Wilson Foundation, 1951. 29 pp.

Program-making in Unesco 1946-1951. A Study in the Processes of International Administration. By Charles S. Ascher. Chicago 37, Public Administration Service, 1951. ix, 84 pp. $2.50.

Natural Resources

Administration of Natural Resources. A Selected List of References. Knoxville, Tennessee Valley Authority, Technical Library, 1951. 16 pp.

Planning

A Selected Bibliography on City and Regional Planning. By Samuel Spielvogel. Washington 7, D. C., The Scarecrow Press, 1951. 276 pp. $5.50.

Public Employment

State Employment in 1951. Washington 25, D. C., Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, 1951. 12 pp.

Short Ballot

Your Undemocratic Long Ballot. A speech on the need for short ballot reform in Cuyahoga County. By Richard S. Childs. Cleveland 15, The Citizens League, 1951. 13 pp.

Taxation and Finance

Governmental Revenue in 1950. Washington 25, D. C., Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, 1951. 12 pp.

1951 Conference Issue. Chicago 37, Municipal Finance Officers Association of the United States and Canada, *Municipal Finance,* August 1951. 68 pp. 50 cents.

State Tax Collections in 1951. Washington 25, D. C., Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, 1951. 10 pp.

Urban Land Use and Property Taxation. A Preliminary Report. Washington 6, D. C., Urban Land Institute, *Urban Land,* July-August, 1951. 3 pp.

Traffic Safety

Operation Safety October 1951. Program Kit on Traffic Safety Promotion. Theme for October: **Night Traffic Hazards.** Chicago 11, National Safety Council, 1951. Variously paged.

Transportation

Transportation Policy. Adopted by the Membership of the Chamber of Commerce of the United States. Washington 6, D. C., The Chamber, Transportation and Communication Department, 1951. 19 pp.

Urban Redevelopment

City Development. Experience shows that the average city can best achieve it in small pieces with the aid of local capital and local enterprise. By Henry S. Churchill. New York, *Architectural Forum,* December 1950. 7 pp. illus.

Rebuilding a City. A Study of Redevelopment Problems in Los Angeles. By Robert E. Alexander and Drayton S. Bryant. Los Angeles, The Haynes Foundation, 1951. vii, 69 pp. $1.

Start Now . . . A Community Development Program to Make Your Town and County More Prosperous. Louisville 2, Kentucky Chamber of Commerce, 1951. 32 pp.

PEOPLE WANT HOME RULE

(Continued from page 461)

unite with their brethren in the legislature to scuttle proposals for home rule or optional charter laws.

For example, a bill to enable the people of any third class city in Pennsylvania to substitute the council-manager plan for the discredited commission plan now forced on them by law has been blocked year after year by local politicians. The bill extending a similar choice to all Illinois cities except Chicago was finally forced through the Illinois legislature this year but not with any blessing or assist from organized municipal officials. It was the *people,* aroused by crusading newspaper editors and civic leaders, organized by the State Chamber of Commerce and other civic groups, and served in the state capitol by a woman legislator who would not be denied and a forward looking governor.

The local politicians who oppose home rule do so out of fear: fear of change that might disturb their rest or racket, fear of the new opportunity it gives the people to get into the act and look into the obscure corners of municipal affairs, fear of losing the alibi for inaction or the opportunity for collusion afforded by the vague division of responsibility and authority between local and state politician officials.

The vote on the home rule and other amendments in Rhode Island is just one of many current evidences of a rising tide of determination on the part of the people to free themselves from the fetters imposed by faithless political agents. On eight questions submitted at once, the people of that state voted most decisively for three that were clearly in the direction of making voter control of government easier and more effective.[1]

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[1] For a description of the amendments see the REVIEW, July 1951, page 360.

Cures for Rackets in Politics

As was pointed out in the May National Municipal Review in an editorial, "What Can an Angry People Do?", many features of the League's program for responsible citizen-controlled state and local government are in fact specific cures for basic causes of the official connivance with crime and racketeering revealed by the Kefauver committee.

Dayton D. McKean

Many of the sessions of the Cincinnati Conference will point to practical means for combatting and destroying politico-criminal alliances.

The subject will be given concentrated attention at a major session Tuesday afternoon, November 27, under the chairmanship of Dayton D. McKean, head of the Department of Government, Dartmouth College, former aide to Governor Charles Edison of New Jersey and author of a well known book on Boss Hague of Jersey City. The session will bring together leaders of local crime fighting groups like Virgil Peterson, operating director of the Chicago Crime Commission, as well as crusading local officials like Mayor Henderson of Youngstown, Ohio, to discuss the present situation and what communities have done and can do about it.

P. R. League Meeting to Observe Election

The annual meeting of the Proportional Representation League will be held Tuesday morning, November 27, in conjunction with the National Conference on Government. An unusual feature will be a demonstration of a P. R. election by the students of the Garfield School, Cincinnati. Mayor Albert D. Cash of Cincinnati will preside.

Coping with Disaster

Events of the last year have dramatically proved the importance of preparedness on the part of local and state governments to meet emergencies. L. P. Cookingham, city manager of Kansas City, Missouri, will speak on "Organizing for Disaster" at the annual dinner meeting Tuesday night. While his talk will be based on the experience of Kansas City in coping with the recent flood, he will deal with the importance of advance planning to prepare for all kinds of disasters, including those that might attend all-out war.

L. P. Cookingham

Tuesday morning Professor Arthur Bromage, of the University of Michigan, who as city alderman organized the Ann Arbor civil defense program, will conduct a session on the local civil defense problem. There will be reports on civil defense programs under way and an examination of the extent and limits of effective local action under existing conditions of federal direction and participation. The relation between civil defense and disaster defense generally will be considered.

Gallup Heads All-American Jury

Eleven "All-American Cities of 1951" will be picked by a jury which will hold sessions at the Cincinnati Conference. George Gallup, director of the Institute of Public Opinion, will be foreman.

The certificate awarded to the cities that are selected is evidence of noteworthy progress made during the year as a result of intelligent citizen action. It is not based upon and does not represent the jury's views concerning the excellence of the governments of the cities chosen. The award may in fact go to a city with notoriously bad government if the year has been marked by evidence of intelligent and determined citizen action to improve conditions.

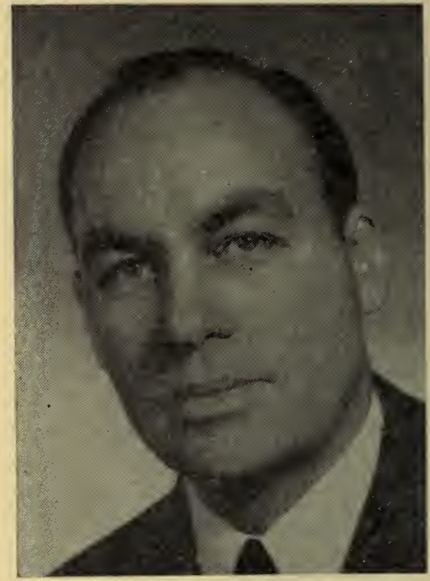
Any citizens who feel that their city is entitled to consideration by the 1951 jury are invited to write at once to the League office explaining the possible basis for a citation. Arrangements will be made for presenting the cases of qualified cities to the jury orally or in writing. Some will be scheduled for personal presentation at the public meeting on the afternoon of November 26.

Everybody Invited

Every citizen interested in good government is cordially invited to attend the whole conference or any of its sessions. All sessions are open to the public.

The conference registration desk will be open first thing Monday morning, November 26. Be sure to register as soon as possible. There is no charge.

Preliminary conference programs will be mailed to League members as soon as they are available and to anyone else on request.



GEORGE H. GALLUP
Jury Foreman

People who wish accommodations at the conference hotel should write to the Netherland Plaza Hotel, Cincinnati, Ohio, as promptly as possible, being sure to say that they are attending the National Conference on Government. A certain number of rooms have been set aside for people attending the conference.

* * *

Persons who arrive on Sunday are cordially invited by the Local Arrangements and Sponsoring Committee to join in a tour of the city. Cars will be available at 3:30 P.M. at the Netherland Plaza Hotel. The tour will end with tea at the Taft Museum 5 to 7 P.M. Those wishing to accept this invitation should notify the office of the League of Women Voters of Cincinnati, 100 Metropole Hotel, Cincinnati, Ohio.

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Taking Politics Out of Politics .... *G. Roger Mayhill and E. T. Britton*

A Councilman's Pipe Dream .... *Arthur W. Bromage*

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NEWS for League Members

Sessions to Stress Practical Methods

Several hundred civic leaders from all parts of the United States will gather in Cincinnati November 26-28 for the three-day National Conference on Government, which will seek means of helping citizens in the task of strengthening self-government. Emphasis will be on practical methods of making local and state government more efficient and producing a more responsible citizenry.

The Conference, which has been called annually by the National Municipal League since 1894, will be attended by professional and businessmen and women, educators, experts on government, public officials and others.

Luncheon and dinner meetings will be co-sponsored by local organizations: Monday luncheon, Chamber of Commerce; Tuesday luncheon, Junior Chamber of Commerce; Wednesday luncheon, The Advertisers' Club; Tuesday night Annual Dinner, the League of Women Voters.

The annual meeting of League members will be at 4:45 P.M., Monday, to receive the Secretary's Report on last year's work and future plans, elect officers and Council members and consider questions of League policy.

The National Association of Civic Secretaries, which holds its annual meeting in connection with the Conference, will hold a "Shop Talk" Sunday evening, November 25, and co-sponsor a Conference session Monday morning on "Getting Good Candidates" and Wednesday morning on "Statewide Civic Research and Action." NACS is composed of professional secretaries of state and local civic agencies. Lay leaders of such organizations are cordially invited to eavesdrop on the NACS "Shop Talk."

MRS. FRED LAZARUS, JR.

President of the League of Women Voters of Cincinnati, Mrs. Lazarus is chairman of the local committee of the National Conference on Government. Among her many activities, she was an officer of A. A. U. W., and is a member of the board of the American Youth Hostels.

Do It Now!

1. Make hotel reservations directly with Netherland Plaza, Cincinnati, and say you are attending National Conference on Government.

2. If you wish to tour the city Sunday afternoon, November 25, write League of Women Voters, 100 Metropole Hotel. Cars leave Netherland Plaza 3:30. Tour will close with tea at Taft Museum 5 to 7.

3. Tell your friends about the Conference.

4. Write League office for additional Conference announcements or preliminary programs.

Experts to Conduct Clinic on City Charters

Since good citizens and good officials need good tools, and these tools need to be sharpened and modernized from time to time, a group of experienced charter draftsmen and consultants will confer before and during the Cincinnati Conference on recent experience in the drafting, revision and working out of city charters. Members of the group will start work as a "charter clinic" on Sunday, November 25.

The clinic will hold public sessions Monday, Tuesday and Wednesday mornings. The Monday session will dissect the problems of leadership in city government, with particular attention to the roles of the mayor, members of the council and the manager, and a comparison between the strong-mayor and council-manager plans. Tuesday the clinic will discuss city and county home rule, while the Wednesday session will consider the pros and cons of boards and commissions in city government and other questions.

Among the members of the clinic will be people who have worked or are working on charters for Philadelphia, St. Louis city and county, New Orleans, San Antonio and cities in Maine, Michigan, California, Ohio, Oklahoma, Texas and other states.

Presenting "All-American Cities" award in recognition of intelligent citizen action in Cincinnati is Murray Seasongood, former mayor and former National Municipal League president, with Charles P. Taft (center), member of the city council, and Mayor Albert D. Cash (right) on the receiving end. All three will take part in the National Conference on Government. Mr. Seasongood will preside at the annual dinner, November 27. Mayor Cash, a member of the League's Council, will welcome the Conference to Cincinnati. Mr. Taft, a League regional vice president, will preside at the November 28 luncheon.

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Patronage 'Rights' in Mississippi

A CLASSIC of naive candor is furnished by Senate Report 445, *Federal Job Selling and Other Irregularities in Mississippi.* Had you assumed that the president or his department and bureau heads selected the federal employees? Pshaw! That's merely what the constitution says! Here's the reality.

When the Dixiecrats split off from the Democratic party in the south in the 1948 election, the National Democratic Committee, in reprisal, "stopped conferring with the Mississippi congressional delegation on patronage matters" and "recognized Clarence E. Hood, Jr. . . . as the 'acting' Democratic national committeeman from the state of Mississippi and designated him to be its chief patronage advisor in that state."

Two years later the Dixiecrat senators from Mississippi stated on the floor of the Senate that the representatives thus empowered "were selling federal jobs." A Senate committee sent members and staff down to Mississippi and in public hearings heard 48 witnesses. It reported that "in a letter dated July 5, 1949, William M. Boyle, chairman of the Democratic National Committee, advised the Post Office Department that Clarence E. Hood, Jr., should be recognized by the department as its advisor on post office appointments in Mississippi." Hood as "acting national committeeman" and his associates "assumed all of the patronage rights previously exercised by the senators and congressmen from Mississippi" and "from the summer of 1949 until February 1951, the Democratic National Committee . . . cleared all federal patronage appointments . . . with Hood."

"The Post Office Department, in its letters to Hood transmitting the eligible list for any specific job, would ask him for information bearing upon the character and suitability of any of the eligible applicants." Hood's emissaries would then "approach those on the eligible register and advise them that they were being investigated for the job and, at the same time, indicate that 'voluntary contributions' would be expected from the successful applicant. . . . The eligible selected for appointment would invariably make a payment ranging from $250 to $1,000 to the committee." The applicant thus would obtain Hood's written blessing but "in most cases it was clearly understood that if the appointment was not made, the contribution would be returned."

The Senate committee's conclusions blame the national committee for "taking away the federal patronage rights of the Mississippi congressional delegation." The outcome has been that the Democratic National Committee has "removed Hood as 'acting' national committeeman for Mississippi and restored federal patronage to the congressional delegation." The implication of the report is that there is where the patronage "rights" ought to be!

When will some president have the guts to discard the practice of misusing patronage to reward or punish legislators and make his departmental officers pick the best men from the three at the top of the civil service eligible list—and let politicians in or out of Congress read about it afterward in the newspapers?

How Government Corrupts Politics

FOR three-quarters of a century we have been trying by civil service reform and other methods to keep the corrupting hand of "politics" out of the business side of public administration. That we still have a long way to go is indicated by the Senate committee report discussed in the preceding editorial, as well as by news in virtually any day's papers.

Income tax payers have, in recent weeks, been righteously indignant over monkey business in internal revenue offices from coast to coast. Citizens of many communities have been shocked by "a strange and sinister parallel" between the underworld and public officials, to borrow a description of the situation in Atlantic City, New Jersey, from Robert G. Moser, chief counsel for the Senate Crime Committee.

In these and in most other cases the focus of attention is on the public service or function—tax collection, law enforcement, the mail delivery—that is impaired or perverted by sleazy, dishonest or anti-social "politics."

An even greater evil, from the long range viewpoint, is the corruption of politics by government which is involved in almost every such situation. The proper function of politics is to determine policy and maintain ultimate popular control, so that government is ever the servant, never the master, of the people. This requires that members of Congress, state legislatures, city councils and elected chief executives be free of any external ties or internal responsibilities that might warp their judgment on policy or restrict their freedom to make decisions solely in the public interest.

Everybody — well, almost everybody — understands that a man ought not to try to represent the public at the same time he is being paid to promote a conflicting private interest. It is not so generally recognized that it is just as difficult for an elected official to serve the whole public impartially if a part of his responsibility involves the distribution of numerous jobs on a patronage basis. The most eloquent testimony to this fact has come from seasoned politicians who, in moments of candor, have admitted that the political appointments they had to make were the worst enemies of their devotion to the public good. When jobs are at stake persons interested in them become active in elections so that the distribution of the patronage rather than policy becomes the paramount issue and men of principle are driven out by patronage brokers. Hence the paradox that the "practical" politician is interested in anything but politics in the proper sense of the term.

The evil effects of this substitution of patronage for policy as the motive power of politics are accentuated in our federal system because men operating at one level are afraid to antagonize anyone at another who has political jobs to dispense. For example, it takes a great deal of courage for a local political organization to protest against questionable conduct on the part of the state or national chairman of the party because to do so invites the reprisal of withholding patronage. All these facts point clearly to the need for two basic but entirely practical reforms:

(1) An absolute end to the nonsense of making patronage out of such jobs as postmasterships and positions in the Internal Revenue Bureau and the Federal Department of Justice. No congressman who has his eye cocked on one of these juicy positions for an important constituent is going to find it easy to act as a free agent of his constituency or his country on a matter of federal legislation if he does not happen to see eye to eye with the dispenser of the patronage. And conversely, no governor who must get approval for his legislative program or for his appointments from a patronage minded state senate can, with equanimity, enforce the law against the wishes of a powerful state senator or county machine of his party.

(2) Divorce local — municipal and county — politics as fully as possible from state and national politics by taking party labels off local ballots and forbidding formal participation by the national parties in local elections, as has already been done in a majority of the cities and a surprising number of counties.

Who bears the primary responsibility for making these changes? Obviously it is Congress and the state legislatures. The fact that they have not been made is disturbing evidence of the hold the patronage system has and of the continuing corruption of politics by government. As Thomas Jefferson said, "Nomination to office is an executive function. To give it to the legislature . . . swerves the members from correctness by temptations to intrigue for office themselves and to a corrupt barter of votes; and destroys responsibility by dividing it among a multitude." A governmental system that gives "patronage rights" to congressmen or to state legislators or to city councilmen continues to pour poison into the bloodstream of politics.

The Governor as Legislator

Veto as used in New York endows the chief executive with an unusually vigorous role in affairs of state.

By SAMUEL R. SOLOMON*

NEW YORK has been the Empire State in lawmaking as well as in some of its more widely advertised products. Its legislature has enacted some 88,000 measures since 1777, and this total would have been considerably greater had it not been for the liberal use of the veto power by the governor. In the last 25 years alone, 1927-1951, the state executive has vetoed over 26 per cent, or 7,503, of the 28,740 bills submitted to him.[1]

This extensive use of the veto and the emergence of the governor in the role of chief legislator have their beginnings in 1874, when the state constitution was revised to give the governor the power of item veto and the period allowed the governor for consideration of bills after legislative adjournment was fixed at 30 days. The vote required to override a veto was raised from two-thirds of the members present to two-thirds of the members elected to each house, and the agenda of special sessions was limited to those subjects recommended by the governor.

The veto powers granted the governor in 1874 have remained virtually unchanged and have greatly affected the legislative process in New York. Reviewing these powers in 1917, Miss Margaret C. Alexander commented:[2]

> From that date [1874] the 30-day bill became a very important factor in New York State legislation. The frequent recesses of the legislature and the preponderance of special and local legislation resulted in the postponement of the great mass of business until the latter part of the session. The importance of the 30-day bill and the omnibus veto lies in the fact that they afford the governor an opportunity of passing judgment upon the work of the legislature. Since that body has adjourned, it cannot review the governor's disapproval. The governor thus ceases to be a mere restraining hand in legislation and becomes a positive force in dictating which of the hastily enacted measures shall be enrolled on the statute books.

This picture is still accurate for 1951, for the legislature has not materially altered its practice of submitting the great bulk of its measures to the governor in the closing days of the session; the governor is thus allowed to sit as a "third house" with an absolute veto over most of the legislative product. Since 1927, more than 92 per cent of the governor's vetoes have been accomplished after

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*Dr. Solomon, who taught political science at Syracuse University for the past five years, is professor of social science at the State University of New York Teachers College at Brockport. His interest in the office of governor dates back some twenty years when he made a survey of American executives —see his article, "American Governors Since 1915," the REVIEW, March 1931.

[1] Data for statistics and tables used in this study are based on *New York State Legislative Manual, New York Legislative Index,* and the *Public Papers of the Governor,* for years covered.

[2] "The Development of the Power of the State Executive," by Margaret C. Alexander. *Smith College Studies in History,* Northampton, Massachusetts, 1917, pages 196-197.

TABLE I

NUMBER AND PERCENTAGE OF BILLS VETOED DURING SESSION
(Ten-day Bills)

Governor	*Total Number Vetoed*	*Vetoed During Session*	*Percentage*
Smith (1927-1928)	302	14	4.6
Roosevelt (1929-1932)	1,126	146	13.0
Lehman (1933-1942)	3,029	289	9.5
Dewey (1943-1948)	1,933	30	1.5
Total	6,390	479	7.5

the legislature adjourned; in 1948 and 1949, 99 per cent of Governor Dewey's vetoes were in the 30-day class. Even with the small percentage of bills vetoed during the session (i.e., ten-day bills—see Table I), the governor's disapproval seems to have attained a quasi-absolute status, for no full veto has been overriden by the legislature since 1872 and attempted repassage of a veto is of almost equal rarity.[3]

Of course, while the legislature is still in session the governor has opportunity to indicate his objections to the legislators concerned. Thus a bill may be recalled from the governor, amended and repassed, or it may never be resubmitted. It can be assumed that more of this type of executive-legislative agreement transpires when the governor and the legislative majority are of the same political party and it is significant that for the Dewey years the percentage of ten-day vetoes (i.e., those returned to the legislature) is considerably smaller than for that of his immediate predecessors.[4]

It is significant that over half the 30-day vetoes are those without specific reasons or memoranda attached. Prior to 1931, disapprovals of this type were usually grouped together and vetoed in a bloc, or in several blocs, in an "omnibus veto," with a prefatory heading usually listing most of the reasons for which the governor had rejected other measures by specific memoranda. In 1931, however, Governor Roosevelt began using the term "vetoed without memoranda," for these bloc vetoes and this practice has been generally followed by his successors.

The basis upon which the governor selects some bills to be vetoed "with memoranda" and others "without" is a matter of conjecture. Obviously, it would seem impossible for the governor and his counsel to prepare specific memoranda of approval or disapproval for each of the 800 or more bills that reach his desk in the 30 days allowed.

Former Governor Lehman, in reply

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[3] Some item vetoes were overridden in 1917.

[4] For further discussion of executive-legislative relationships in the Dewey administrations, see "Some Aspects of the Legislative Process," by Charles D. Breitel (counsel to Governor Dewey), *New York State Bar Association Bulletin,* July 1949, pages 271-277; *Politics in the Empire State,* by Warren Moscow, A. A. Knopf, New York, 1948; "The Case for Dewey," by Stanley High, *Life* magazine, March 22, 1948.

TABLE II

NUMBER AND PERCENTAGE OF BILLS VETOED AFTER ADJOURNMENT
(30-day Vetoes 1927-1948)

Governor	*Number With Memoranda*	*Number Without Memoranda*	*Total 30-day Vetoes*	*Per Cent Without Memoranda*	*Total 10-day + 30-day*	*Per Cent Vetoed During 30-day Period*
Smith	160	128	288	44.4	302	95.3
Roosevelt	359	614	973	63.1	1,126	86.4
Lehman	1,364	1,375	2,739	50.2	3,029	90.4
Dewey	843	1,060	1,903	55.5	1,933	98.5
Totals	2,726	3,177	5,903	53.8	6,390	92.5

to the author's question concerning his use of the veto without memoranda, indicated that many of the bills so vetoed were duplicate bills, special or local bills, private claim bills of long standing, poorly drafted bills, etc. Presumably a good share of such bills could be pocket-vetoed, as in some other states, and the governor could thus escape the onus of definite action. However, the pocket veto is not customarily used in New York and, as Governor Lehman expressed it, he felt a "personal responsibility" to affix his signature, in approval or disapproval, to every bill submitted to him by the legislature.[5]

A popular conception regarding the executive veto is that a difference in political party between the governor and the legislature will result in a greater use of the veto than when the the two are of the same party. This does not hold true for New York, although there is some difference between the exercise of the ten-day and the 30-day veto (see Tables I and II) and the item veto. Republican governors with Republican legislatures have vetoed just as high or higher a percentage of bills as Democratic governors with Republican legislatures, or even Democratic governors with a Democratic legislature, a rare occurrence for New York. In 1935, when this situation existed, Governor Lehman vetoed 26 per cent of the bills submitted. In 1933, 1934, 1936, 1937 and 1938, when he was faced with Democratic Senates and Republican Assemblies, his vetoes averaged 27, 24, 19, 23 and 30 per cent, respectively.

Governor Dewey, with a Republican legislature for all his years in office, 1943-1951, has rejected 28 per cent of the legislative product, while Governor Smith, a Democrat with Republican legislatures, had a veto record of 14 per cent in 1927 and 17 per cent in 1928.[6]

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[5] Interview with Governor Lehman, New York City, December 21, 1948. It could also be pointed out that to list specific objections in a bill would indicate, by implication, that the rest of the bill was acceptable; it is much simpler to say "no" via the veto without memoranda.

[6] Governor Smith vetoed 27 per cent of

Governor Roosevelt, in 1931, believed he had attained the highest record of vetoes in the state's history when he disapproved 343 bills, representing 31 per cent. He achieved the same percentage in 1932, but the number of bills vetoed was only 283. However, his 1931 record was only second to that made by Governor Sulzer in 1913, when the latter vetoed 378 bills, 32.2 per cent of the bills submitted. Governor Sulzer's record remained intact until 1951, when Governor Dewey vetoed the unprecedented number of 426 bills, for an all-time high of 33.7 per cent.

The prime significance of the veto as exercised in New York lies not so much in the cold statistics of its extent as in the reasons justifying these vetoes delineated in veto messages and memoranda.

Veto Messages

The outstanding fact that emerges from a survey is that most of these bills have been rejected on grounds of policy. Only 4 per cent of the vetoes were based on constitutional grounds; drafting defects accounted for 10 per cent, while 12 per cent were bills considered "unnecessary," many being duplicates of bills already signed. Thus, 74 per cent of the vetoes were based on policy, a percentage that perhaps could be increased further if the governor's interpretation of some of the foregoing reasons could also be regarded as an expression of executive policy.

Of even greater significance, perhaps, is the prominence in this "policy" group of the large percentage of bills disapproved as being "contrary to the public interest." This seems to coincide with earlier studies of the veto power in Nebraska and Illinois, and more recent surveys in Pennsylvania and Alabama, depicting the executive veto as a weapon to protect the people, and the governor as a modern St. George slaying the dragon of "vicious legislation" with his veto sword.

According to the statements made by the executives, particularly Governors Smith and Roosevelt, the legislators would have "given the whole state away" time and again had it not been for the careful surveillance by the governor, the guardian of the people. Governor Lehman did not hesitate to take even his one Democratic legislature to task for legislation "not in the public interest." All three of these governors were able to capitalize on friction with the legislature by "going to the people" in the role of "protector" of the voters from the "evil influences" of their own legislative representatives.

Governor Dewey, having a majority of his own party in control of both houses for all of his terms in office, has not found it necessary to criticize the legislature in the same fashion. The percentage of bills vetoed by Mr. Dewey in the "public interest" class, however, ranks with that of his Democratic predecessors, though his language is more subdued and the term "contrary to public interest" is not employed as frequently. Governor Dewey did not have occasion to "go to the people" over a

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the bills submitted to him in 1919, his first year in office. His veto average for all of his eight years in office, 1919-1920, and 1923-1928, was 18 per cent. Governor Dewey vetoed 29.6 per cent in 1943, his first year, and 28.3 per cent in 1949. In 1950, he vetoed 347 bills, or 29.5 per cent.

conflict with the legislature until the uprising—unprecedented for him—over his 1949 budget.

The story of the item veto during the 1927-1948 period is highlighted by the vigorous use made of it by Roosevelt and Lehman to resist what they considered to be legislative encroachments upon the principle of the executive budget added to the state constitution in 1927. It fell to Governor Roosevelt, a few weeks after his inauguration in 1929, to submit the first budget under this provision, one which contained some $56,000,000 in lump-sum appropriations which the governor proposed to itemize before the beginning of the fiscal year.

The Item Veto

The legislature passed this budget but added a provision that the "appropriations hereby made . . . shall be expended in accordance with a schedule to be approved by the governor, the chairman of the Senate Finance Committee and the chairman of the Assembly Ways and Means Committee." Governor Roosevelt vetoed the items segregated under this provision in order, he said, "to prevent an unconstitutional raid on the executive budget system," and his action was upheld by the Court of Appeals later that year.[7]

In 1930, Governor Roosevelt and the legislature again clashed on the form of the executive budget, although not quite as seriously as in the 1929 session. The 1930 dispute reached its climax when the governor vetoed a number of items in the "revised version" of his budget bill. The legislature apparently did not wish to risk another court battle and most of the amount item-vetoed was finally returned to the budget on the basis stipulated by the governor. Mr. Roosevelt's success in maintaining what he felt to be the integrity of the executive budget principle, and his use of the item veto as an instrument in protecting that budget, seems to have been well crystallized by the end of these first two years.

Governor Lehman made use of the item veto in every one of his ten years in office except the last, 1942. Most of these vetoes were on grounds of economy.[8]

Governor Dewey has used the item veto only twice—in 1947—and only to correct "inadvertencies" of $500 each in a salary schedule. With a legislative majority of his own party, there were no counterparts to the "battles of the budget" common to his Democratic predecessors until the uprising in 1949. Prior to that, Governor Dewey's budget had been enacted practically as submitted to the legislature.

It remains now to consider the role of the governor as chief legislator, a role which has been enhanced in New York during the last three decades by four successive strong governors. While the liberal use of the veto is a definite factor in this role, it is but one side of the coin; the other side, and the one the governor prefers to keep face up, is the success of his positive action in approving legislation, legislation which he has recommended. While administrative success is certainly not overlooked or underpublicized, it is to his legislative program that the governor points with particular pride. The veto memorandum says, "This measure is contrary to sound public policy." The approval memorandum says, "This is in line with what I recommended to your honorable bodies on such and such a date."

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[7] *People* v. *Tremaine*, 1929, 252 New York 27.

[8] In 1939, ten years after the Roosevelt conflict over lump-sum items, the governor and the legislature again went to court over this issue, but the situation of 1929 was reversed; Governor Lehman had submitted detailed line items; the legislature had not only reduced the amounts but substituted lump-sum items. Governor Lehman allowed the main bill to become law without his signature and then challenged its legality in the courts. His position was upheld on June 15, 1939, by the Appellate Division of the Supreme Court in a divided vote, and by the Court of Appeals unanimously on June 21. See *People* v. *Tremaine*, 281 New York 1.

Governor Chief Legislator

While some commentators have expressed concern over this growing power of the executive in the legislative process, especially with regard to the veto exercised largely on the grounds of policy, it has also been emphasized that the governor is chief legislator because the legislature allows him to be; the New York governor's veto is absolute because the legislature makes it so; and his ability to capitalize on the dual role of chief protector of the public interest as well as of chief legislator is also made possible by the nature of much of the legislation that is introduced.

What apparently has happened in New York during the past 75 years, and has crystallized in the last 30, is that the governor has emerged as chief legislator because of the acclimatization of the electorate to the belief that the democratic tradition of representative government is best upheld when chief reliance is placed in the governor rather than in the legislature. A long line of vigorous governors has been largely responsible for this belief and the legislators themselves have not been able successfully to refute it. This is indeed a far cry from the status of the royal governors and the state governors who followed in the early years of the commonwealth's history.

This picture of the governor and his part in the legislative process is not new. More than 40 years ago it was drawn by Gamaliel Bradford:[9]

> In large affairs, affecting all the people, they [the legislators] have lost their initiative, because their time and strength are taken up with the petty interests of their constituents. For them they run errands, seek offices, work for local appropriations. Somebody else has to take the broad view, to look after the nation or the state, while they are absorbed with Buncombe County or Podunk. And this somebody is getting to be more and more the directly elect of all the people. To a president or governor thus chosen, all the people are coming to look increasingly, not merely for administration but for impulse and driving power in legislation.

The picture may have changed somewhat. It certainly would be criticized by today's legislator and he might argue, with some justification, that if he is an "errand boy" local pressures make him one. But the state executive in New York, as in other states, can still take comfort in the thought that "although the wisdom of a single veto might be questioned, the governors have not seriously abused the confidence of the people."

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[9] Quoted in *The Bicameral Principle in the New York Legislature*, by David L. Colvin, 1913, page 110.

Taking Politics Out of Politics

Use of voting machines for the nomination of candidates by state party conventions in Indiana thwarts boss rule.

By G. ROGER MAYHILL and E. T. BRITTON*

GROANED a long time Hoosier political boss at the conclusion of his party's 1948 state nominating convention, "Indiana has just taken the politics out of politics." The disgruntled party leader referred to the use of secret voting machines by the delegates at party conventions.

Indiana is the first state to employ voting machines in state conventions. Under state law both Republicans and Democrats use this unique system, which is attracting attention throughout the nation as it is considered a compromise between a statewide primary and a state convention effectively dominated by party bosses.

Indiana voters select 1,500 to 2,000 delegates in a statewide primary who in turn choose, in a convention, party candidates for the offices of governor, lieutenant governor, U. S. senator and other state administrative and judicial offices. Delegates in many counties have been picked or approved by the county chairman and they have voted in many cases as the chairmen desired at the convention, not as the majority of the voters back home preferred. The voting machine, however, offers a conscientious delegate an opportunity to thwart party dictation by casting his vote privately for the best available candidate rather than for a political hack selected by leaders in a smoke-filled room.

That voting machines hurt boss rule in Indiana was evident the first year they were put in effect. In 1948 the pre-convention heavy favorite for the Republican gubernatorial nomination was the well known U. S. Senator William E. Jenner. Regular Republican leaders were unable to maintain Senator Jenner's support as delegates voting secretly on machines nominated one of his two opponents on the second ballot, Hobart Creighton.

Past Indiana conventions were riproarin' affairs. After the first outbursts of passionate oratory by the temporary and permanent chairmen, the delegates would settle back to the business of selecting candidates. To do this counties were called alphabetically. As the voting proceeded, suspense reigned as the several candidates for office calculated excitedly and waited in sustained hope for the sweetness of holding the lead. Hurrying and scurrying politicians glided from delegation to delegation, threatening, cajoling and entreating with the usual last minute confidential dope that, "Marion County will go to Tom Jones on this ballot." They hoped in this way to bring into line enough small counties to put Jones across.

Then came those awesome moments near the middle of the roll call when the breath of the entire convention seemed to be stopped as it waited for the largest counties, such as Marion (Indianapolis) and Lake (Gary), to announce definitely and thereby end the recurrent rumors as to where they stood. Sometimes these large counties split the vote among all the candidates, uncertain themselves as to the winner. But when enough large counties seemed to be in agreement, then numerous small counties would jump on the band wagon to curry favor with the successful candidate, who would possibly be the next governor and undoubtedly remember in distributing patronage how each county had voted. Voting machines have forestalled these tactics.

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*Dr. Mayhill is assistant professor of history at Purdue University, where he has been teaching since 1937. Mr. Britton has been an instructor in government at Purdue since 1948 as well as a political science major.

Apathy Disappears

Lack of color at the convention has been replaced by apparent new interest on the part of the delegates in the voting machine proceedings. Jap Cadou, Jr., in the *Indianapolis Star,* described the June 1948 Republican convention as follows:

> The convention hall was a strange contrast to the apathetic scene of two years ago when the Gates machine steam roller trundled through the coliseum and pushed candidates on to the state ticket in a matter of minutes. Practically every delegate was on hand all day. The Henry County delegation, for instance, brought box lunches for all so it would not have to leave the floor even for food.

The machines are arranged so no person can see how any delegate votes. Each candidate for office is entitled to one watcher at each machine, who is given full authority to check the voting machine before and after each ballot. The machines are also attended by an inspector and two clerks appointed by the chairman of the state central committee. Their task and responsibility is the same as that of workers in election precincts.

To facilitate voting, enough machines must be available so that no more than 75 delegates use any one machine. Each machine is numbered and, before voting, delegates must announce their names, sign a poll list and be checked by the clerks on the official list of delegates and proxies furnished by the state central committee of the party. If necessary to establish proof of their right to vote, delegates may be required to present their certificates of election to the clerks and inspectors at the machine.

As to the success of the plan, a Purdue University survey by questionnaires and personal interviews indicates that it is approved overwhelmingly by editors, politicians and voters.

Typical of the support is that of former Governor Ralph Gates, who originated the voting machine law and assisted its passage through the legislature in 1947. Gates commented:

> I am in favor of the new system of using voting machines. In the two state conventions where I have seen them operated, it has been very successful. . . . I feel that it is very economical and gives us a representative convention—a thing we never had in the past. At the same time, it does not cost the people of Indiana nor the candidate a lot of money as is true in the direct primary for all candidates.

Equally favorable was Democratic State Chairman Ira Haymaker who replied:

> It gives each delegate the chance to represent the rank and file of the party without being subjected to pressure by party leaders, officials or pressure groups.

The answers indicated that the county chairman had not lost all his power but was now more of an advisor than a dictator. As former Congressman Andrew Jacobs of Indianapolis declared, the delegate "will cast his vote without being subject to the surveillance of those who might control his job or have other political favors to offer."

Better Type Delegate

The caliber of the individual delegate under this system becomes more important than ever. In several places more spirited contests have occurred for this job which formerly was not considered important. When the delegate can vote his sentiments or that of his constituents, he becomes more powerful in his own right and, if more people will realize this, they may become candidates for delegate jobs. As former Secretary of State Charles Fleming said: "Filing as a delegate to the state convention does not receive the proper consideration as far as the importance of the elected office is concerned."

Another revolutionary change made by the voting machine law requires that nomination of minor state offices, beginning with state superintendent of public instruction and in presidential years the presidential electors, be made first and that nominations for governor and United States senator be last. In the old conventions, many delegates left after nominations had been made for senator and governor, leaving the county chairman with proxies to be voted as he wished for the rest of the state offices. Also the group who picked the governor or senator quite often could nominate the rest of the state ticket.

The 1951 state legislature speeded the voting procedure tremendously by allowing the state central committee, if it so desires, to have the convention vote on all offices at one time. This is really streamlining political meetings.

The majority of those who participate in and follow Indiana politics seem to agree with Hobart Creighton, Republican candidate for governor in 1948, who endorsed this new method whole-heartedly:

> In my opinion, after the delegates are chosen by the voters they can go to the convention and vote for candidates of their choice without any fear of political punishment. So, I think this system of voting in Indiana is about as fair as any convention system could be and certainly at this time I would not want to replace it by any other system.

If voting machines can successfully improve the caliber of candidates in a state political convention, perhaps they could be utilized in the national nominating conventions for president of the United States. The 1950 contests in Indiana conventions were minor, but the system will bear watching as a possible national reform.

A Councilman's Pipe Dream

Frustrated by city government problems under antiquated charter, official visions efficiency with city manager.

By **ARTHUR W. BROMAGE***

ONE night in late February Councilman John P. (Public) Servant left the city hall and drove homeward. It had been a long meeting with knotty problems admixed with oratory. He looked forward to home and the fireplace. Watching the snow flakes spit against his windshield, he thought vaguely of the public works crews who would be out at 2 A.M. "Worse than being a councilman," he muttered.

Councilman John placed the car in the garage and poked his head in the kitchen door. From upstairs his wife Margaret called out in a laconic voice: "Late again, dear! We had a letter from young Jimmy at prep school and another from Betsy. Anything happen at city hall?"

John advanced to the foot of the main stairway and called upward: "Nothing much; about as usual. I'll read the children's letters and the paper by the fire. I'll tell you about council in the morning." Then he remembered his doctor's admonitions. He turned away to the kitchen, got a tall glass of milk from the refrigerator and paddled back to the living room. Meanwhile, he had divested himself of hat, coat, rubbers and all mimeographed reports and resolutions accumulated at council meeting.

Settled in his favorite chair before the dying embers, John packed and fired his oversize pipe. He read the letters and pushed on to the evening paper. He heard his wife's reading lamp click off but the little bedside radio continued to grind out the tunes of yesteryear.

John struck another match to his pipe and rustled through the paper to reach the editorial page. He tried to read a brilliant editorial blast about American foreign policy but his mind kept wandering to the current problem at city hall—they must get that land for sanitary fill and stop feeding garbage to hogs. He was only in his second term but he could scarcely remember what it was like to be a private citizen rather than a public servant.

"The firemen," he surmised, "will never be satisfied until their pay is even-Steven across the board, rank for rank, with the policemen. The fire chief made that obvious by his lukewarm greeting tonight. The department heads are all on edge anyway. We ought to raise their salaries. Paying a police chief $5,800—ridiculous. Cities don't know what management is worth."

With his paper before him, Councilman John's mind raced forward. He remembered the differential between traffic signals needed and money available. Curb and gutter falling apart in the old sections, he murmured. More police squad cars, more fire engines, more personnel, more of

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everything at higher costs, the department heads insisted. Even the even-tempered public health officer was riding in hard for more public health nurses. And the business men kept up a chorus for steady tax rates, attractive to new industries! "Look at the city hall; no, don't look at it," he said, half out loud.

The wind moaned at the southeast corner of the house on Boulevard Lane and the old apple tree scratched its barren branches against the water spout. In the distance, downtown, the wail of sirens portended a fire or a traffic accident on a bad night. The embers of the fireplace were dying but the warm blast of air still smote John full in the face. He put his pipe on the stand. Upstairs, his wife's radio was still playing softly; the disc jockey had switched to an old lyric, "Tea for Two." John's chin began to sag to his necktie and he snored intermittently.

A Dream City Hall

In his pipe dreams John now wandered in a world which was wondrous to behold. The old, dreary city hall had miraculously disappeared. In its place stood a gleaming building with limestone facade. "Why," John mused, "it looks like a modern telephone office building; must have cost $2,000,000." It stood in a block by itself, surrounded by lovely shrubs and trees. John entered. He couldn't believe his eyes. On the right was a complaint and information office and a trim young thing was answering the telephone with poise and assurance. On the left was a city clerk's office with a low counter and chairs for waiting voters. Across the hall he could see modern counters and teller cages where people could pay tax bills, water bills, license fees, service charges of all kinds. Beyond, he saw a big airy room sectionalized with glass partitions.

There it is, John imagined. All the financial operations have been integrated. The budget officer, chief accountant, treasurer, assessor and purchasing agent, as well as their personnel, are all in the same office! He did not dare look too closely for fear the whole force would suddenly disappear behind the old plaster walls and wooden partitions.

At the end of the hall he saw a sign which intrigued him enormously. It read, City Manager. In an outer office he could see a woman typing and through another door he could see a man talking with the police chief and the fire chief. John was startled, for in his memory he knew better; he must have remembered how the whole campaign for charter revision had bogged down.

Nevertheless, he went on in and the manager, rising, waved him to a chair. John listened. The manager and the two department heads were talking about next year's budget. The manager was trying to iron out the differences between the two departments. They were talking about better coordination at fires! Looking into the rear courtyard, it suddenly dawned on John that the right rear wing of the new city hall housed a central fire station and the left rear wing comprised the police department.

John couldn't wait to get upstairs in *this* city hall, so he excused himself. On the second floor, he marveled that the city engineer actually had space enough for his employees. The park and recreation department was right across the way and down the hall was a city planning office with four employees! How times had changed. The health department had a modern "lab" right here on the front, and the office doors were labeled City-county Coordinated Health Department!

Ideal Council Chamber

By this time John was eager to see the council room but he was told it was on the first floor. He retraced his steps. Sure enough. He had missed it on the left when he came in the front door. Why, it was a small room! There were only seven desks for councilmen, a few seats for manager, city officers and press and about 25 chairs for the public. But the whole place was wired for radio.

John was conscious of someone by his side. It was the manager, who pointed out that few taxpayers came to council anymore. Those who wanted to do so could always listen to council on the radio. Most complaints were routed to administrative officers and never reached council. The council room was designed so it could be used for committee meetings, conferences, planning commission, boards of appeals. There was a central roster in the clerk's office on which all meetings were posted. Red hot issues, the manager explained, were scheduled for public hearing in the municipal auditorium, one of the buildings in the civic center. John gasped and repeated "The municipal auditorium!"

John couldn't resist sitting down at one of the councilman's desks. Before him he saw a small collection of documents: charter, council rules, budget document, ordinances, personnel rules and regulations, book of administrative charts, intra-municipal newsletters. They were in loose-leaf binders and kept up to date. On the desk under a glass top was an understandable map of the city. It gave one a visual picture of streets and boulevards, fire substation layout, parks and playgrounds, public works yards, municipally owned utilities, schools and hospitals. John began to study it. His old training made him quick and sure in spotting lack of facilities and future problems.

He suddenly realized that the municipally owned parking lots and a loop arterial avenue had solved the downtown traffic mess. He looked out the window and comprehended that the traffic lights were progressive Traffic was moving surely and systematically. He saw a gleaming white refuse truck go by. "We have a sanitary fill now," the manager explained. "It's on the west side and no one has complained about it for three months." John exclaimed: "This is either some other city or it's the year 2000 A.D.!"

John stirred in his easy chair by the cooling fireplace. He heard the discordant symphony of his telephone bell. He rubbed his eyes and pulled himself together. He slowly comprehended that he had fallen asleep but was again awake. Probably the newspaper calling, he conjectured. Must want to check a story. He made his way out into the hall and picked up the telephone. It was the mayor and his tone was tense. What he said made John wide awake.

(Continued on Page 532)

Volunteer Rescuers on Guard

All parts of New Jersey are covered by well trained first aid squads, each equipped with its ambulance.

By GLENDON A. SCHUBERT, JR., and MAJOR R. MARLING*

WHEN, on February 6, 1951, a Pennsylvania Railroad commuter train left the tracks while crossing a temporary wooden trestle at Woodbridge, New Jersey, killing 83 and injuring over 300 passengers, the volunteer first aid and rescue squads of that and nearby communities were on the scene within minutes. Although ambulances and medical aid from all over the area finally reached the disaster, the immediate burden was borne by these units.

New Jersey is the only state which provides free statewide ambulance, first aid and rescue services. This has been accomplished with a minimum burden to the taxpayers. There are 347 first aid and rescue squads in its 21 counties, practically all of them equipped with one or more ambulances.

The current emphasis on civil defense makes particularly relevant this experiment in democratic self-help. In a state not otherwise known for nonpartisanship it has been conspicuous for its freedom from political influence and made possible almost exclusively by the volunteer efforts and money of several hundred thousand citizens.

In most of the country people are living under frontier conditions so far as the availability of ambulance, first aid and rescue service is concerned. Only in cities of 10,000 or over does there normally exist, through public or private agencies, the organization and fiscal support to provide them. In such cities rescue work is usually a responsibility of police or fire departments, first aid service may be furnished by ambulance attendants in addition to the police and firemen; and ambulance transportation, generally on a fee basis, by both public and private hospitals. In some places one or more ambulances are operated by the police or fire departments; in others, private enterprise has moved into the vacuum.

In Syracuse, New York, and Memphis, Tennessee, the morticians have dual-purpose hearses which double as ambulances. The first hearse to the scene of an accident transports the case and, of course, if the patient should die, that company has an obvious tactical advantage over competitors in the offering of funeral services. In Los Angeles and Philadelphia there are commercial ambulance corporations whose business is exclusively devoted to transporting patients. They also furnish some emergency first aid service, such as oxygen en route.

The fee charged for ambulance service, except in the case of tax-supported police and fire departments and public hospitals for indigent patients, is usually from $5 to $25 per call, tending to be nearer the higher figure.

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Setup in Middlesex

New Jersey's Middlesex County, with 24 squads serving its 25 municipalities, will receive particular attention here. This county is within the New York metropolitan district with an area of 324 square miles and 265,000 people. The northern third is industrial and the rest agricultural. There are three cities, eleven boroughs and eleven townships. The northern third is separated from the southern part by the Raritan River, which can be crossed by vehicular traffic only near the cities of New Brunswick, and Perth Amboy and South Amboy, located on the western and eastern borders, respectively.

All four of the county's hospitals are private institutions, two of them in New Brunswick and one in each of the Amboys. Middlesex squads provide routine emergency service to five hospitals in the bordering counties of Mercer, Somerset, Monmouth and Union as well, since nine squads are closer to one of these than to any of the hospitals in the county. This emphasizes the now commonplace fact that political boundaries are irrelevant so far as the existence of service needs and the planning of efficient and economical administrative areas are concerned.

During 1934-38, when eleven new squads were organized in Middlesex, the volunteer ambulances discovered that non-county hospitals would not accept emergency indigent cases who were county residents. The Middlesex County hospitals adhered to the same policy and rejected non-paying non-resident cases even though they were brought in by a Middlesex squad. This situation no longer prevails. Any hospital in the state will receive, treat and hospitalize an emergency case until arrangements for transfer or payment can be made between county welfare authorities.

It is not uncommon for squads to transport patients resident within their area from their homes or nearby hospitals to hospitals in New York City or Philadelphia. This service is also without charge to the patient.

To a considerable extent political boundaries have been ignored in setting the areal jurisdiction of the squads. The fact that there are 25 municipalities and 24 squads is completely coincidental, despite the fact that New Brunswick, uniquely, does not maintain a squad, but depends upon its fire department, which operates a publicly owned ambulance. Squads in Perth Amboy and in six boroughs limit their services to their political jurisdictions. The settlement of Arbor squad covers all of Piscataway Township; Raritan Township has a single safety council which supports three squads, each responsible for covering one of the three administrative districts into which the township is divided.

In all other cases, settlements or boroughs share in a complicated cooperative system which provides complete coverage. The squad of South Amboy, for instance, serves the eastern half of rural Sayreville Township; the western half is covered by the settlement of Sayreville.

In the industrial township of

Woodbridge optimum coverage is furnished by four squads from as many settlements; in fact, overcoverage with its attendant disadvantages of added costs and inefficiency may well materialize if the proposed organization of two additional units takes place. On the other hand, four of the smallest and least well financed squads do their best to provide service for the southern third of the county, which includes only 15 per cent of the population and a much less adequate road network. One of the southernmost townships, Cranbury, is not served by any of the units in Middlesex; it is more readily accessible to the squad from neighboring Hightstown in Mercer County.

In a number of instances an older squad has been primarily responsible for formation of a new one—for example, Raritan Squad Number 3, which took over an area formerly shared by the two older squads in the township. Middlesex, the older squad, has helped the South Plainfield unit in many ways. Another recently organized unit, the Iselin First Aid Squad, was started by volunteer firemen assisted by the Fords First Aid Squad, which donated an ambulance and sent one of its instructors to train the new members.

Usually the founders of the older squads have been volunteer firemen. These men came to realize the need for more adequate first aid equipment and better trained personnel in first aid work. Frequently, the catalyst which transformed thought into action was a local tragedy. The Arbor squad, first to be formed in the county in 1930, was organized after an accident in which eight lives were lost by drowning.

The Highland Park squad was almost forced into being two years ago when the mayor of New Brunswick told the mayor of Highland Park that the pressure of serving both communities was too much for his city's ambulance. Mayor Cole of Highland Park sought the aid of two well known citizens to organize a first aid squad. A public-spirited couple donated an ambulance and the squad was in service. A new building has been erected and is being equipped by donations of materials, money and labor.

Squad Organization

Excepting one township which has three squads under a common safety council, all are similarly organized, with line officers—captain, assistant captain and two lieutenants; administrative officers—president, vice president, secretary and treasurer; and three committees to screen new applicants, supervise fund raising and audit expenditures. An advantage of this system is that almost every member serves in some official capacity while, at the same time, all officers function as line personnel, so that the gap in understanding between those who manage and authorize the expenditure of funds and those who serve has no opportunity to creep in.

There is little problem in attracting recruits except in sparsely settled townships and the rate of personnel turnover is low, averaging less than ½ of 1 per cent a year. One squad has doubled the number of its potential applicants by admitting women to membership and insured a continuing supply of trained, fresh young blood by maintaining a cadet corps of young men and women between the ages of 15 and 25.

All candidates are subject to meticulous pre-entry examination which emphasizes character and seriousness of interest as well as physical, mental and emotional fitness. All members hold standard and advanced Red Cross first aid cards and are given additional instruction since they may be called upon to give emergency treatment beyond the scope of what is normally considered first aid work.

Since 24-hour service must be provided most squads have all their personnel on call all the time. Calls are usually received at the local police headquarters or by the local telephone operator who either notifies the captain and a member assigned to phone duty or sounds an alarm device such as a siren, factory whistle or the fire alarm—in which case a special code is used to distinguish first aid alarms. Then the first two or, in the case of some squads, three members to reach headquarters drive the ambulance to the scene of the accident or pick up the patient in the case of transportation calls. If an accident, other members may proceed directly to the scene in their own automobiles. Where cadets are used, they must be accompanied by three regular members and are not permitted to go out on calls after 11 P.M.

Some squads assign members to particular duty days and hours according to a roster. All such arrangements differ, according to the needs and personnel of the units concerned. Work load, of course, varies considerably, with some squads making up to 90 per cent of their calls for highway accidents, others having a high proportion of industrial accidents and some handling mostly transportation calls. The first would find its peak load on weekends, the second during the week and the third would have little variation in its frequency of calls.

Displacement Coverage

The squads cooperate by agreements to provide displacement coverage. As in fire department operations, when a squad is called into service the problem of providing standby protection arises. It is met by giving immediate notice to a neighboring unit. This system works well for ordinary operations but has broken down more than once in the face of major disasters because of the absence of effective coordinating authority and the very real independence, in both law and practice, of the squads.

In the Woodbridge disaster, for instance, the Spotswood First Aid Squad rushed off with all its equipment just as soon as it heard the news on the radio. Meanwhile nearby Jamesburg radioed a police liaison office in Monmouth County before acting, and was directed to send one vehicle but to keep the other on call. Shortly thereafter this stand-by vehicle had to go to Spotswood to pick up an emergency hemorrhage case and until it returned from the hospital, three boroughs, all of one township and part of another were left without protection. There was no way under the past system either to prevent such things from happening or to discipline responsible squads.

This was obviously an area into which the State Civil Defense agency could and should move. As a matter of fact, this is being done. On May 17, 1951, a "mobilization plan for

Raritan area" was agreed upon by the chairman of the second district of the New Jersey First Aid Council, the chairman of the Middlesex County Association of First Aid Squads and the director of the medical, health and welfare division of the Raritan area civil defense. Administrative control over first aid units in Middlesex County is now in the hands of the civil defense area control center in the case of any accident beyond the competence of the local squad, its first five cover-up squads and neighboring squads within a five-mile radius of the scene.

Therefore, although minor accidents, defined in terms of the number of victims, will continue to be handled under the old system of squad operational autonomy and interjurisdictional cooperation, any future disaster, atomic or otherwise, will be under the jurisdiction of an elaborate county-wide administrative control center. This center includes factors beyond the control of first aid squads, such as police and fire departments, medical personnel and mobile first aid stations, at the same time tying in with a statewide organization with even greater reserves of personnel, equipment and hospital facilities.

The legal status of all first aid squads is that of private corporations. Slightly more than half in the state have joined the New Jersey State First Aid Council, Inc., a cooperative nonprofit volunteer organization founded in 1929. Sixteen Middlesex County squads are members of District Number 2 of the state council; eight are members of the rival Middlesex County Association of First Aid Squads, Inc.

The essentially public character of the squads has found legal recognition in legislation and other concessions obtained through the state council, including the municipality contribution act of 1932 and its revision of 1951,[1] exemption from fee for ambulance license plates and from New York Port Authority tolls on ambulance trips to New York.

State Organization

The executive committee of the state organization and the district councils meet monthly and a semi-anual state convention is held as a means of coordinating activities and exchanging ideas. There is a monthly publication, *The Gold Cross,* but it is unfortunately devoted mostly to personal news and equipment advertisements and does not approach the professional standards which would make it effective for the interchange of technical information. Neither the state council nor the county association has any effective control over member squads.

The principle of the municipality contribution legislation might well be extended in two ways. If the state legislature were to appropriate an annual sum of $50,000 to the State First Aid Council and the county appropriation of $3,000 were made mandatory, a number of advantages would follow.

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[1] Raising from $1,000 to $3,000 the amount that any municipality or county may legally contribute to any squad serving in its area. Last year Middlesex County contributed nothing, thirteen units received the maximum contribution from the municipalities in which they were located (but not from the others they served), three received less than $200 and the rest from $500 to $800.

In the first place, the state council could then afford to employ a full-time, paid, professionally qualified director to expand existing services, for example, by formulating standards for purchasing and other administrative procedures and in such critical areas as communications.

Second, the state council and the counties could share in supplementing the inadequate financing of the squads serving areas of greatest need through a system of equalization grants-in-aid. One squad covering what is essentially a rural area, for instance, answered 375 calls last year; 75 of these involved local residents, the rest were motor vehicle accidents on state and federal highways. Such a plan would insure sufficient local squad autonomy to keep the interest of the volunteer citizens without whose whole-hearted cooperation no system such as this could exist. At the same time, a few thousand dollars more distributed among the squads in rural areas, to overcome the burdens of inadequate staff, financing and equipment, would make possible the attainment of basic standards.

The potential as well as the actual significance of the work of these citizen first aid squads to their communities and to the public at large is inestimable. For the value received, the cost is small. Other states, and particularly their smaller municipalities, might well give consideration to the experience and example of New Jersey.

A COUNCILMAN'S PIPE DREAM

(Continued from page 526)

There was a fire in the old warehouse down on Eighteenth Street. Six engine companies and two aerials were working on it. The mayor was calling a nearby city for another aerial ladder and two heavyweight pumpers. All the reserve firemen and all the off-duty policemen had been called. It was touch and go to save the adjacent block of old fire-trap buildings.

John's pipe dream had vanished into the hard realities of a bad fire on a cold and snarling night. He went fumbling around to find his hat and coat. He slithered the city reports and resolutions to the floor. He called upstairs to his wife "Bad fire; be back in an hour." Outside it was raw and blustery. The snow had stopped falling. His car motor was still warm. When he pressed the starter, the engine roared into action. John puffed on his pipe and shifted the car into reverse. Soon he was headed downtown again. In the sky he could see a dull red glow.

EDITOR'S NOTE:—Had the councilman's dream not been rudely interrupted by the telephone, he might have been able to find out also how the city, with its modern council-manager charter, had financed the new city hall and civic center as well as other improvements. It might have been general obligation bonds, paid out of economies resulting from the efficient manner in which the city was run. Or, if the system had been in effect long enough, it might even have been done on a pay-as-you-go basis.

News in Review

City, State and Nation . . . . *Edited by H. M. Olmsted*

New Jersey Judge Grants Rights to Radio

Upholds Broadcast of Public Hearing Before City Council

IN PERHAPS the first court decision ever to deal with the rights of radio stations to broadcast public meetings or hearings, officials of the city of Asbury Park, New Jersey, have been ordered by Superior Court Judge C. Thomas Schettino to permit radio broadcasting of a public hearing before the city council. The hearing had to do with a proposed ordinance authorizing a referendum on a luxury tax. The Asbury Park *Press* sought permission to broadcast the hearing over its radio station WJLK but City Manager Armstrong, after a poll of the city council by telephone, denied such permission.

Judge Schettino ruled on September 24, two days before the hearing, in favor of the radio station and held that denial of the broadcast would be a violation of constitutional rights of the press, which he considered to include radio stations.

The city contended that the broadcasting would interfere with orderly conduct of the hearing; that it would be held in a room large enough to seat five hundred people and that there would be ample newspaper coverage.

The judge recognized the right of public officials to maintain decorum and control at meetings but said: "It is one thing to say a mayor and council can control the mechanics of a meeting and something else to say that they have a right as public officials to exclude the dissemination and distribution of news of public interest in a mechanical manner which is new."

Legislative Meetings Televised, Tape Recorded, Broadcast

Sessions of the Oklahoma legislature this year have been televised in part by the Oklahoma City radio station WKY-TV, according to the Council of State Governments. The television broadcasts have been on Tuesday and Thursday of each session week, for one hour each, starting at 2 P.M. The broadcast may be of either house depending on legislative calendars.

A radio reporter contributes comment and explanation with the broadcast, without interfering with the legislators' activities.

Sessions of the West Virginia House of Delegates are now recorded by means of a public address system and tape recorder. Expense for court stenographers is thereby eliminated. If desired, extemporaneous remarks by any legislator can now be obtained by simply playing back the recording of a day's session and typing up a copy.

Tapes can be stored in a small space and are housed permanently in the vault of the speaker of the House of Delegates. No material may be released unless first requested by the delegate who spoke and then approved by the House Committee on Rules.

Meetings of the Burbank, California, city council, held on Tuesday afternoons, were broadcast for 30 minutes at 7:30 the same evening for a six months' period. The meetings, ranging from one and a half to three hours in length, were tape-recorded in full; the report on the tape was then edited for the broadcast. Controversial material was included if both sides had been presented and discussed. The council chamber is equipped with microphones for councilmen, the city manager and others, and amplifiers are installed in ceiling ventilator ports.

In San Diego, California, a half-hour television program was recently presented with the city manager and city council participating and answering questions telephoned into the studio.

These innovations are supplementary to such other modern devices as amplifiers, public address systems and electric recording of votes and roll calls, examples of which have been noted heretofore.

A substantial number of cities have used radio for broadcasting prepared programs, but its use in connection with council sessions or other official meetings is still rare.

Council-Manager Plan Developments

San Antonio, Texas, (1950 population 406,811) after long and strenuous efforts and despite determined political opposition, has joined the ranks of council-manager cities. On October 2 its voters adopted a home rule council-manager charter, 19,056 to 10,251. San Antonio, incorporated 221 years ago, has been under the commission plan of government for the last 36 years. Political machine domination was shaken in the spring of 1949 by the election of A. C. (Jack) White, an independent and a manager plan advocate, as mayor. The REVIEW has recounted from time to time the various efforts, culminating in the October 2 election, to attain a modern, efficient form of government and break the hold of the machine. San Antonio will be the fourth largest American city with the manager plan, according to 1950 population figures.

In the new San Antonio council each candidate runs at large for a particular place—one to nine; if no majority results for a place, a runoff election is held. The first council will hold office from January 1, 1952, to April 30, 1953; thereafter there will be two-year terms. The first election will be held November 13, 1951, succeeding elections to be on the first Tuesday of April in odd years.

The cities of **Anaheim** (14,556), **Inglewood** (46,185), **Martinez** (8,268), **Oceanside** (12,881) and **San Gabriel** (20,343), **California,** have been placed on their official list of council-manager cities by the International City Managers' Association. These communities have been operating under an "administrative officer" setup but in actual practice the city council appoints administrative personnel only upon recommendation of the administrative officer. **Yuba City, California,** (7,861) which adopted the administrative officer plan early this year, has also been placed on the official manager list.

Mt. Vernon, Illinois, (15,563) on October 2 became the first city to take advantage of the new Illinois law raising the population limit for council-manager cities from 5,000 to 500,000. It voted for the manager plan 2,390 to 413. The plan is expected to go into effect in May 1953, at the expiration of the present mayor's term. Until then the present board of five aldermen, elected by wards, will continue. The new council will be elected at large in April 1953.

The council-manager plan has been adopted by **Garland, Texas,** (10,571).

Vero Beach, Florida, (4,746) voted 922 to 42 on September 18 in favor of a council-manager charter, to take effect October 18. The present city council serves until the annual city election on December 4, 1951. It may defer the final choice of a manager until then. The election was participated in by 45 per cent of the qualified electors.

Smyrna, Delaware, (2,346) has adopted the council-manager plan.

By a vote of 205 to 202 on October 9, **Cresent, Oklahoma,** (1,341) adopted the provisions of the state's statutory council-manager law. The new government went into effect October 19.

For the second time in two years **Gloucester, Massachusetts,** will hold a referendum on adopting the council-manager plan. The city council has authorized a vote on December 4, at the biennial municipal election, as the result of a petition of 2,180 names filed by the Home Owners League. In December 1949 Gloucester voters approved Plan E, then including proportional representation as well as the manager plan; but the state legislature having ruled P. R. out for new charters, the election was declared invalid. The new petition was for Plan E with plurality voting for council and school board instead of P. R.

In **Bristol, Rhode Island,** a charter commission appointed in April is taking steps toward the formation of a new commission in conformity with the home rule constitutional amendment adopted by the state's voters in June. A petition has been circulated to cause the town council to nominate nine members for such a commission.

Petitions for a special election on electing a charter commission have been circulated in **Pawtucket, Rhode Island.** The campaign is being conducted by the Citizens' League and the League of Women Voters, acting under Rhode Island's new home rule amendment to the constitution.

Dunn, North Carolina, voted on April 14, after much public discussion, to retain the manager plan. The vote was 575 to 327, as compared to the vote of 255 to 44 by which the plan was adopted in 1949.

Albemarle, North Carolina, defeated a proposal to adopt the council-manager plan, by a vote of 1,733 to 1,132, at the May municipal election.

Marysville, Michigan, which has had the manager plan since 1920, elected a charter commission, by a two-to-one vote on October 1, to draft a new and modern council-manager charter.

Attorney General Burnquist of **Minnesota** has ruled, in response to an inquiry by the president of the **New Ulm** charter commission, that the city council cannot, except by charter amendment, delegate any administrative powers to a newly created officer (who might be called a city manager) that are already delegated or assigned by the charter to an existing office or department.

A citizens' committee in **Calumet City, Illinois,** southeastern suburb of Chicago, has undertaken a campaign to bring the council-manager plan before the voters next year. A series of public meetings has been planned.

The state of **Iowa** has completely recodified its laws for council-manager and other types of municipal government and has exempted the manager and his administrative assistants from the civil service system.

The **North Dakota** legislature has curtailed the authority of city managers, as set forth in the state's optional laws, by giving city councils power to rearrange the duties of appointive positions and by requiring the manager to consult the council before appointing or removing department heads.

At the suggestion of the mayor, the city council of **El Campo, Texas,** has voted to employ a city engineer, "trained in municipal management."

The charter commission of **San Marcos, Texas,** has produced a tentative draft of a council-manager charter for consideration at public hearings.

In **Baytown, Texas,** which adopted the manager plan in 1948, all seven of a group of proposed charter amendments that would have increased the city council's participation in administrative details were defeated on September 22 by majorities of approximately four to one. The total vote was 824 out of some 7,000 qualified voters. One amendment would have given the council full power to hire or discharge any employee "when such action would benefit the city"; another would have had the council approve all new members of the police department.

Riverside, California, has elected a board of freeholders to draft a new charter. It is reported that a majority are favorable to the council-manager plan.

Portland, Maine, Government Goes to the People

A public meeting attended by 500 citizens on October 8 set a record for the "neighborhood town meetings" inaugurated two years ago by the city government of Portland, Maine, under a policy of "taking city hall to the people." This meeting, the sixth of a series, was held on Munjoy Hill, one of the old established areas of the city; 400 seats in the Jack Junior High School auditorium were filled, there were a hundred standees and another hundred unable to get in.

City officials present included City Manager Lyman S. Moore, who has held that office for the last five of the 27 years Portland has had the manager plan, Acting City Council Chairman Robert L. Getchell, School Superintendent H. C. Lyseth, Police Chief C. F. Hofacker and Park Director W. J. Dougherty. They were assailed with many questions and criticisms and explained what the city administration was doing and what more it could or could not do, as to schools, streets, recreation facilities, parking and other topics put forward by the audience.

Pay-boost Referenda Assailed in New York

The New York State Conference of Mayors, in its *Municipal Bulletin,* warns against recent efforts of groups of city employees to by-pass local officials and place questions of increased pay before the voters in local referenda.

The employees of the city of Yonkers presented to the city council a petition of 11,000 names, asking for a referendum on a proposal for a $500 annual salary increase for each employee. Thereafter the council approved the referendum, to be held at the November 6 election.

The Mayors' Conference urges that the fixing of salaries and the determination of the value of individual services is a function for city administrators and that it is unfair to the voters to shift an administrative function to them; that they do not have the necessary information; and that their elected officials should decide questions of municipal management, subject to the voters' approval of their acts when officials run for election.

Yonkers' City Manager Donald C. Wagner had reported to the council his opposition to the referendum, adding that if the salary increase is approved it will practically necessitate imposition of a city sales tax, in view of other rising costs and the resultant level of property taxes.

A recent amendment to New York State's municipal home rule law provides that with a petition involving added expenditures there must be submitted a plan to raise the necessary revenue. The Yonkers employees merely left the revenue question up to the city council, and the city's attorney ruled that this was sufficient. In Kingston, New York, however, where the police and firemen petitioned the city council for increase in pay and said that the council should raise the amount any way it legally could, the city's attorney ruled that this did not comply with the statute.

Survey Covers 86,000 New York City Jobs

A voluminous report on a "career and salary" survey inaugurated in New York City in August 1950 was submitted on October 3 to Lazarus Joseph, city comptroller and chairman of the Mayor's Committee on Management Survey. The report, made by Griffenhagen and Associates, includes 5,000 pages listing names and proposed descriptive titles for some 86,000 individual positions covered by the survey and about 1,000 pages of supporting text and data.

This survey did not cover teachers, policemen, firemen, board of transportation employees or skilled labor paid on the basis of prevailing rates of pay in private industry. The 86,000 jobs covered are in 59 other city departments and agencies and eleven cultural institutions partly or fully supported by the city. The survey found 1,327 different classes of work being performed by these employees and a modern definition was prepared for each.

Public hearings on the report will be held, followed by recommendations to the mayor.

The Mayor's Committee is conducting various other surveys and researches concerning the city's functions and their administration, under the general supervision of Dr. Luther Gulick, president of the Institute of Public Administration, who is executive director for the committee.

San Jose Has Management Training Program

San Jose, California, this year inaugurated a series of management training conferences, the first phase of which required each department head to present, at weekly meetings, a discussion of the operations of his department and its inter-relationship with other departments. A written report was prepared to accompany each presentation.

In the second training phase, each department head reported on a specialized departmental activity. During the coming year the third phase will be devoted to studying principles of municipal management and a program is being prepared for training supervisors in human relations and the principles of supervision.

AMA to Hold Annual Convention in Washington

The American Municipal Association has announced that the 1951 American Municipal Congress, its annual convention, will be held in Washington, D. C., on December 10, 11 and 12, with headquarters at the Hotel Statler. Topics will include municipal progress in 1951, economic problems of cities, highway matters, payments in lieu of taxes and lessons from 1951 midwest floods.

Alaskan Cities Hold First Annual Convention

The annual convention of the League of Alaskan Cities, its first general meeting since it was organized at a mayors' conference in August 1950, was held in Kodiak, October 28-30. Shortly before, the league's executive committee appointed Arthur H. Rosien as executive secretary, to handle the work at the league's headquarters at Anchorage, the mayor of which, Z. J. Loussac, is president of the league. Alaska is divided into four administrative districts, without counties, and cities deal directly with the territorial government.

(Continued on page 542)

Contra Costa Taxpayers Study County Government

Aid in Organizing Official Intergovernmental Conference

THE Taxpayers Association of Contra Costa County, California, is engaged in a series of studies to advise its membership on the nature and the problems of county government and suggest possible solutions. The first of the four mimeographed bulletins issued thus far is concerned with the feasibility of adopting a home rule charter, the second describes the possibilities of a genuine budget procedure to replace the current compilation of requests, and the third explains the functions of the recently created "county administrator." This study warns: "One should not be misinformed that centralized management of the form established in Contra Costa County is real county management. Such an organization can only be established in California counties by the enactment of a county charter setting forth his powers clearly and unmistakably, and lodging administrative responsibility and authority in one individual." The fourth bulletin deals with the county board of supervisors as it might be set up under a new charter.

The final study of the association will discuss whether or not a county home rule charter should be adopted and what type of government it should provide. At present the county is governed under general state law.

The municipalities, civic groups and county officials of Contra Costa County met recently at the invitation of the Taxpayers Association and formed the Contra Costa Intergovernmental Conference. It will be a non-policy-making group of public officials which will confine its studies and discussions to matters primarily of an administrative nature. It will attempt to coordinate to some extent the activities of the 75 local taxing jurisdictions in the area, which is one of the fastest growing in the country. A committee has been appointed to develop rules of procedure and to define the scope of activity of the new organization.

Appointive Assessor, Initiative Endorsed for King County

The Municipal League of Seattle has recommended that the King County charter now being drafted provide that 10 per cent of the voters may initiate county legislation by petition and that referenda on proposed county legislation may be held by action of the county commissioners or of 15 per cent of the voters upon petition. The league also announced that after a survey of other metropolitan areas it was definitely in favor of appointment of the county assessor to replace the elective method.

The league recently held a meeting devoted to consideration of provisions to be included in the new county charter. Questions discussed included: Would the county administrator become a "little Hitler" or would he serve like an efficient general manager of a private corporation? Would nonpartisan elections be a blow to the two-party system or would we get better officials without voting on their party labels? Would county civil service be a dugout for drones or would it provide qualified employees after merit examination? Would democracy be better served through many elected officials or by electing only a few with centralized responsibility?

The League's Town Criers Committee is filling numerous calls for speakers on the proposed county charter.

Arlington County Seeks Changes in Manager Charter

Citizens of Arlington County, Virginia, which operates under a special manager plan charter granted by the legislature in 1930, are seeking support for an amended manager act. The Arlington Civic Federation has voted to ask the county's delegation to the legislature for six charter changes to include:

(1) Giving the county manager power to appoint department heads provided he himself is subject to removal by the county board; (2) creation of an enlarged department of finance combining several departments; (3) having the county board of supervisors elected every two years instead of one, with membership enlarged from five to seven; (4) creation of an office of county attorney separate from commonwealth's attorney; and (5) giving the county board of supervisors power of investigation.

Under the present charter, the manager is appointed by the board of supervisors for a term of one year only. He cannot be removed during that time but may be given 60 days notice if his services are not desired for the ensuing year.

Michigan Officials Discuss County Government

In a recent meeting of the Michigan Municipal League, county government was both severely attacked and warmly defended. Two city managers said county government in Michigan is "antiquated and archaic and a hodge-podge of agencies." What was needed, said one speaker, was a directing head.

The president of the State Association of County Supervisors urged caution and referred to recent efforts to improve county government as attempts to destroy it. He stated that he doubted whether any one man was "smart enough to take over the diversified functions of county government."

Speaking editorially, the Saginaw *News* commented that, "The desire to improve, streamline and bring these methods up to date is not any attempt to 'destroy' county government. It is a desire to strengthen and improve it." The *News* pointed out that, "There are men in jobs as city managers who do a pretty good job of coordinating and directing all the functions of city government, and these are just as complex and diversified as the functions of county government, if not more so."

County Publishes Informational Pamphlet

Dallas County, Texas, has issued a 44-page informational booklet, *Your County Government,* which in six brief chapters describes the operations of the county's activities. They discuss in turn general government, law enforcement offices, finances, judiciary, educational offices, and welfare, hospitals and relief. Listed for each is the current budget and number of employees. The booklet contains pictures of the county buildings, but its outstanding feature is the many humorous drawings that are scattered throughout the report.

Proportional Representation . . *Edited by George H. Hallett, Jr. and Wm. Redin Woodward*

(This department is successor to the Proportional Representation Review)

'They're Fighting Plan E Over in Quincy, Too'

Petitions Found Faulty Worcester Paper Comments

FOES of Plan E never sleep. They are busy in Worcester, as we noted on this page the other day. They are busy also in Quincy, which voted more than two to one for Plan E in 1947 and is now, with Worcester, completing its second year under the new charter.

Old political hands in Quincy whipped up a petition to put on this year's ballot a proposition to repeal Plan E and restore Plan A. Now Plan A has its points. Certainly it is a real gain for Boston. But Plan A does not provide for a city manager—and that's a key point. By comparison with Plan E, therefore, Plan A offers lush pasture for political hacks, party nags and heelers whose life work is grubbing for soft jobs on the public payroll.

In Quincy's case, too, any charter change now would wipe out proportional representation, which so many professional politicians fear and despise because it gives their political machines a hard time. The legislature in 1949 took P.R. from the optional charters, and it was only by a stiff fight that Worcester, Quincy and the other four cities which already had P.R. were able to win exemption from the ban.

Those aiming to overthrow Plan E in Quincy missed fire this year. The local board of appeals threw out 331 signatures on their petition, and the Superior Court upheld the action. Now both sides agree there is no time to take the case to the Supreme Court in time, so there will be no referendum in November on Plan E. That gives Plan E another two years to prove itself with Quincy citizens.

It has already progressed far, with an able city manager. But the very points of improvement—expert surveys, more trained personnel, a smaller council, a professional administrator—are the points of the politicians' attack. They know very well that the longer Plan E stays in, the more remote grows their chance of laying hands on city hall again.

Quincy's experience is another reminder to Worcester and all other Plan E cities that you often have to fight as hard to keep the new charter and its blessings as you did to win them in the first place.

Editorial, Worcester (Massachusetts) *Evening Gazette*, September 29, 1951.

Saugus Votes Out P. R. for Town Selectmen

On October 8 Saugus, Massachusetts, voted to abandon the Hare system of P. R. for election of its board of selectmen and school committee, 1,299 to 548. Only 23.4 per cent of the registered voters took part in the election. The plan was supported by a small group of unorganized citizens, led by Mr. and Mrs. Hollis Hogle and Mrs. Victor Wass, and by the local weekly *Saugus Advertiser*. Full-page ads for and against the system appeared in the pre-election edition of the newspaper.

Saugus adopted the town manager plan in 1947 and has held two elections under its P. R. provisions. The referendum was required by special act of the state legislature.

P. R. League Will Meet in Cincinnati

The annual meeting of the Proportional Representation League will be held at the Netherland Plaza Hotel, Cincinnati, on Tuesday, November 27, at 9:20 A.M. It will be one of several concurrent sessions of the National Conference on Government of the National Municipal League, meeting November 26, 27 and 28. Mayor Albert D. Cash of Cincinnati, president of the P.R. League, will preside. The pupils of the Garfield School of that city will present a demonstration election.

Among the speakers will be Mrs. Dorothy Nichols Dolbey, a candidate for the Cincinnati city council, and George Howatt, of Lehigh University.

Voters Favor Electoral College Change

Despite its recent decisive defeat in Congress,[1] the Lodge-Gossett proposal for proportional allocation of the electoral vote of each state in presidential elections continues to receive favor in public opinion. The American Institute of Public Opinion (Gallup poll) reports that its survey on the question reveals 57 per cent of those questioned in favor of the proposal, 21 per cent opposed and 22 per cent without opinion. Among those who, by their answers to another question, showed that they knew what the Electoral College was, the opinion in favor was still higher—67 per cent, while 25 per cent were opposed and 8 per cent were without opinion.

Greece Modifies Its Use of P. R.

The Greek national election on September 9 was held under the list system of P. R. This year the system was modified somewhat to favor the larger parties. The apportionment of seats which takes place within the districts is done, as in the past, on a proportional basis. Thereafter, to participate in the distribution of the remaining seats over the whole country, it is necessary that a party have 17 per cent of the total vote. Three parties qualified for such proportional treatment, one of them an entirely new group, the Greek Rally, led by Field Marshal Alexander Papagos, which topped the poll. The once dominant Populist party dropped to fifth place and received insignificant representation.

No party received a majority either of votes or of parliamentary seats. The results, as reported by the *New York Times* of October 25, were as follows:

GREEK PARLIAMENTARY ELECTIONS, SEPTEMBER 9, 1951

Party	*Votes*	*Percentage of Votes*	*Seats*	*Percentage of Seats*
Greek Rally	623,297	36.6	114	44
Center Union (E.P.E.K.)	399,529	23.4	74	25.8
Liberal	324,482	19.1	57	22.4
United Democratic	178,325	10.5	10	3.6
Populist	113,580	6.7	2	0.8
Democratic Socialist	37,033	2.2	—	—
Farmers & Workers	23,186	1.4	1	0.4
	1,707,081		258	

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[1] See the REVIEW, September 1950, page 411.

San Marino Uses List System for Grand Council

The tiny republic of San Marino, located in the mountains near the Adriatic coast of northern Italy, elected its Grand Council again on September 17 by the list system of proportional representation. It retained by a narrow margin its double distinction as the seat of the only Communist-dominated government outside the iron curtain and the only place where an openly Communist-dominated coalition has won a parliamentary majority in a western-type free election. The Communists never had a majority by themselves and have not abolished democratic elections and institutions as they have wherever they had a chance. Their strength in San Marino, of course, merely parallels their strength in many nearby communities in northern Italy.

Although the Communist and Left-wing Socialist bloc lost four of its former 35 seats, it retained a bare majority of the 60 seats by virtue of a similar majority of the popular vote (the two go together under P.R.). The Christian Democratic party obtained the highest popular vote and the greatest number of seats of any single party, but less than the Communists and their allies together. The results of the balloting, in which 4,467 of the republic's 12,000 inhabitants took part, were reported by the New York *Herald Tribune* as follows:

Party	*Votes*	*Seats*
Christian Democratic	1,922	27
Communist	1,306	18
Left-wing Socialist	991	13
Industrial Patriotic	248	2

CITY, STATE, NATION

(Continued from page 537)

Municipal Clerks' Institute

The National Institute of Municipal Clerks, organized four years ago, has established an office, effective October 1, at 1313 East 60th Street, Chicago. This is also the home office of the American Municipal Association, the International City Managers' Association and fourteen other nationwide organizations in the field of local and state government. The institute is reported to have a membership of about 600, from 46 states, headed by Arthur J. Shinners, town clerk of Brookline, Massachusetts, as president.

Nevada Authorizes Organization of Cities

Under a law recently signed by Governor Russell, municipalities in Nevada are authorized to form and participate in municipal organizations and to pay dues and travel costs. The law was sponsored by the Nevada Municipal Association, which has heretofore functioned and been financed on a personal, voluntary basis.

Mediation for Public Employee Disputes in North Dakota

A North Dakota law adopted this year provides that when a labor dispute involving the state, a county or a city cannot be settled directly, either the employer or employee may ask the appropriate executive officer—governor, chairman of the county board, mayor or city manager—to appoint two members to a mediation board, one representing the unit of government and one the employees. These board members then select a third person who serves as chairman.

This board is empowered to subpoena witnesses, compel attendance, take testimony and receive evidence. Within 30 days after the hearing the board must make reommendations on the issues in dispute to the executive officer of the unit of government and to the parties to the dispute.

Taxation and Finance • • • • *Edited by Wade S. Smith*

City Repays Old Ransom Loan of $200,000

Frederick, Md., Interest on Civil War Debt Runs $600,000

FREDERICK, Maryland, famed as the home of Barbara Fritchie, made the headlines in September for a lesser known but somewhat more costly Civil War episode. The occasion was the repayment of the final $20,000 on a loan of $200,000 made by five of the town's banks to pay a ransom demanded on July 4, 1864, by Confederate General Jubal Early. Desperate for supplies, the general exacted the bounty on pain of sacking the city. According to press reports, at least four attempts have been made in the past, and another is authorized, to persuade Congress to reimburse the town for the expense of the ransom, which is estimated to have cost $600,000 in interest.

The town's plight presents a novel turn to a not altogether rare set of circumstances, the long-term loan and the high local cost of participation in a war emergency. Scarcely a community of consequence lacks somewhere in its history a long-term bond issue or other loan which was finally paid off long after the original occasion for the borrowing was all but forgotten, and plenty of local units are still paying for "dead horses" of an earlier era. Glaring examples are the still outstanding 100-year bonds of New York City.

Frederick taxpayers labored long under their burden. Only recently, however, some of the town's sister communities have assumed similar burdens—the cost of local participation in war emergency activities. Frederick's participation was involuntary—it paid about one-tenth of the then valuation of its community to save it from the torch. But American cities have vied with one another to become the sites of large federal defense installations or huge new defense plants, only to discover when they secured them that the high cost of additional streets, sewers, water mains, schools, etc., made the acquisition a doubtful bargain.

State-local Borrowing Continues Heavy

Despite gathering difficulties in securing sufficient key materials for major construction jobs, state and local borrowing continues this year at a rapid pace, and still heavier borrowing activity is indicated by a growing volume of bond approvals by state and local voters. Since new bond sales have been subject to screening by regional banking committees under the voluntary credit restraining program, designed to keep non-essential and inflationary loans off the market, the continued high level of borrowing is especially significant.

For the nine months ended September 30, 1951, state and local bond sales aggregated $2,325,140,000, according to *The Daily Bond Buyer,* the financial journal specializing in state and municipal bonds. This was sharply below the $2,899,039,000 set for the first nine months of 1950, but compared with $2,243,377,000 for the 1949 period and was only slightly behind the first nine months of 1948, the second-ranking period, when the total was $2,360,878,000. Sales in September 1951 alone were $242,113,863, below both 1950 and 1949, but there was a sharp upswing indicated for October and a three-billion-dollar year was again assured.

Even more significant is the fact that bonds approved by the voters for the nine months this year totaled $793,280,000. This figure compares with $679,158,000 in the 1950 period and $719,479,000 for the first nine months of 1949. Total approvals for 1951 are not likely to reach the aggregates of the three preceding years, however, since November elections heretofore have included large state soldiers' bonus bond authorizations, now mainly out of the way.

Voter authorizations do not, however, include the entire potential of new borrowing, since many cities and other local units do not need to secure voter approval. Further, a large volume of borrowing by local housing authorities—expected to run above $100,000,000 every two or three months—is not included. There is also the backlog of unused authorizations of earlier years, since few bond authorizations are issued immediately after the election and many large authorizations are sold in installments.

The cost of state-local borrowing continues favorable to the borrower, although it is much above the very low levels of the war and early postwar years. In the first week of October 1951, the twenty-bond index of *The Daily Bond Buyer,* representing the average yield on the twenty-year obligations of twenty representative state and local units, stood at 2.05 per cent compared with 1.83 per cent at the corresponding 1950 date and 2.12 per cent for October 1949.

The index, it may be recalled, hit a high point of 5.69 per cent in May 1933, when the municipal horizon was clouded by serious fiscal difficulties. It declined more or less gradually during the recovery phase of the economic cycle and then, under the impetus of high personal income tax rates and the virtual cessation of new borrowing, plunged during the war years and reached an all-time low of 1.29 per cent in May 1946. The growing volume of new issues in the postwar period carried the index above 2 per cent by the end of 1947 and in 1948 it ranged in the vicinity of 2.3 to 2.4 per cent, trending down thereafter to about 2.1 per cent by the end of 1949 and 1.75 per cent by the end of 1950.

In March 1951 the Federal Reserve System, at the insistence of the U. S. Treasury, withdrew the "pegs" or support prices for U. S. obligations and money rates rose markedly, with the twenty-bond municipal index up to 2.2 per cent by early July. Since then it has been close to 2 per cent, representing a still moderate borrowing cost for the majority of local units.

State Tax Collections on Liquor Fall

State tax collections on alcoholic beverages have declined once again after their rise in late 1950 and the early part of 1951. Preliminary information for the second quarter of 1951, gathered by the Federation of Tax Administrators from a sampling of thirteen states, indicate the degree of decline from their peak in the scare buying period following the Korean outbreak and the entry of the Chinese in the fighting.

Collection of taxes on distilled spirits—which accounts for about 60 per cent of the total state alcoholic beverage tax collection—were off almost one-third in the second quarter of this year from the accelerated pace of the 1950 July-September quarter. More significantly, the 1951 second quarter collections were down 7.9 per cent from the same period last year, while state take from wine dropped 20.3 per cent off the 1950 pace.

"The extent of the decline in liquor tax yields had not been generally anticipated," the federation pointed out. "Action taken by the liquor industry in late 1950 was based on the contemplation of heightened demand and scarcity of supply. It was expected that, as the defense effort went into full swing, rising national income would step up the tempo of alcoholic beverage consumption while defense requirements would curb liquor production."

"However," the association pointed out, "by mid-1951 it became apparent that the liquor situation of World War II was not being repeated. Production of distilled spirits since the Korean outbreaks has been at its all-time peak, almost double the rate of the preceding year. In contrast, consumption except for several months subsequent to the Korean outbreak and the Chinese entry has run only slightly ahead of the preceding year's rate and in the second quarter of 1951 appeared to be falling behind its last year's mark."

Of the states reporting collections from taxes on distilled spirits, Nebraska's second quarter take of $181,000 was 43.1 per cent under that of the same period last year. Arkansas' collections of $404,000 were 36.1 per cent down from last year. In both states, the sharp declines in second quarter 1951 followed even sharper increases in the first quarter of the year. The Nebraska first quarter 1951 collections were 71 per cent higher than those of the same period in 1950, while Arkansas' were 58.2 per cent above the preceding year.

Texas' second quarter collections of $1,211,000 were 26.9 per cent lower than last year, while Indiana was 25.7 per cent under its second quarter 1950 collection with its take of $1,044,000. Percentage drops in liquor tax take by other states included: Delaware, 23.2; Colorado, 16.7; Massachusetts, 11.6; Kentucky, 10.4; Florida, 4.6; New York, 3.8, and California, 0.5.

City Collects for All-night Parking

In the first fifteen months of operation of a scheme to rent curb space to motorists unable to locate a garage in which to park their automobiles overnight, the city of Milwaukee has netted more than $330,000. This revenue is to be used for purchase and development of off-street parking lots.

If it is determined that there is no readily available parking lot or garage within two blocks of a motorist's residence, he is granted a permit to park on the street at night. These permits are issued monthly for a fee of $4. Every issue is of a different color and motorists must display them prominently on their automobiles.

House Committee to Study Overlapping Taxes

On September 27 the House of Representatives approved House Resolution 414, authorizing its Ways and Means Committee to investigate and study duplication and overlapping of taxes on the federal, state and local levels. The resolution calls for a report on the committee's recommendations to be made prior to the close of the present Congress—January 1953.

Commenting on the action, the U. S. Conference of Mayors says: "It is to be hoped that something constructive may come out of this present action. For fifteen years the conference has been endeavoring to secure congressional action on this problem and the committee's study will be closely followed."

Civic Leaders Meet in Britain

Local Officials Hear Work of Citizen Groups Discussed

Editor's Note.—The article below has been prepared by Miss Phyllis Davies, English feature writer, formerly on the staff of the London *Daily Mail.*

When every town and village works to raise its standards of life the total answer is a well ordered country. For good government does not stem from a central, national government alone; much depends upon the men and women who serve on the local councils and government groups of the big cities and the small villages.

In Britain 800 of these civic leaders have just finished their annual conference, where the ideas of the man from the small market town were listened to with as much respect as were the opinions of the lord mayor of a great city.

There were 305 cities and boroughs of England, Wales and Northern Ireland represented in this gathering convened by the Association of Municipal Corporations (Scotland has its separate organization and conferences). Mayors, town clerks, chairmen of committees (on such subjects as housing, education, health) met to learn from each other by pooling knowledge and experience.

The pattern of the conference was formed by three papers read by national leaders in their field. Each subject had direct application to the life of Britain's communities and led to lively discussion by the delegates afterwards.

The first paper was a detailed reminder that in Britain, work for the people largely means work by the people, consisting as it does of much voluntary effort. This discussion of cooperation of voluntary organizations with statutory bodies was given by the Dowager Marchioness of Reading, chairman of the Women's Voluntary Services. This is a nation-wide organization of tens of thousands of women in all walks of life which began as a World War II service. The keynote of Lady Reading's address was that members of the Women's Voluntary Services regard themselves as the hand-maidens of local government and are organized on a local government basis. The scope of their work is limitless.

Members, who are mostly busy housewives or women in jobs, do all manner of services for the communities in which they live: they visit old people, run aged people's clubs and home help schemes, assist in hospitals, work for the forces and in child welfare, and even collect seeds and plants from owners of large gardens for people living near bombed sites who wish to improve their surroundings.

In her great program for defense, Britain is again reviving her civil defense services which did Herculean work in the war. On this, a paper was read by A. S. Hutchinson, deputy under secretary of state, Home Office. There was scarcely a delegate present who had not some experience of the necessity of communities, however small, being trained to work together when war strikes. For villages and small towns, which themselves did not bear the brunt of heavy air attacks, all contributed, in their well organized services of rescue, fire fighting, first aid, emergency meals and shelters for bombed out families, to the aid and comfort of the target areas.

All the lessons learned during the war days, and the newest plans for integration of local authority and government training, organization and action in the event of atomic attack, were dealt with. The delegates heard Mr. Hutchinson outline the functions of local government authorities, both under existing statutes and those which in emergency might be imposed.

Another paper was on freedom in education. It showed how hard won have been the freedoms to educate a nation's children as their parents would desire. Freedom of religious teaching, lack of doctrinaire politics, school health and welfare organizations have all, in the modern educational system of Britain, grown up through a variety of influences. On this subject, W. O. Lester Smith, professor of sociology of education, University of London, undoubtedly struck a responsive chord in the heart of every delegate. For basically it was these very things for which democracy has fought aggression.

When the delegates had listened to these papers and had expressed their views from the platform, they split up into little groups to talk together further. Said the Lord Mayor of the seaport city (population 1,107,000) to the clerk of the market town (population 1,720), "I'd like to hear some more of your views. Let's have a quiet drink and a smoke together." Thus, democracy works.

New Boston Committee Wins Election Victory

Organized eighteen months ago[1] to aid in securing good government for Boston, the New Boston Committee, has won its first victory at the polls. At the primary contest of September 26, for the nomination of eighteen candidates for city council and ten for school committee, its slates of candidates were highest on the lists. "Its success," says the New York *Times,* "and former Mayor James M. Curley's decline in popularity, were interpreted by many as signs of an upset in Boston politics."

The city council of nine chosen at the November election will inaugurate Boston's new Plan A government, adopted at the polls in November 1948. It provides for the strong mayor plan with many improvements in administrative procedure.

R. I. Group Drafts Charter Commission Ordinances

By unanimous vote at an October meeting the Rhode Island Home Rule Association has approved two model ordinances which would provide for the nomination and election of local charter revision commissions under the state's new home rule amendment.[1] One would apply in cities, the other in towns.

The association plans to mail the models to city and town councils over the state, with the request that they be consulted when creation of a new charter under the home rule amendment is considered. Copies will go also to political committees and newspapers.

The models are proposed to "use the prestige of the nonpartisan Rhode Island Home Rule Association to implement constitutional home rule where vague wording may lead to unfavorable rigging by entrenched political interests," said John H. Nightingale, Jr., president of the group.

Allen H. Seed, Jr., director of field

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[1] See the Review, December 1950, page 573.

[1] See the Review, July 1951, page 360.

services of the National Municipal League, addressed the meeting. He commented that the preparation of the models was the second important step in Rhode Island for securing efficient home rule.

Leagues of Women Voters Have Numerous Irons in Fire

A high pressure campaign has been conducted this fall by the League of Women Voters of New York City to get out the vote. During registration week great stress was placed on the necessity for voters to register in order to be eligible for voting this November and in next year's primary. Radio stations cooperated by making spot announcements as to the league's willingness to answer questions on election matters over the telephone. Daytime volunteers covered the switchboard from nine to five, when members of the evening branch took over until 10 P.M. "Where do I vote?" and "Am I eligible to vote?" were among the most asked queries. All told, the league answered more than 500 calls. A sound truck was "manned" at busy street intersections, where volunteers called on all to register and distributed flyers with registration dates and information on permanent personal registration. Posters giving similar information were plastered all over the city—hotels, residence clubs, YMCA's, YWCA's, libraries, grocery stores, etc., etc.

In outlining aims for 1951-52, Mrs. Jane S. Kelley, president of the League of Women Voters of New York State, comments that "an unequalled opportunity for service now lies before the league." She recites what the group has been doing to bring to the voters a consciousness of their civic duties—through citizenship schools, candidates' meetings, information about primaries, registration and election. Many success stories may be told but much work lies ahead. Chief field of activity is the fight to secure permanent personal registration. The league has been campaigning for this for a number of years. A legislative sponsor for a P. P. R. bill in the 1952 legislature has already been secured and there is real hope for success.

The League of Women Voters of Atlanta gave wide distribution to an issue of its monthly *Facts* in which the candidates for the fall Democratic primary were listed. The league does not endorse candidates[1] but biographical information was reported for each candidate, as well as his answers to specific questions such as (to city council candidates): "What steps will you take toward establishing a uniform merit system to cover all city employees?" "Will you support initiation by city council of a referendum enabling the people of Atlanta to vote on home rule?"

Fall Conferences

The League of Women Voters of Massachusetts held a fall conference at Concord. "Some Problems of Administration of Public Welfare and Education" was the subject of the morning session. In the afternoon eleven group sessions discussed structure and administration of government, public relations, economic policies, education, voters service, etc.

"Next Steps for Arlington" was discussed by a panel arranged by the Arlington, Virginia, league at its Institute on Local Government. Richard S. Childs, chairman of the Executive Committee of the National Municipal League, and Mrs. Harold A. Stone, formerly a vice president of the National League of Women Voters, spoke at a luncheon on "Progress in Council-manager Government."

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[1] This applies to all leagues of women voters.

A report on the 1951 session of the Illinois legislature is featured in the bulletin of the League of Women Voters of Illinois. In addition to a general "summary of a complex session," by Helen C. Foreman, the league lists the names of each legislator with a record of his roll call vote on nine significant bills. "The nine we have selected," says the bulletin, "concern matters of great public interest upon which there was real division of opinion at the roll call stage. They are not all bills upon which the league took a position."

Numerous leagues are studying state government and state constitutions. Among them is the Ohio league which is supporting the calling of a constitutional convention, a question to be submitted to the voters in November 1952. The Connecticut state league also continues to stress the need of constitutional revision.

The league in South Carolina has begun a study of state government with emphasis on the constitution. According to a report by Miss Flora Belle Surles, in the Charleston *Evening Post,* it will make a detailed study of the three branches of government, with attention to citizen representation and "whether under the present system equal representation is had." Preparatory to the study a workshop was conducted by Dr. Anne King Gregorie of the Charleston County league, chairman of the committee on the structure of state government, for the committee and other league members.

City Secrets Probed

Seven New York citizen organizations recently banded together to issue a joint statement declaring that a "wall of secrecy in the city government prevents civic organizations from obtaining information to which the public is entitled." Information which has been denied the group deals with qualifications of 500 appointees to exempt city jobs, the number of provisional jobholders, as well as details concerning the financing of items not in the regular city budget. The report cites specific instances in which the information asked has not been forthcoming. If no action is secured, the issue will be taken to the courts.

The group has made a survey of fourteen city departments to determine their practices in the use of standards and measurements. Of nine departments heard from, seven state they have no standards for measuring performance.

* * *

New Season Begins

"Looking Ahead with Chicago" was the theme of the first weekly forum meeting of the Chicago City Club's fall season, addressed by Dr. Louis Wirth of the University of Chicago. The club will follow its pattern of the past 50 years in working for the improvement of the civic, economic and social life of the city. "Many significant results have been achieved as year by year the members put their shoulders to the wheel," says President John A. Lapp in *The City Club Bulletin.* Members were urged to send club officers their suggestions and criticisms.

* * *

Ten Years of Service

A Report of Activities and Aims for a Better Central Atlanta has been issued by the Central Atlanta Improvement Association, organized "to foster, protect, promote, maintain, upbuild and encourage the civic, social, commercial and industrial welfare of the city of Atlanta." Since its organization in 1941 the association has sponsored or participated in many activities, among them passage of a smoke abatement ordinance, a long range program for adequate parking facilities, slum clearance housing program, survey of unmarked streets and signs placed thereon, passage of a fifteen-million dollar major municipal postwar program and a city traffic engineering program headed by a trained traffic engineer.

* * *

This Is 'The Berries'

"Pick and choose," says the Philadelphia Committee of 70 in its *Civic Affairs,* apropos of election day. "The straight ticket is the lazy man's ticket. . . . Let's be as smart in selecting our candidates in November as a housewife is in picking a box of berries. Find out . . . what the berries are like in the middle of the box and at the bottom. Get rid of the bad ones. Pick and choose. Elect the best box of candidates regardless of which party they are from."

* * *

Planning Conference

The city's first regional conference on planning was arranged by the Philadelphia Citizens' Council on City Planning. Four sessions discussed the need for planning in the region, planning the community's development, the officials' responsibilities for planning and what can the citizen contribute to the planning process. Speakers represented not only Philadelphia but also New Jersey and nearby Pennsylvania counties.

* * *

Tennessee Constitution Convention

The Tennessee Citizens' Committee for a Limited Constitutional Convention will conduct a statewide campaign for a favorable vote in August 1952 on calling a constitutional convention. The committee is sponsored by numerous statewide groups including the Tennessee Taxpayers Association, the League of Women Voters, Farm Bureau, Education Association, Joint Labor Legislative Council, Congress of Parents and Teachers, Tennessee Municipal Association and the County Judges Association, the last two representing city and county governing officials. One of the six subjects to be taken up by a constitutional convention, if the voters favor its calling, is home rule for cities and counties.

* * *

Smoke Abatement

Smoke abatement is high on the list of objectives of the New York Citizens Union. And, say those living within the city, more power to its efforts. An attractive twelve-page booklet, *You Can Do Something about SMOKE,* should be read and acted on by all city dwellers. It discusses what smoke costs, what the tenant and the janitor can do to prevent excess smoke, and what one may do about his neighbor's smoke. The union is supporting a new air pollution bill now before the city council which, it is hoped, will make for greater smoke control.

* * *

Sewage System Discussed

A panel discussion on a sewage disposal system was held at the annual meeting of the Citizens' League of Port Huron, Michigan. Taking part were Jay F. Gibbs, city manager; Allen T. Carlisle, city engineer; and Walter Drury, of the engineering firm responsible for the design of the city's disposal system. The league elected Stanley Schlee as its president for the coming year, and passed a motion that the president appoint a delegate to the National Conference on Government of the National Municipal League in November.

Researcher's Digest . . . . . *Edited by John E. Bebout*

Political Scientists View Ohio Basic Law

Stephen Wilder Foundation Issues Cooperative Study

THE INITIATIVE of the Social Science Section of the Ohio College Association and a grant from the Stephen H. Wilder Foundation have provided the people of Ohio with *An Analysis and Appraisal of the Ohio State Constitution 1851-1951.* The purpose of the 100-page monograph, as stated in the preface, is to provide background information "concerning the nature, virtues and shortcomings of the present Ohio state constitution," to assist the people in casting an informed ballot on the question of calling a constitutional convention in 1952.

The monograph undertakes "to review the provisions of the present document, point out obsolete provisions, suggest alternatives to present ones based on the experience of other states, and offer suggestions for needed additions to make our basic law adequate to the demands of a modern age."

The ten chapters are: The Process of Constitutional Change, Initiative and Referendum, the Executive Department, all by Harvey Walker, Ohio State University; Ohio General Assembly, by David King, University of Akron; Courts and the Judiciary, by Warren Cunningham, Miami University; Suffrage and Elections, by Ben A. Arneson, Ohio Wesleyan University; Taxation and Finance, by Valdemar Carlson, Antioch College; Home Rule and Local Government, by Donovan F. Emch, O. Garfield Jones and Harold T. Towe, University of Toledo; Corporations under the Constitution, by Lloyd A. Helms, Bowling Green State University; and The Bill of Rights in the Constitution, by P. T. Fenn, Oberlin College.

A consistent effort is made throughout the study to call attention to obsolete provisions or provisions of an essentially legislative character which, in general, the authors point out can be weeded out of a constitution only as a result of a general review by a convention.

Single copies may be obtained on request from the Stephen H. Wilder Foundation, 921 Dixie Terminal Building, Cincinnati 2, Ohio. Additional copies are 50 cents each.

'Better Relations Between the Motorist and His Government'

This is the imaginative title of a staff report to the Michigan Joint Legislative Committee on Reorganization of State Government, prepared under the direction of J. O. Mattson, assistant to the president of the Automotive Safety Foundation. The report is further described as, "A Pilot Study of Driver and Vehicle Services."

No one is likely to contradict the assertion in the foreword that "This is the report of the first broad-scale study of motor vehicle administration ever made in the United States." Neither will anyone who studies it doubt that it sets a new and commendable standard in attractive effective presentation for reorganization reports. Good use is made of photographs, simple charts and two-color offset printing. The most striking novelty is the use of handwritten marginal notes and underlining to call attention to important problems and solutions. It is all in 41 pages with generous margins to rest the eye or engage the pencil of the reader.

Here for once is a public report not intended to be kept hidden under a bushel. The foreword makes this promise: "Because of its potential value to other states, this report is being reprinted in order that copies can be made available to governors, motor vehicle administrators, officials of national organizations and others interested in this important field."

Ask for State Study

The board of trustees and the executive committee of the Missouri Public Expenditure Survey have adopted a resolution recommending that all gubernatorial candidates in the next general election be "urged to pledge leadership in the establishment of a state government study commission and in effecting such administrative reorganization as found necessary to the end that Missouri may have the most efficiently and economically managed government possible." The survey has issued a letter to civic and political leaders throughout Missouri quoting the resolution, in the hope that it will come to the attention of all Missourians who may seek the governorship.

* * *

The Long and the Short of It

The California Senate Interim Committee on State and Local Taxation may have made some kind of record, as the following statistics on Parts 3 and 4 of its 1951 serial report indicate:

Part Three. **State and Local Taxes in California: A Comparative Analysis.** Report of the Committee Research Staff, William K. Schmelzle, executive secretary and director of research. Sacramento, April 1951. xxiv, 524 pp., appendix 530 pp. (total 1,078). Height 11 inches; girth 20 inches; weight 4 pounds, six ounces.

Part Four. **State and Local Fiscal Policy During the National Emergency.** Sacramento, June 1951. 3 pp. Height 9 inches, weight ¼ ounce.

Part Three is a veritable encyclopedia on the history, administration and yields of state and local taxes in California and includes hundreds of pages of comparative information, most of it in tabular form, on taxation and expenditures, state by state, including the collections of various federal taxes. Anybody studying state and local taxes, who can get hold of this encyclopedia, will be heavily indebted to the California legislature and to Dr. Schmelzle and his nine research associates and eight assistants.

The gist of Part Four of the committee report is summarized in the last sentence: "Every citizen of California should demand therefore that a halt be called, at least for the duration of the present emergency, upon the continuous and unwise expansion of government spending which has occurred on both the state and local levels since the end of World War II."

* * *

Syracuse Little Hoover Study

The Syracuse Governmental Research Bureau, doing the staff work for the Citizens Non-Partisan Tax Commission, created in September 1950 by the common council with no appropriation, has issued staff reports and memoranda on the following: fire, public works, police, school and miscellaneous departments; budget requirements; non-property tax revenues; forecast of revenue deficiency; and debt service requirements and capital appropriations.

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Annual Meetings

The Iowa Taxpayers Association held its 17th annual meeting at Cedar Rapids, October 4 and 5. Speakers included United States Senator Wallace Bennett of Utah, State Senator John Van Ness of Indiana and Congressman Ben Jensen of Iowa.

The fifth annual dinner meeting of the Oklahoma Public Expenditures Council was held October 19 with Governor Johnston Murray as principal speaker.

The New Jersey Taxpayers Association will hold its 21st annual meeting in Newark, November 30. Congressman Noah M. Mason of Illinois will address the afternoon session and Senator Owen Brewster of Maine will speak at the evening session.

Research Articles and Pamphlets

Auditing

Performance (or Operational) Auditing for the City of Detroit. Detroit 26, Michigan Citizens Research Council, *Council Comments,* July 30, 1951. 4 pp.

City-county Consolidation

City-county Consolidation Amendment for Philadelphia. Philadelphia 7, Bureau of Municipal Research, 1951. 7 pp.

Council-Manager Government

The Town Manager Plan in Massachusetts (revised). Boston, Massachusetts Federation of Taxpayers Associations, 1951. 21 pp.

Defense

Civil Defense. Summary of the Proceedings of the Eighth Institute of the University of New Hampshire. Durham, the University, Bureau of Government Research, *New Hampshire Town and City Notes,* March 1951. 38 pp.

Education

The Case of the Dismissed Teachers. A Mixup—and a Way Out. Miami 32, Dade County Research Foundation, *Newsletter,* August 20 and September 4, 1951. 3 pp. each.

Education. The Current Situation. Staff Report to Committee on Functions and Resources of State Government. Frankfort, Kentucky Legislative Research Commission, 1951. 49 pp.

School Budget Increased. Lackawanna (New York), Tax Research Bureau, *Comments,* August 1951. 6 pp.

Status of School Building Program. (Including Chart, Progress Record for School Building Projects, San Francisco) San Francisco, Bureau of Governmental Research, *Bulletin,* August 1951. 3 pp.

Fire

County Administered Fire Protection. A Case Study in a Metropolitan Area. By James Trump and Morton Kroll. Los Angeles, University of California, Bureau of Governmental Research, 1951. 86 pp. Tables.

Grants-in-aid

They're Your Dollars. A Program to Encourage a Comprehensive Study of Federal Grants-in-aid to State and Local Governments. Trenton 8, New Jersey Taxpayers Association, 1951. 16 pp. Tables.

Home Rule

City and County Home Rule in Texas. By John P. Keith. Austin, University of Texas, Institute of Public Affairs, 1951. 176 pp. $2.

Intergovernmental Relations

Intergovernmental Relations in West Virginia. By James E. Larson and Harold J. Shamberger. Morgantown, West Virginia University, Bureau for Government Research, 1951. 108 pp.

Legislatures

An Appraisal and Review of the Special Session of June 18-29, 1951. Baton Rouge, Public Affairs Research Council of Louisiana, *A PAR Report,* August 15, 1951. 16 pp.

Legislative Expenditures. A Comparative Study of Hawaii and Mainland Jurisdictions. By Daniel W. Tuttle, Jr. Honolulu, University of

Hawaii, Legislative Reference Bureau, 1951. 47 pp. 50 cents.

Local Government

Local Public Administration, Taxes and the General Assembly. Legislative Report, 67th Illinois General Assembly. Chicago 2, The Civic Federation, *Bulletin,* August 1951. 19 pp.

Mayors

A Handbook for Iowa Mayors. Iowa City, State University of Iowa, Institute of Public Affairs in cooperation with the League of Iowa Municipalities, 1951. 47 pp. $2.

Municipal Government

The Cities Hold Their Own. The League's Comparative Report on 25 Western Pennsylvania Cities. Pittsburgh 22, Pennsylvania Economy League, Western Division, *P. E. L. Newsletter,* August 1951. 17 pp. Tables.

Local Government. By William Miller. New York 3, New York University School of Law, *1950 Annual Survey of American Law,* 1951. 28 pp.

Michigan Cities and Villages: Organization and Administration. By Claude R. Tharp. Ann Arbor, University of Michigan, Institute of Public Administration, 1951. 40 pp. 50 cents.

Milwaukee City and Schools 403 Governmental Activities. Milwaukee 2, Citizens' Governmental Research Bureau, *Bulletin,* August 31, 1951. 4 pp.

Parking

Parking Authority Referendum. New Haven 10 (Connecticut), Taxpayers Research Council, *Council Comment on New Haven Affairs,* August 30, 1951. 2 pp.

Peddlers

Regulation of Peddlers. By Ernest H. Campbell and Ben Grosscup, Jr. Seattle 5, University of Washington, Bureau of Governmental Research and Services in cooperation with Association of Washington Cities, 1951. 81 pp. $1.50.

Police

One-Man Radio Patrol Cars Work Well in San Francisco Police Reorganization. San Francisco, Bureau of Governmental Research, *Bulletin,* August 7, 1951. 1 p.

Police Precincts. Detroit 26, Michigan Citizens Research Council, *Council Comments,* August 6, 1951. 2 pp.

Sick Leave for Police Department. Waterbury 2 (Connecticut), Taxpayers' Association, *Governmental Briefs,* August 31, 1951. 3 pp.

Public Health

New Standards in Public Health Administration. Pennsylvania Makes Some Very Sweeping Changes. Pittsburgh 22, Pennsylvania Economy League, Western Division, *P. E. L. Newsletter,* September 1951. 7 pp.

Public Libraries

The Regional Library and the State Aid Program. Proceedings of the Public Library Administration Section, 15th Annual Institute of Government, 1950. Seattle, University of Washington, Bureau of Governmental Research and Services, in cooperation with Division of Adult Education and Extension Services, 1951. 31 pp. $1.

Third Institute. Public Library Management, 1951. (Outline of two-day program for library trustees, librarians and interested citizens with summaries of remarks and illustrative materials.) Madison 6, University of Wisconsin, University Extension Division, Bureau of Government, 1951. 47 pp. $1.

Political Parties

Our Two-Party System. By Clarence A. Berdahl. University, University of Mississippi, Bureau of Public Administration, 1951. 52 pp.

The Rise of the Democratic Party of Rhode Island. By Murray S. Stedman, Jr., and Susan W. Stedman. Brunswick, Maine, *The New England Quarterly,* September 1951. 13 pp.

Public Welfare

Welfare in Oklahoma as Compared with Other States. Oklahoma City, Oklahoma Public Expenditures Council, 1951. 16 pp.

Refuse and Disposal

Nobody Wants the Refuse. The League Explores an Answer to a Serious Disposal Problem. Pittsburgh 22, Pennsylvania Economy League, Western Division, *P. E. L. Newsletter,* July 1951. 6 pp.

Retirement Systems

Municipal Pension Fund. Retirement System Established by 1915 Law Protects Over 15,000 Local Employees. Philadelphia 7, Bureau of Municipal Research, *Citizens' Business,* September 3, 1951. 4 pp.

Salaries

Police—Fire Salaries. Duluth 2, Governmental Research Bureau, *Citizens' Business,* October 11, 1951. 1 p.

Police—Fire Salaries. San Francisco, Bureau of Governmental Research, *Bulletin,* October 5, 1951. 1 p.

Sex Offenders

A Citizens' Handbook of Sexual Abnormalities and the Mental Hygiene Approach to Their Prevention. By Samuel W. Hartwell. Lansing, Govnor's Study Commission on the Deviated Criminal Sex Offender (Michigan), 1950. 71 pp.

Commitment and Release of Sexual Deviates. Research report prepared pursuant to Proposal 296 by Senator William J. Connors. Springfield, Illinois Legislative Council, 1951. 43 pp.

Report of the Governor's Study Commission on the Deviated Criminal Sex Offender (Michigan). Lansing, the Commission, 1951. 245 pp.

Social Security

Social Security for Tennessee Municipal Employees. The State Enabling Legislation. **Procedures for Bringing Municipal Employees under Social Security.** By Wendell H. Russell. Knoxville, University of Tennessee, Division of University Extension, Municipal Technical Advisory Service, *MTAS Report,* 1951. 18 and 20 pp. respectively.

Social Security—"Magic" or Muddle? Careful Planning and Study of the Program Now—Not New Legislation—Seen as Paramount Need. By W. Rulon Williamson. New York 20, The Tax Foundation, *Tax Review,* August 1951. 4 pp.

State Government

Reorganization—Progress Report. Concord, New Hampshire Taxpayers Federation, *The New Hampshire Taxpayer,* July 1951. 3 pp.

The State's Functions Concerning the Assessment, Equalization and Collection of Property Taxes, Levied for Local Purposes. The Purchasing Division of the Department of Administration. Michigan Promotional Agencies. The Michigan Department of Social Welfare. (Staff Reports Nos. 21, 22, 23 and 24.) Lansing, Michigan Joint Legislative Committee on Reorganization of State Government, 1951. 34, 42, 70 and 145 pp. respectively.

Taxation and Finance

Financial Record of the 1951 Minnesota State Legislature. St. Paul 1, Minnesota Institute of Governmental Research, 1951. 18 pp.

Financial Statistics of New Jersey Municipalities. Trenton 8, New Jersey Taxpayers Association, 1951. 43 pp.

A Legal History of Property Taxation in California. Division I. Property Subject to Taxation. Division II. Property Exempt from Taxation. Report of the Senate Interim Committee on State and Local Taxation. Sacramento, California State Senate, 1951. 81 pp.

A Modern Tax System for New Jersey. Newark 2, New Jersey Citizens Tax Study Foundation, 1951. 8 pp.

Books in Review

The Office of Governor in the South. By Coleman B. Ransome, Jr. University, University of Alabama, Bureau of Public Administration, 1951. 263 pp. paper bound.

This fine little volume draws its value from the fact that the author camped out in the offices of several governors of southern states to view operations at first hand. Like any work involving comparisons between conditions in diverse locations, his study required financial assistance and this was provided by the southern universities and the TVA.

Here is provided such original data as the purposes of 100 callers at the governors' offices (23 per cent wanted jobs), the time-table of a governor's day, the traditions that anybody can go in and see the governor, and the simple fact that most governors are not in opportunity or practice the administrative chiefs that people suppose them to be because every action requires too many other consents.

The phrase "executive amendment" would sound strange in most states. In Alabama and Virginia the governor sometimes returns bills to the legislature unsigned with his suggestions for amendment. At this stage the two houses may approve or reject but not make further amendments. Or they may reject the amendments and enact the measure by repassage. In Alabama 235 executive amendments in 44 years were accepted in all but seven cases; in Virginia over three years 42 were all accepted.

In summary the author finds that the governor's legislative programs engage his prime energy, seeing people and being seen around the state comes next, and operating the administrative establishment as manager comes last because his logical authority is circumscribed—the departments and boards run themselves. The south is little touched by modernism in state management!

R. S. C.

State and Local Government in the United States. By Cullen B. Gosnell and Lynwood M. Holland. New York, Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1951. xvi, 619 pp. $5.

Local government in the United States has not in many years enjoyed a uniformly good press. More than 60 years ago James Bryce described city government as our "one conspicuous failure," and a decade later Lincoln Steffens filled in the details in *The Shame of the Cities*. However, it is the state which has been written down in recent years in the most unflattering terms.

Yet against this far from encouraging background Professors Gosnell and Holland have contrived to project a picture both of promise and performance on the part of these units of government within recent years, which is shot through with a well considered and balanced optimism and which enables us still to cherish the belief that there is no good reason why we, like little fishes, should rush straightway down the gullet of the great leviathan at Washington.

This immensely informative book is designed primarily to serve as a college textbook, but the larger aspects of the subject have not been submerged in the details. The result is a book which the general reader will find of much interest.

I would commend to the general reader's special attention chapters 2 to 5 inclusive, dealing with The Role of the State in the Union, States' Rights, Civil and Political Rights and

State Constitutions; also chapters 20, 23 and 24, entitled Federal-Local Relations Among the States and The Outlook for State and Local Government. Perhaps the most important impression conveyed by these chapters as a whole is a certain change in attitude, one indeed of major significance, toward the problem of state and federal relations. The idea which prevailed on this subject, and which gave constitutional law its coloration even after the turn of the century, was that the national government and the states were inevitably rivals for power; today the controlling idea is that the American governmental system is a unit in which the national government and the states fill supplementary roles, each in accordance with its nature and attributes.

Gosnell and Holland deal with matters which touch the daily life and comfort of us all. Their treatment of these matters is characterized by scholarly thoroughness, good judgment, freshness and up-to-dateness, and is couched in an easy and readable style. To those who look upon themselves as civic leaders the book is a "must."

Edward S. Corwin

Living in Seattle. By Lorin Peterson and Noah C. Davenport, Seattle 9, Public Schools, 1950. 287 pp.

Here is another of the growing list of manuals on city government which are proving so useful in the public schools. They fill out the picture for the students whose textbooks on civil government necessarily are vague when they leave the national and state levels and come down to municipal government.

After discussing the creation of a city and the drafting of its charter, the book proceeds to take up each of Seattle's services to the citizen under such heads as managing the city, maintaining law and order, fighting disease, providing water, planning the city, making life more fun, etc. King County, in which Seattle is located, also comes in for its share of attention.

Much of the book's information is presented by way of imaginary conversations between officials and citizens. It is illustrated with drawings by Shuichi Hayashi, a public school student, as well as photographs and charts.

Congress—Its Contemporary Role. By Ernest S. Griffith. New York 3, New York University Press, 1951. 200 pp. $3.50.

Dr. Griffith, who has been director of the Legislative Reference Service of the Library of Congress since 1940, has written a friendly and tightly packed discussion of the present working and condition of Congress. It is a wise and perceptive statement. His chapter on political parties and Congress takes frank issue with the recent report of the American Political Science Association in favor of the existing situation, which he calls government by consensus, rather than the proposal for lengthening of the party whip and a drift toward something more like the party situation in the British Parliament.

Additional Books and Pamphlets

(See also Researcher's Digest and other departments)

Aerial Mapping

Aerial Surveys Save Time and Money. Reprinted from *Public Works Magazine.* Lansing 1, Michigan, Abrams Aerial Survey Corporation, 1951. 4 pp.

Topographic Mapping for Land Planning by Aerial Method. By Carl

J. Alster. Washington, D. C., Urban Land Institute, *Urban Land,* September 1951. 3 pp.

Bibliographies

Census Bureau Publications on Government. As Scheduled for Issuance in the Fiscal Year 1952 (July 1951-June 1952). Washington 25, D. C., Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, 1951. 2 pp.

Council-Manager Plan

What Are the Elements of Continued Successful Operation for the Council-Manager Plan of Municipal Government. By Leonard G. Howell. Boulder, Colorado Municipal League, 1951. 8 pp.

Defense

Handbook Emergency Defense Activities. October 1951-March 1952. Washington, D. C., General Services Administration, National Archives and Records Service, 1951. 119 pp.

Summary Report of Meetings on the Impact of Mobilization on American Communities. Washington, D. C., June 13 and July 13, 1951. New York City, American Council for the Community, 1951. 14 pp.

Employment

Planning Community Facilities for Basic Employment Expansion. Washington, D. C., Urban Land Institute, 1951. 28 pp. $3.

Government Textbooks

Basic Issues of American Democracy. (Second Edition). A Book of Readings. Selected and Edited by Hillman M. Bishop, Samuel Hendel and Bernard E. Brown. New York 1, Appleton-Century-Crofts, Inc., 1951. 463 pp. $2.25.

Municipal Government

Milwaukee at Midcentury. Report of Progress. Edited by Gerald P. Caffrey. Milwaukee, Municipal Reference Library, 1951. 112 pp. illus.

The Moral Integration of American Cities. By Robert Cooley Angell. Chicago, University of Chicago Press, 1951. 156 pp. $2.50.

Parking

The Effectiveness of Our Parking Meters. Richmond, Virginia, City Manager's Office, 1951. 6 pp.

Planning

Metropolitan Planning. C. P. A. Symposium 2. By Arthur C. Comey, Charles Abrams, Guy Greer and others. Cambridge, Massachusetts, Council for Planning Action, 1951. 32 pp. 50 cents.

Recreation

Emergency Recreation Services in Civil Defense. A Special Defense Project of the National Recreation Association. New York 10, the association, 1951. 31 pp.

Off-post Recreation for Servicemen and Women—A Guide for Communities. A Prospectus for the Professional Preparation of Recreation Personnel. Sacramento, State of California Recreation Commission, 1951. 27 and 78 pp. respectively.

Recreation in California. Third Annual California Recreation Conference. Sacramento, State of California Recreation Commission, 1951. 128 pp.

Taxation and Finance

An Examination of the Methods of Keeping Ratepayers' Accounts in England and Wales. By E. L. Jones, K. Nicholson, F. Lambert, C. M. Spenceley, D. B. Starke and C. A. Stebbing. London, The Institute of Municipal Treasurers and Accountants, 1951. 108 pp. 20s.

A Comparative Examination of the Methods of Scheduling Accounts and Expenditure Analysis Used by Local Authorities in England and Wales. By John Drury. London, The Institute of Municipal Treasurers and Accountants, 1951. 104 pp. Tables. 20s.

Leaders in Other States to Aid Ohioans

One of the speakers at a post-conference session under auspices of the Citizens Committee on the Ohio Constitution Wednesday afternoon, November 28, will be Charlton Chute, director of the Southeastern Division of the Pennsylvania Economy League.

DR. CHUTE

Dr. Chute, as director of the St. Louis Governmental Research Institute, played a key role in every phase of the effort which between 1941 and 1945 produced a constitutional convention and a new constitution in Missouri. He subsequently became director of the Legislative Research Committee which drafted legislation to carry out the purposes and mandates of the new constitution.

Others, active in constitutional revision in New York and New Jersey, will describe successful educational campaigns in those states. James Kerney, Jr., editor of the Trenton (N. J.) *Times*, who will be the speaker at the closing luncheon, will be among those taking part. Delegations from Tennessee, Florida and other states where constitutional revision is an active issue will attend.

Several morning sessions will deal with problems substantially affected by constitutional provisions: Monday morning, "Revitalizing State Legislatures"; Tuesday morning, "City and County Home Rule" and "Making the Governor Effective"; Wednesday morning, "Modernizing the Courts" and "Initiative and Referendum Re-examined."

New Light on Old Puzzle

"Tomorrow's Voters" will be the subject of the speech at the luncheon Tuesday, November 27, by Dr. Thomas H. Reed, nationally known municipal consultant. Dr. Reed's talk will draw on the findings of a nation-wide survey he and Mrs. Reed have been conducting during the last year for the Citizenship Clearing House. This survey has taken the Reeds to many college and university campuses for first-hand study of existing programs for developing civic competence and responsibility and to investigate the results of such programs.

Dr. Reed, a former professor of political science and city manager, is author of numerous books and articles and is an authority on metropolitan government, municipal administration and city charters.

THOMAS H. REED

Nominating Committee Makes Report

Reelection of Henry Bruère as president and John S. Linen and George S. Van Schaick as vice presidents will be recommended by the nominating committee at the annual meeting of League members at 4:45 P.M. November 26 at the National Conference on Government at Cincinnati.

Mr. Bruère, pioneer governmental researcher, former public official and banker, has served one year as president. Mr. Linen, vice president of The Chase National Bank, and Mr. Van Schaick, lawyer and former New York State superintendent of insurance, were elected last year at the Buffalo Conference.

The committee will propose the election of six new regional vice presidents and the reelection of the eight current regional vice presidents as well as new members of the Council to replace the ten whose terms will expire at the end of this year.

For new regional vice presidents the committee has nominated A. B. Jackson, president, St. Paul Fire and Marine Insurance Company; Cecil Morgan, vice president, Esso Standard Oil Company of Louisiana, Baton Rouge; Barry Goldwater, merchant and city council member, Phoenix; E. W. Palmer, president, Kingsport Press, Kingsport, Tennessee; Mrs. Siegel W. Judd, Grand Rapids, Michigan, and John B. Gage, fomer mayor, Kansas City, Missouri.

For the Council vacancies, the committee has suggested George S. Case, Jr., president, Lamson and Sessions Company, and president, Citizens League of Cleveland; Thomas R. Reid, director of information, governmental affairs, Ford Motor Company, Dearborn, Michigan; Edmund Orgill, president, Orgill Brothers and Company, Memphis; W. M. Cotton, director, community relations, The National Cash Register Company, Dayton; Rob Roy Macleod, Niagara Mohawk Power Corporation, Buffalo; Mark S. Matthews, former president, U. S. Junior Chamber of Commerce; Mrs. Maurice H. Noun, former president, League of Women Voters of Des Moines; Bayard H. Faulkner, vice president, Seaboard Oil Company, Montclair, New Jersey; Albert E. Noelte, treasurer, Priscilla Braid Company, Central Falls, Rhode Island; William H. Mortensen, former mayor, Hartford, Connecticut.

Sprawling Cities

A group session Tuesday morning, November 27, presided over by Dr. Roy V. Peel, director of the Bureau of the Census, will examine the impact on local government of recent population trends and the decentralization of business and industry.

JOHN S. LINEN
First Vice President

GEORGE S. VAN SC
Second Vice Presi

NATIONAL MUNICIPAL REVIEW

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The National Municipal Review

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NEWS for League Members

Coroners Pledge Aid on Model Law

Finding merit in the *Model State Medico-legal Investigative System* issued this year by the National Municipal League and six other national organizations, the National Association of Coroners has voted to have a committee of its own, appointed by Dr. Willis P. Butler, its president, to cooperate in the program.

At its convention in Los Angeles, the association adopted the following resolution:

> WHEREAS, we the members of the National Association of Coroners here assembled have . . . studied and duly discussed the State Medico-legal Investigative System as proposed and sponsored by the National Municipal League as to how it would affect the coroner system in the various jurisdictions of the several states of the United States of America and have concluded that there is merit in this proposal as it refers to the improvement of legal medicine as now practiced in the jurisdictions of the several states of the United States of America.
>
> NOW, therefore, be it resolved that the president of the National Association of Coroners appoint a committee to work with a committee of the National Municipal League to integrate the plans and philosophies of the National Association of Coroners with those of the National Municipal League in regard to model medico-legal investigation in order that there may evolve a plan which will be universally acceptable and that a report of the results of such efforts shall be presented to the 1952 convention of the National Association of Coroners.
>
> *Be It Further Resolved* that the National Association of Coroners express their gratitude and appreciation to the National Municipal League for their interest in legal medicine and their effort exerted toward the improvement of the relation of this specialty to governmental functions.
>
> *Be It Further Resolved* that the National Association of Coroners express their gratitude and appreciation to the American Medical Association for their interest and collaboration in efforts to improve the practice of legal medicine in the United States of America.

DR. WILLIS P. BUTLER
President, National Association of Coroners

Dr. Richard Ford, acting head of the Department of Legal Medicine, Harvard Medical School, chief draftsman of the model system which provides for a state central medico-legal laboratory staffed with trained investigators and specialists, addressed the coroners prior to adoption of the resolution.

Reviewers Welcome Stewart History of NML

Frank Mann Stewart's book, *A Half Century of Municipal Reform: The History of the National Municipal League,* has received uniformly favorable reviews since its publication late in 1950 by the University of California Press.

It has been generally welcomed as an important basic document, well planned and written for reference use by scholars and as an accurate and complete record of the League's part in strengthening the processes of self-government.

Excerpts from some of the reviews follow:

Future students of the history of the period 1894-1944 will have a treasury of rich material in this invaluable work of Dr. Frank Mann Stewart . . . the history of the National Municipal League . . . a panorama of persons and events which masterfully shows the significant and encouraging changes from the status of government prompting the oft-cited words of James Bryce in 1888 to the vastly improved conditions existing today in many American states and probably in most local governments.

—*American Political Science Review,* June 1951

This is a history of the National Municipal League which since 1894 has been the important force in municipal reform in the United States. . . . The book describes the National Municipal League development of model city charters, budget laws, taxing systems and other instruments of democratic local self-government and explains how it wages its campaigns on the basis of citizen education, citizen participation and citizen control.

—*Western City,* April 1951

Frank Mann Stewart . . . well versed in municipal administration, was an admirable choice as author. He has gathered the facts . . . and produced a well organized history. . . . Too much credit cannot be given to the many public-spirited men who volunteered their services through the National Municipal League. One is impressed by the high quality of their leadership. —Municipal Reference Library, New York, N. Y., February 1951

The National Municipal League . . . has been the head physician at the bedside of ailing city governments for more than 50 years. . . . It has been at once the inspiration and the chief counsel for most of the civic reform movements of this century in the United States. . . . To it belongs a substantial share of the credit for the remarkable improvement in the management of civic affairs which has occurred since Lord Bryce characterized our city governments as "the one conspicuous failure of the United States."

—*The Annals* of the American Academy of Political and Social Science, May 1951

[The National Municipal League's] *Model State Constitution* has regularly presented the best current thinking on judicial reform in its judiciary article, and the Society has recently joined in promoting the League's project for modernization of the outmoded judicial office of coroner. . . . We take a fraternal interest in Frank Mann Stewart's

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Editorial Comment

Revolt of the 'Independents'

THOSE who try with meaningless catchwords such as party responsibility, party loyalty, two-party system and so on, to keep the voters blind to crimes of mismanagement and corruption were not encouraged by the November elections.

The "independent vote" is an uncertain and indefinable thing that asserts itself more often in local than in state or national elections; usually it arises from the simple discovery by the voters that they have been bamboozled by medicine men who claim that national party labels have some sort of hallowed standing in relation to community problems.

Three of the largest cities provided especially impressive examples of voter independence.

In Philadelphia a people who have faithfully voted Republican for generations arose in their wrath against the evils of misgovernment and elected Democrats as mayor, district attorney, sheriff and as fourteen members of the new seventeen-member city council.

In New York, Tammany Hall was crushed by the overwhelming victory of Rudolph Halley, former chief counsel for the Kefauver Committee, as Liberal party candidate for president of the city council.

In Boston, James Michael Curley was yanked off the political stage with a finality that showed not only the positive irritation of the voters over having been fooled by the talented old master all these years but also a refreshing confidence in enlightened, high principled youth as represented by the New Boston Committee, which led the spirited revolt.

In some smaller communities there were similar evidences of independent, intelligent citizen action. Close on the heels of its October adoption of one of the finest modern council-manager plan charters, San Antonio elected a city council of outstanding citizens to put the new form of government in operation. Despite a determined effort by the county machine to defeat him, the people of Youngstown, Ohio, swarmed to the polling places to reelect racket-busting Mayor Charles P. Henderson for his third successive term. In Arkansas a Republican actually became mayor of Little Rock. Elsewhere candidates of normally minority parties were elected to various offices, notably that of district attorney.

In all these places the issue was local good government or misgovernment. There were no state or national connotations. The people saw the local issues clearly and did something about them.

As registration records easily prove, Republicans voted Democratic in Philadelphia and were urged to do so by the normally Republican *Philadelphia Inquirer*. Democrats voted Liberal in New York. A Democrat kept Democrat Curley off the public payroll in Boston. Party had nothing to do with the refreshing San Antonio revolution or with Youngstown's memory of the evils of gang control of only a few years ago.

These elections may be interpreted as a spontaneous demand for nonpartisan local elections which, fortunately, already are in effect in a majority of our cities. There is, after all, no valid reasons for national and state parties to be involved and every reason why they should not.

It has been amply demonstrated that, to be effective and self-reliant, cities must be emancipated from the tyranny of the national and state political parties. Good citizens who agree on vital local issues should not be divided by blind loyalties that serve only to confuse these issues.

The way to decency and honesty in national as well as local politics is to eliminate parties from the local scene and thus to make all voters "independent."

Other Counties Please Copy

IN the same election that the voters of Philadelphia kicked out a machine which had had a 67-year monopoly, they voted for the consolidation of city and county.

The constitutional amendment which abolishes separate county departments was adopted by a large majority. It also paves the way for elimination of such useless offices as coroner and county commissioner.

This elimination of overlapping, duplicating functions is something that a good many metropolitan communities could profitably emulate.

Two or more governments to serve exactly the same people within exactly the same territory look pretty ridiculous these days. More voters would demand an end of this senseless inefficiency, extravagance and waste if they were not confused by the conflicting claims of vested interests, chiefly political.

Something Better to Check Crime

The Kefauver Committee in its final report recommends, "local, privately constituted crime commissions. . . . But there is a more direct and effective way by which citizens can cope with crime. That is by setting up a citizens committee or charter party to take local government out of politics by electing and maintaining a council-manager government.

To cope with crime, and the community conditions which breed crime, you need a police department in which the patrolmen, detectives and administrators have been chosen for no reason except their qualifications, are paid good salaries, . . . are sure that if they arrest big shots they will be promoted and honored rather than demoted or discharged. . . .

The easiest, most direct and surest way to obtain this result is through council-manager government, in which the power is in the hands of a citizen council, and the entire city administration, composed of a trained professional city manager and his staff, has been appointed on a merit basis and handles all public affairs without political interference. . . .

But to do it, citizens must set up their own organization which reaches down into every precinct, which is on the job day in and day out, year in and year out—smarter, more effective, more persistent than any boss's machine could ever be, yet conducting all its affairs with decency and honor. . . .

When citizens organize to set up and maintain a non-political council-manager government they are on the path of progress.

—EDWARD J. MEEMAN, Editor, Memphis *Press-Scimitar,* September 17, 1951.

Goals for the Modern City

Broad plans to make full use of wasted and neglected human and material resources proposed for urban areas.

By **HENRY BRUERE***

JOHN ADAMS, one of the most reflective of the little company of men who laid the foundations of our republic, once observed that "the steady management of a good government is the most anxious, arduous and hazardous vocation on this side of the grave." For the past 50 years the National Municipal League has striven by conference, research, invention and education to smooth the way for those who wish to give "steady management" to cities.

In this time, citizen effort and the conscientious work of countless city officials have undoubtedly resulted in greatly improved city administration. Nevertheless, for good managers it is still an arduous vocation. For the other kind, it is probably not as hazardous as it should be! But city governments, I take it we shall agree, especially in our larger cities, can still stand a lot of betterment.

One reason our city governments are not as good as they should be is that we do not expect enough of them. We do not hold them in sufficient regard to demand a first class job from them. We do not know what we want of them because we have never taken the trouble to set down a plan and program for our communities.

We have not yet generally realized that the conditions we confront in our great cities today are due less to moral deficiencies of our public servants, whom we blame, than to the fact that our technological and scientific developments have outstripped our political arts. Governmentally speaking, we still live in the eighteenth century, whereas our practical, everyday lives are controlled by twentieth century habits and needs. We have not tried to formulate even a tentative picture of what we wish our cities to be nor even to list their obvious defects. We have not outlined practical and immediate programs for dealing with the continuing and special problems which confront a city. We perpetually wallow in our discomforts and inconveniences.

The great American need is for intelligence, courage and care in developing practical but bold programs for the betterment of municipal conditions. There needs to be a new approach to the ordering of our municipal life. We have raised our standards of living and our expectations from life but we have not put our minds to designing and managing our communities so as to help us fulfill these expectations. This is an assignment for good citizenship which cannot be accomplished overnight but which is certainly not beyond the capacity of a people who, as

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*Mr. Bruère, New York banker, civic leader and former public official, is currently president of the National Municipal League. He organized and directed the first local bureau of governmental research. This article is Mr. Bruère's address before the National Conference on Government at Cincinnati, November 26, 1951.

General Eisenhower remarked not long ago, can do anything they put their mind to. It is something that cannot be neglected. We are pushed to action, if only by the physical necessities of traffic, transportation and the redevelopment of shabby and outmoded areas.

England's Experience

During the past two decades in England, government officials, guided by special commissions and expert studies, have had the courage to look at the problem of remodeling the outmoded city not as a hopeless set of insurmountable difficulties but as an urgent task, prerequisite to healthy and, I may add with underscoring, pleasant living. I have recently had an opportunity to study these plans and the resultant programs and I found them eminently worth while for Americans to examine. To those Britishers who have taken a long and critical look at their country's urban conditions, it is obvious that modern traffic must be provided for, that recreation is essential to well-being, that access to the countryside is, for a Britisher at least, a fundamental need, that decent housing, attractive schools, playfields, transportation, easy access to work, are all indispensable to what we call the American, and they the British, way of life.

This approach to our city problem is, I submit, what America needs. The essential first step, then, is that a plan or a program be made, preferably by a joint commission of public officials and citizens. The realization of this plan then becomes a practical problem of taking one step after another, as conditions and resources permit. This can be done and will prove profitable, once we recognize that clear thinking about our problems will be best predicated on an intelligent plan.

In advocating a plan, I do not mean a set of designs prepared partly from dreams by professional city planners. Their aid, naturally, is indispensable. But the guiding body in such an undertaking should be a small, specially designated citizen group of competence and disinterestedness, but not so composed that conflicting interests and convictions can cancel out each other, with milk and water results.

A good plan and program should be based on thorough investigation, supplemented by hearings and abundant public discussion. It should be formulated with the aid of experts, but principally by tough-minded persons who will put down what is not merely desirable but also practical and likely to be accomplished within a reasonable time and without undue financial burden. It should consist of policy as well as proposals for physical improvements.

It is only human to shy away from the making of plans for fear they will prove too ambitious. But, as a matter of fact, a great deal more can generally be accomplished than seems possible in advance. I venture to say that if the sum total of accomplishments of the average city in the past ten or fifteen years had been put forth as a plan at the beginning of the period, taxpayers' and other trembling hands would have been raised in horror.

I am pleased that this conference

has been held in Cincinnati because here we may expect to observe the good that results from dealing with our municipal administrative problems with professional responsibility. Cincinnati holds for me especially memories appropriate to this occasion. I came here about 40 years ago, in company with a young man who later became one of the exceptional mayors of New York, John Purroy Mitchel. We had been invited to discuss before the Chamber of Commerce and the Century Club the program of the Bureau of Municipal Research of New York, with which, from its inception, I had been connected.

As a result of these meetings, due more to the charm and earnest appeal of Mr. Mitchel than to my own awkward presentation, a bureau of research was established in Cincinnati. Mr. Mitchel was not connected with the New York Bureau of Municipal Research but, as a public official, he had for years cooperated with it. The Cincinnati bureau began its work with the like cooperation of another young man who, shortly after its inception, became mayor of the city—Henry T. Hunt. The sponsors and staff of the new civic organization enjoyed a very cordial relationship with him as mayor.

While we note with pleasure such improvements as the past records, we cannot forget that the future holds for cities opportunities of the greatest appeal. Three of these are especially urgent. The first relates to the problem of finance. The second is the need of a program. The third is civil service personnel management. Perhaps I should add a fourth from which in a sense the other three must spring, namely amateur citizen participation in government activity.

The cost of city government is getting out of hand. New York as the chief example has a budget of one and a third billion dollars and its needs are not met. Thus far, no important results have been obtained from efforts to effect economies. Now, a study of all management problems, of unparalleled scope, is under way. It will cost upward of two million dollars, is well staffed and is ably supervised by a joint committee of citizens and public officials. It may give us guidance for like efforts elsewhere. It may show how costs can be cut.

Financial Aspects

But meanwhile there remains the insistent problem of raising the necessary revenues for running the city. The solution cannot be merely a local one. The income of the nation and the production of wealth are not tied in separate bundles—this bundle for the city, this bundle for the state and this for the nation. There are not different sets of individuals supplying the funds for the several governments, local, state and national. We are just one unhappy family!

The source of public revenue is common but the demands are separate, distinct and uncoordinated. In some states a partial solution has been found by rebating to localities some of the revenue taken by the states. But the problem is wider than that. Pockets are still being tapped by all the government agencies without sufficient regard to the needs of other parts of our government machinery.

Sales taxes cannot be added to sales taxes, income taxes to income taxes, nor property taxes increased up to the level of constitutional limits and then the constitution changed, at least without pain and protest.

Revenues are raised with more regard to the demands of the public treasury than to the effect on the individual who must pay. Taxation in the United States has now taken on the air of a virtue, those who tax forgetting that, as a matter of fact, for the most part, taxation is only a necessary evil. Here is a field for study and readjustment which should be national in scope.

In the use of national tax resources, first things must come first, obviously, such as national defense. But if and when that need is satisfied or reduced to more manageable proportions, we shall still have to regulate and coordinate the insistent demands of the whole hierarchy of taxing authorities. With a third or more of our national income flowing into public treasuries, we must recognize that the reshaping of our public revenue system is, next to preparedness, America's number one problem. The cities are feeling the pinch of poverty while the demands for city services grow.

This is not the place to discuss the whole catalogue of national needs. Certainly a systematic analysis of federal government spending plans (setting aside as beyond question preparedness spending) would be illuminating if it were within the power of any mere mortal to comprehend. Certainly the states owe it to their constituent communities to be specific on what their needs are and what benefits their proposed budgets will bring.

But we are concerned here with cities. By way of illustrating in part, at least, what I have in mind in proposing a program, I shall refer briefly to the current British approach to the restoring and rebuilding of their cities, London in particular. Except for one or two items, I need not dwell on the character of the type of housing which the British authorities are now building. One of these items is the attempt in the new developments to create balanced communities of different economic levels. All residents are not of one group, such as we find in American housing projects. The low rent group predominates but appropriate housing is provided for professional and other higher income persons. I was particularly pleased, for obvious reasons, with the special facilities provided for elderly couples. In nearly every project, small two- or three-room apartments with little gardens were set aside on the ground floor for elderly persons.

Stating the Problem

What I found most significant was the purpose to deal with housing and other urban redevelopment as a project in building pleasant livable communities with an adequate supply of what the British call the amenities. They have taken a good long look at their cities and have decided to change things for the better. To that end, certain conclusions have been reached which may be summarized about as follows:

> Slums are intolerable and should be eradicated.

> The concentration of industries in relatively few centers is undesirable.
>
> The existence of one-industry communities is socially dangerous because of the hazards of unemployment, with which Britain had a long and bitter experience.
>
> Congestion of population in any city militates against welfare.
>
> Prolonged daily commuting by workers is undesirably and wastefully fatiguing.
>
> The sprawl of arid, ribbon-like suburban development along lines of transportation should be stopped because it leads to social isolation and dreariness as well as to unmanageable problems involved in supplying community facilities.
>
> Towns should not recklessly encroach on the surrounding countryside, because such encroachment uses up agricultural land needed for food. England produces food sufficient for four out of seven days or hardly that.

Such encroachment also tends to destroy the countryside to which urban populations need to have access for their health and happiness. A city consisting of crowded tenements, endless streams of weary commuters, snarled traffic lanes and overcrowded transportation facilities is not something to be perpetuated but to be changed. Bigness is not a merit but may be a detriment if it becomes too big.

We all know of the tragic fate of Coventry in the war. They are rebuilding the town and hotly discussing the plan to transform the bombed cathedral into an ultra-modern structure to which, I should think, it would be difficult to attach much sentiment. But Coventry has grown beyond its prewar size and does not wish to grow larger. New industries are not welcomed without careful inquiry into the facilities available for them. The authorities there say they need the surrounding country for food and recreation and that the town just can't take care of more than the 200,000 persons who live there. And notwithstanding this, I believe that there is a flourishing Chamber of Commerce in that city!

But in London as in Coventry, and to greater or less extent elsewhere, rebuilding of damaged areas and redevelopment of outmoded areas is being done according to plan.

Plans for London

The plan for London contemplates not that London will or should grow larger or that it will remain about its present size but that it should shrink in population. This was the carefully arrived at conclusion of a parliamentary or royal commission which studied the London puzzle for months, holding hearings at which all elements of the community were asked to present their views as well as to discuss questions propounded to them and in which experts were employed to dig out the required information. The commission made its report in 1940. It was concerned chiefly with the problem of redistributing the industrial population and recommended the creation of a national authority to carry out its recommendations, which was done.

In part to carry out the recommendations of this commission on the distribution of the industrial population, a series of town planning studies of the Greater London area were undertaken. A Greater London plan was proposed which lays down the principles on which redevelopment and future development of land should be based.

One feature of this plan was the creation of a series of new towns to which the excess London population could be attracted, together with industry that could be induced or persuaded to relocate there. Eight such new towns are in course of development. All of them are beyond commuting distance yet not too far from London to make occasional access convenient.

The elements of the British plan are only sketched here. Many of them are controversial. None is fully vindicated by long experience. But they are the result of study and a determination to avoid haphazard development leading to civic confusion, barren existence and long distance commuting. They are concerned to facilitate the growth of happy communities where, in the language of one of the new town managers, "a man may bicycle home for lunch and incidentally take a look at his tomato plants."

I come back to my original point. The essential thing about the city is its character—how people live in it, how they work in it and how they can bring up their children in it. The city should not be centrifugal, scattering its people over long stretches of surburban territory. It should be livable and controlled in the interest of good living. How to do this? I do not know but I stand on the proposition that a way will be found if there is adequate study given to the matter.

In citing English experience which I have recently had an opportunity to observe, I do not suggest we take their cure unaltered and undiluted and try to apply it to all of our own situations. I advocate a Cincinnati plan, a Cleveland plan, a Chicago plan and a New York plan and perhaps, first and foremost, a Washington, D. C., plan—that city of lost opportunities!

Of course a Cincinnati plan, a Cleveland plan, a Chicago plan or a Seattle plan cannot be made simply by and for the people who live within the boundaries of those cities any more than the planning for the future of the cities of Great Britain could have been done by separate groups, each confined to the citizens living within the bounds of a single city.

Cooperation on Plans

British planning for future cities, old and new, has involved the coordination of national and local efforts. As I have already indicated, there are aspects of the planning for the future of American cities that must, even in this continental land, be on a national scale. That is notably true of the matter of adjusting our tax systems to the capacities of the taxpayers and to the legitimate needs of the several governments they must support.

But in our country the states, generally speaking, occupy, with respect to the cities and their problems, a position of responsibility and authority roughly comparable to that of the central government in Great Britain. Consequently, if we are to have a Cleveland plan or a Cincinnati plan that is workable there will no doubt be needed an Ohio plan that will look to the future of rural areas and living conditions there at the same time city problems are studied. The neglect of the country breeds city-rural antagonisms that are an endless source of difficulty.

If Ohio and perhaps New York and two or three other states would pioneer in this approach to the problems of cities and their proper role in the political, social and economic pattern of a changing America, they might show the way toward the gradual elimination of problems like that of legislative reapportionment that now seem virtually insoluble. At the same time, they could establish the states once again as the essential custodians of the local and popular elements in our American system that they must be to continue to justify their very existence.

Raise Civil Service Standards

Now, a further word on personnel. You can't have a well designed, imaginatively planned and well run city without a good personnel to do the job. We have hardly passed the stage of development in civil service of the Pendleton act of keeping the spoilsmen out by instituting selection on the basis of competitive examinations. It is not necessary to recite the great contribution made to business efficiency and employee growth, well-being and happiness by modern personnel management in our well conducted private enterprises.

Civil service, as now conceived, often accomplishes no more than to equalize the status of worker and drone and to dampen the zeal of all but the most inspired civil employees. Incentive systems, training, recognition of good work and initiative, the cultivation of leadership—all these, tied to a definite program of accomplishment for each departmental group—will do more for good municipal government, in my opinion, than any single innovation. If we could only awaken the latent talents of the rank and file of city personnel, great results would follow. In New York a report has recently been submitted, suggesting steps along the lines of what I am attempting to say.

Is it not time we moved from the post Civil War days to the middle of the twentieth century in personnel management of our cities?

From what I have said, may I draw four conclusions:

First, before we destroy our municipal credit by swollen budgets and excessive taxation, we should have a national study of the whole question of the means of raising public revenues and their appropriate distribution. Without representation, taxation has long ago been put down as intolerable. But without relation to specific needs in proper proportion, the high level of taxation we are now bearing leads to extravagance, inflation and a general lowering of the tone of government. Just because, whether wisely or not, we have come to use the power to tax as a measure of social regulation, such as the liquor tax and the inheritance and estate taxes, we must not slip into the dangerous conclusion that all taxation is beneficial as a means of offsetting inflation or for other reasons. For the most part, the taxes we pay can only be justified by the public good the spending of the resulting revenues produces.

Second, we cannot leave to haphazard attempts at solution the great problem of rebuilding and reshaping our cities so that they may accord with modern standards of decent living and free us from conditions such as the ever increasing abomination of traffic and parking congestion, to mention only one item. We must have a well considered plan and a program based on it which, if followed, will give us cities where we can live in comfort and decency on our average incomes.

Third, this is the time to establish new standards in the civil service, as recent exposures have so abundantly shown. The undeveloped abilities of our civil servants are one of the nation's greatest available resources for improvement in government administration and for civic betterment. Our hope lies not in finding one man to work miracles but in the thousands who have chosen public service as a means of livelihood and who need only leadership and incentive to make it the highest vocation.

Finally, do we not need more unselfish civic leadership from successful men and women who are willing to devote as much of their time to public problems as they do to their golf or their gardens or their stamp collections?

I do not refer solely to unselfish service in Washington or overseas, for which we are so greatly indebted. But especially I have in mind attempts to find solutions for problems that we need to solve in cities and states if American community living is to be as up-to-date, let us say, as our motor cars, refrigerators and television sets. In all these fields of effort there is need not only of skilled and devoted professionals but also of the amateur called to a specific public task from which he or she may obtain great satisfaction and deserved honor.

How to Wake Up an Old State

It took organized effort, large funds to scrap ancient New Jersey constitution and open way to major progress.

By **CHARLES EDISON***

LIKE a good many other citizens, especially businessmen, my first substantial experience in public affairs was not in my home town. It was during those hectic days after Roosevelt's first election that I served on the New Jersey State Recovery Board after a succession of assignments to several of the alphabetical agencies with which we undertook to fight the depression. I ultimately landed in the president's cabinet as Secretary of the Navy. It was an illuminating experience in more ways than one.

I'd always believed that democracy must begin in the home town and neighborhood. But certain basic truths became much clearer as I wrestled with the petty details and frustrations with which mammoth problems are bedeviled in the bureaucratic labyrinth of Washington.

I soon discovered that virtually every expansion of federal activities has its ardent supporters back in the home towns and that often the demand for federal action is due to nothing more nor less than indifference or lack of timely or effective action by state or local authorities. And I also discovered that many of the people who set the tone of public morals and public service in Washington are there not because Uncle Sam called them but because Big Jim down in the third ward sent a message that carried persuasion to a United States senator or somebody else in Washington who has his sharpest eye on local political fences.

That is why, back in 1940, I decided I could best continue to serve my country, even when it looked pretty certain that we were heading into World War II, by going back to my home state and helping make it a more effective and desirable member of the team of 48 states. So I ran for governor.

As I faced up to the problem of what I could accomplish as governor, I immediately ran into two stiff obstacles. One was a well entrenched bipartisan boss system, of which Mayor Frank Hague was then the gaudiest and most fragrant, but by no means the only, flower. The other was the state's century-old constitution. I dug back into history and discovered that my distinguished predecessor, Woodrow Wilson, had run into the same two obstacles a generation earlier. Of course, the names on the top of the political dung hill were not all Hague in those days but they meant much the same thing.

I also quickly discovered, as Woodrow Wilson had, that there was a close connection between these two obstacles to honest, effective, democratic government. As Wilson had put it, "The powers of corrupt control have an enormous and abiding advantage under our constitutional arrangements as they stand."

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*Mr. Edison, former governor of New Jersey, is chairman of the Council and former president of the National Municipal League. This article is his address before the National Conference on Government at Cincinnati, November 27, 1951.

The corrupt political machine manipulators of both parties were opposed to an improved state constitution in Wilson's day. They were just as opposed in mine. Why? Because demagogues and self-seekers feed on any conditions that frustrate citizens for whom government is simply a means to promote the common good. This is just as true here as it is in any of the so-called backward countries where we can easily see the connection between unsatisfactory or intolerable conditions which masses of the people feel unable to cope with, and the demagogues, tyrants and dictators who exploit the resulting discontents.

Calls for Revision

So I campaigned for a new constitution by way of a constitutional convention and so, to his lasting credit, did my Republican opponent, then state senator, now United States Senator Robert Hendrickson.

I made the calling of a convention the number one point in my inaugural address. I did not expect the legislature to fall over itself to enact the necessary legislation to bring it about but I was gambling that the people, the plain citizens who had nothing to lose but some legal and political chains, would rally to the cause. Many of them, especially leaders of unselfish civic organizations like the League of Women Voters, had told me that more than half their major civic objectives invariably stubbed their toes on the old constitution.

I delivered my inaugural message and waited. I was not disappointed. Within little more than a month more than two hundred citizens, representative of a broad cross-section of the organized civic and economic interests in the state, met at the call of the State League of Women Voters and organized the New Jersey Committee for Constitutional Revision. This committee continued as an active civic force until New Jersey's present constitution was adopted almost seven years later. I wonder if that isn't something of a record.

There is not time to give a complete catalogue of the deficiencies of the New Jersey constitution of 1844 or a blow-by-blow account of how New Jersey finally secured a new constitution in 1947.

The story would cover not only the Committee for Constitutional Revision and many permanent citizen organizations but also the New Jersey Constitution Foundation, another new citizen agency established to do research and education on the constitution and possible changes in it. It would include the story of how my two Republican successors in office, Walter E. Edge and Alfred E. Driscoll, carried on the fight. It would cover what appeared at the time to be a grievous setback at the polls in 1944. This was the defeat of a new constitution proposed by the legislature to carry out recommendations of the Commission on Revision of the New Jersey Constitution.

I realize that every state is different. Ohio is more fortunate than New Jersey because of the automatic provision which gives the people an opportunity every twenty years to decide whether or not they would like to have a convention. In a majority of the states, however, the calling of a convention depends upon legislative action, in many cases by an extraordinary majority of an unrepresentative body, followed by a vote of more than a simple majority of the people who vote on the question. For some of those states the road to a constitutional convention may be harder than the one we travelled in New Jersey.

Weaknesses in Constitutions

I don't pretend to be a student of the constitution of each of the 48 states. But unless I have been badly informed there are few states indeed that do not suffer from several of the following serious weaknesses in their governmental systems, weaknesses traceable directly to outmoded constitutions:

(1) Cumbersome, unrepresentative legislative bodies, unresponsive to urgent public needs, especially in urban areas, yet often subject to manipulation by selfish interests;

(2) Governors who enjoy the title of chief executive but who are almost as helpless in office as an armless man in a boxing ring;

(3) Complicated state court systems, without any head or administrative staff capable of expediting and assuring justice, manned in many cases by judges who have to spend much of their time running for reelection;

(4) Municipal and county governments in strait-jackets that deny the people the right to learn the practice of self-government in their home towns;

(5) Voters overburdened by the necessity to elect too many officials to offices of a minor or ministerial character, by methods that make real majority rule difficult or impossible;

(6) Responsible officials denied the right to use modern systems of budgeting, accounting, personnel management and other techniques through which sound businesses and properly organized governments are able to provide maximum service most efficiently and at least cost;

(7) Arbitrary limitations on the powers, including the fiscal capacities, of state and local governments that force citizens to turn to Washington to do things that their local governments could do better;

(8) Provisions for future amendments or revision that in some cases are ridiculously and dangerously easy and in other cases are even more ridiculously and dangerously difficult.

One might well wonder why anybody would oppose revision of a state constitution which contained a number of these booby traps for democracy. Nevertheless in New Jersey we found roughly three kinds of people who fought even opening the door to constitutional revision:

(1) The political bosses and the whole breed of machine politicians of both parties;

(2) Special groups or interests who enjoyed advantages under the old constitution which they feared they might lose if a constitution were written by a representative body of their fellow citizens to meet present day needs of the entire state;

(3) Congenitally nervous or fearful people who in 1919 saw a Bolshevik in any stranger who might come down the street, or in 1951 identify as a Communist anyone whose political ideas they don't quite understand or approve.

These three groups are different in many ways, but they have one significant thing in common. None of them really believes in democracy.

People who oppose constitutional revision do not always present their real arguments because they know they won't stand up. Consequently, we learned in New Jersey that we had to be prepared to meet all kinds of phony arguments and downright lies and misrepresentations.

Campaigning Pays Off

The fact that the constitution of 1947, submitted by a convention, was adopted by an overwhelming vote virtually without organized opposition, simply underlines the value of long and careful preparation and testifies to the peculiar virtue of an elected convention for bringing conflicting ideas out into the open and arranging compromises that are acceptable to honest citizens interested in the common good.

The point is that the convention of 1947 and the overwhelming approval of its work would never have been possible had it not been for the seven years' buildup and the fact that the constructive forces in the state made it clear to the natural enemies of revision that they would not be denied. By 1947 even Mayor Hague decided to make a virtue of necessity and acquire what credit he could by getting belatedly on the bandwagon. Since then, Mr. Hague has been retired by the enthusiastic vote of his own people of Jersey City.

I don't claim that the political millennium has come to New Jersey or that we have disposed of all bosses, Democratic or Republican. But I am sure it will be a long time before another Hague appears on the scene.

An important part of the credit for Mr. Hague's permanent eclipse should go to the new constitution. In the first place, the governor can be more independent of local politicians than he used to be because they have less opportunity through the legislature to deprive him of the control that a responsible chief executive must have over state administration. The new court system, which I firmly believe is the best in the country, has deprived the bosses of vast areas of patronage and influence that used to provide some of their happiest hunting grounds. Other less spectacular changes have tended in the same direction of substituting visible government under the direct control of officials responsible to the people for invisible government by strings pulled from back rooms.

We still have, I regret to say, an unrepresentative State Senate which has deprived the people of some of the benefits that might have been theirs. I mention this because we don't imagine that we have finished the job in New Jersey or that the job can ever be finished in any state at any one time. Keeping government and democratic institutions abreast of the times and always within the control of the people requires continuous attention and struggle.

Some people shy from a constitutional convention because they fear it may be carried away by "radical" ideas. On the record, the fear is as baseless as a small boy's fear of Hallowe'en hobgoblins. Every regular constitutional convention in American history has been essentially conservative. Do you know any state that has been electing red or even pale pink legislatures lately? Conventions are elected on very much the same basis as state legislatures. That being the case, the real danger is that a constitutional convention will not be as bold as it should.

Fight Centralization

I am afraid, and I am not ashamed to admit it, of the trend toward more and more centralization in Washington or in any other remote place. Yet I do not believe we are ever going to stop that trend or even seriously to check it just by deploring it or by any direct action it is humanly possible to take in Washington.

Nobody has ever improved on Thomas Jefferson's statement of this truth when he observed that it is not possible to strengthen the state governments "by any change in the federal constitution . . . it must be done by the states themselves, erecting such barriers at the constitutional line as cannot be surmounted either by themselves or by the general government. The only barrier in their power is a wise government. A weak one will lose ground in every contest."

What do you suppose Jefferson meant by strengthening the state governments? His prescription was for smaller legislatures proportioned "equally among the electors," more responsible executives and more independent judiciaries. It's a good prescription today.

We Americans are fortunate that we are among the few peoples of the world who are still free to follow Jefferson's advice. The way to keep freedom is to use it deliberately and courageously. The surest way to lose it is to let it grow rusty with disuse.

If Big Steel Comes to Town

Connecticut governor's committee makes study of problems raised if huge industrial plant moves into small community.

By RICHARD MARTIN*

TOO MANY communities have worked to attract large industries or defense plants only to find themselves saddled with debt and burdensome problems because of the need for new schools, streets, water, fire protection and other necessities of urban life. Early this year, when there was talk of building a huge steel plant at the edge of the small community of Waterford, Connecticut, Governor John Davis Lodge, to forestall such consequences, appointed a committee to consider the problems that would inevitably be created.

The Committee on Community Adjustment Problems[1] has made its report, pointing out possible courses of action by the state and local governments as well as others. Its findings may be of help to other communities faced with similar problems. A modest affair, intended to serve as a basis of discussion, the report was compiled largely through the process of seeking ideas and data from public officials and others who might have useful information readily available. The committee made no original studies. Here are some of its conclusions.

A million-ton-per-year steel mill at Waterford and expected satellite factories in its orbit would likely increase the population of the area by 12,000 people within five to ten years.

Throughout the area which would be affected there is now a deficit of public and semi-public facilities. To supply modern accommodations and services for additional population would mean replacement and expansion of many existing public buildings and programs.

The legislature had been asked to grant the power of eminent domain to acquire rights in any lake, pond, stream or water-course anywhere in Middlesex or New London Counties for the operation of the steel mill and by-product processes, as well as for taking land for the mill site. The proposed plan to supply the steel mill with water would have adversely affected future expansion of the public water supply of New London and development of such supplies for Waterford, East Lyme and Montville. The committee recommended that no drainage area be taken until the State Health Department certified that it would not interfere with expansion or development of public water supply systems and that the

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*Mr. Martin, director of the Connecticut State Water Commission, was secretary of the Committee on Community Adjustment Problems on whose work he reports. This article was prepared by Mr. Martin as his address before the National Conference on Government, Cincinnati, November 27, 1951.

[1] In addition to Mr. Martin members of the committee were: Elmer C. Schattschneider, Wesleyan University, *chairman*; George E. Hinman, retired justice, Connecticut Supreme Court of Errors; William L. Slate, retired director of the Connecticut Agricultural Experiment Station and former chairman of the State Planning Board; and Joseph M. Loughlin, director of the Institute of Public Service, University of Connecticut.

General Assembly authorize contiguous towns to organize districts for water supply purposes.

Transportation, handling and storage of raw materials, sanitary facilities and most of the production processes in the steel mill and satellite factories would be potential sources of pollution of tidal and inland waters. However, all these wastes can be treated so that they may be discharged without harm. Pollution from shipping operations can best be controlled by federal officials with authority over navigation. Approval of state pollution control agencies should be obtained for all preliminary plans for the steel mill and satellite factories before the location of buildings and equipment is determined and for all detailed construction plans before building is commenced. Sewage and waste treatment systems should include factors of safety and standby units to keep to a minimum the possibility of human or mechanical failure in their operation. The federal government should assign to the area an adequate staff of inspection and enforcement officers to control pollution caused by shipping operations.

Modern steel mill operation provides for extracting from smoke and fumes the chemical and physical components which make them dangerous and annoying. The recovered material can be reused in the mill or sold. These recovery systems, however, cannot be expected to be 100 per cent efficient at all times. The effects of air pollution would be felt to the northeast of the mill during most of the time and for several miles, certainly beyond the borders of the town where it would originate.

Workable and effective ordinances regulating smoke and fumes nuisances have been enacted and enforced in several industrial areas of the country. The General Assembly should either establish a uniform smoke and fumes control code which any municipality could adopt or give to any municipality authority to prepare and adopt smoke and fumes control ordinances. The State Health Department should be given authority to regulate smoke and fumes discharges for the protection of the health and comfort of people in the affected area.

The steel mill would be as noisy as the heavy industrial areas of several Connecticut cities and many of the units of the mill would operate day and night seven days a week. Any known devices for noise reduction should be incorporated in the design and construction of a mill located in an area where similar heavy industry does not exist. The General Assembly should authorize municipalities to enact noise reduction ordinances.

More Health Services Needed

All of the many and varied activities of local and state health departments would need to be expanded. There is only one full-time health officer in New London County. The city of New London and nearby towns should be encouraged to establish one or more health districts under existing legislation and to provide adequate finances and staff for such districts. With the advice and assistance of the State Department of Health, these districts could develop programs to meet public health problems as they arise.

New industrial, commercial and residential development resulting from erection of the steel mill would reduce the areas in eastern Connecticut now used or available for shore cottages, bathing, fishing, hunting and passive recreation. At best there would be some adverse effect on recreation from water and air pollution. At the same time the enlarged population would mean an increased number of persons in search of recreation.

A considerable portion of eastern Connecticut is unsuited for the specialized and intensive type of agriculture practiced in the state and lends itself to development for many forms of recreation. The General Assembly should consider implementing at an accelerated pace plans of the State Park and Forest Commission for greater use of Rocky Neck State Park and Beach in East Lyme and for a new state park and beach east of New London. Programs should be carried out for reforestation on an increasing scale to provide in the near future for recreational needs and on a longer range basis for the economic betterment of the region. This should be done on both publicly and privately owned land.

Schools in New London County, in which Waterford is located, are now filled to capacity. Half are more than 50 years old. One was built only three years after George Washington vacated the presidency. The influx of new people would mean an extensive school building program not only in the new sections of the towns but also in the older sections since residents would doubtless not be satisfied with the old schools for their children.

The selection of sites for new schools best suited for both immediate and future needs of the communities would be difficult. The towns should give serious consideration to joining together in districts, as permitted by the general statutes, for advantageous location and operation of both elementary and secondary schools so that facilities may be provided at minimum cost.

Existing state and town roads, with the correction of one narrow underpass, are adequate for movement of personnel and freight to the proposed steel mill and satellite factories.

An increase in police protection would be imperative should the steel mill materialize. New London and Groton have the only organized police departments in the area.

Increase in Police

The General Assembly has authorized the state police commissioner to assign men from his force as resident state policemen within a town. This expedient, with other state police service when necessary, could be used to advantage temporarily until formal police departments are organized in the towns which get the bulk of new residents. The General Assembly has fixed a limit of ten to the number of resident state policemen that may be so assigned. Two are now serving in such capacity. The total number of state policemen now on duty equals the maximum permitted by law. The General Assembly therefore should consider increasing the number of state policemen.

Fire protection in New London County except in New London and

Norwich is provided by volunteer fire departments. The steel mill would provide adequate fire fighting facilities for its own needs. Fire protection, however, would have to be extended to wider areas. Availability of water would be a factor. More men, volunteer or paid, and more equipment would be required. As the towns expand their fire fighting personnel and augment their equipment, they should integrate their plans so that available facilities can be concentrated effectively in any part of the area. Rigid fire prevention inspection services should be provided for industrial, commercial and residential buildings and operations, particularly to supplement the work of volunteer fire departments.

Adequate assessment of industrial property is always a problem, particularly in the smaller towns which do not have technically trained, full-time assessing staffs. The determination, as required by law, of the fair market value of a huge steel mill, and its stores of raw materials and finished products, would be a difficult task for any assessor.

The need for schools, health facilities, sewers and other community facilities would develop prior to the time that municipalities would benefit from tax return on new property, partly because of the lag in assessment and collection.

Some towns would have to provide community facilities without getting any tax benefit from new industrial and commercial building. The State Tax Department should develop methods of making available to towns trained technical appraisers, as it now provides auditors. The General Assembly should consider whether the state should make funds available to the towns for constructing community facilities prior to their getting full benefit of increased assessments. The possibility of federal aid for areas directly concerned with defense activity should be carefully explored.

Very few towns in eastern Connecticut have established municipal planning or zoning commissions. Only recently has any of those communities employed technical help in zoning or planning. New London is the only town or city in eastern Connecticut which has adopted a building code. Norwich and Willimantic regulate the installation of sanitary fixtures. The value of community planning and zoning and of regulating building and plumbing practices has been proved in Connecticut and elsewhere. The rules can be adapted for every kind and size of community and can serve small towns as well as large cities. Community planning and zoning serve to attract new industry, commercial establishments and residences as well as to guide the location and development of them in the best interest of everyone concerned.

Planning Imperative

All the towns and cities in the area should provide planning commissions, establish zoning ordinances, adopt building, electrical and plumbing codes and enact ordinances requiring that sewage disposal facilities of all new buildings be approved by the local health officer. Groups of contiguous municipalities should provide a method for integration of plans, zoning and construction codes to pro-

(Continued on page 593)

News in Review

City, State and Nation . . . . *Edited by H. M. Olmsted*

Elections Increase Manager Totals

Sixty Places Added Thus Far in 1951

NOVEMBER referenda on adoption of the council-manager plan bring the total increase thus far this year to 60 and the grand total to 1,067.

Rome, New York, (1950 population 41,682) voted on November 6 to adopt a council-manager charter, 4,971 to 4,597. It will replace the existing mayor-council form, but not until January 1, 1954, after the expiration of the terms of newly-elected officials. The charter was advocated by two taxpayer organizations and by the *Sentinel,* local daily newspaper. Democratic and Republican city chairmen, on several occasions, interrupted their exchange of charges during the municipal campaign to issue joint statements in opposition to the council-manager plan. The council under the new plan will consist of nine members elected at large, each voter voting for six.

Two Kentucky cities—**Owensboro** (1950 population 33,651) and **Maysville** (8,632) adopted the council-manager plan on November 6 by popular vote.

La Grange, Illinois, (12,002) has adopted the council-manager plan.

In **Delaware, Ohio,** (11,804) a council-manager charter was adopted by a vote of 1,639 to 1,105. It was drafted by a commission of fifteen elected in November 1950 and goes into effect January 1, 1954. The new council will consist of four members elected by wards for two-year terms and three at large for four-year terms; thereafter the terms of all councilmen will be four years.

Voters of **Aurora, Colorado,** (11,421) have adopted the council-manager plan.

Graham, Texas, (6,742) has adopted the council-manager plan.

On November 13, at a special election, voters of **Granite Falls, Minnesota,** (2,511) adopted a council-manager amendment to their city charter. The vote was 290 to 154.

Two Pennsylvania places — **Penn Township** (25,280) and **Tarentum** (9,540)—have recently adopted the council-manager plan by ordinance, according to the International City Managers' Association, which has also added to its official list two **California** cities—**Pomona** (35,405) and **Culver City** (19,720)—which had adopted the plan previously.

Dover, New Hampshire, which has been under council-manager government since 1948, will change to the mayor-council plan on January 1, 1952, as the result of a vote of 2,720 to 2,357 on November 6 for a new charter. The mayor, to be elected in December, will have general executive powers and will appoint most of the department heads, subject to approval of the council. The latter will consist of nine members, five elected by wards and four at large. The police department will be under a bipartisan commission of three, appointed by the governor. The Citizens Civic Committee campaigned to save the council-manager plan, losing by a narrow margin.

In **Keene, New Hampshire,** where the council-manager plan was placed in effect in 1948, the voters discarded it at the November 6 election, 2,802 to 2,160. The mayor-council form takes effect January 1, 1952; the council will consist of two members from each of five wards.

The Business and Professional

Women's Club and the Chamber of Commerce of **Plymouth, New Hampshire,** recently held a joint dinner meeting to discuss council-manager government. Speakers presented arguments both for and against the plan.

The **Marblehead, Massachusetts,** Taxpayers Association has established a committee to investigate the town manager plan and the representative town meeting.

In **Lynn, Massachusetts,** the statutory Plan E—council-manager but now without proportional representation—was defeated on November 6 by a narrow margin, 18,881 to 18,567.

In **Montclair, New Jersey,** a council-manager proposal was defeated on November 6 by 6,383 votes to 5,640. The total number of voters at the polls on all issues was 14,696. Similar proposals lost in 1943 by 230 votes out of 13,246 and in 1924 by 928 out of 5,066. Montclair is at present under the commission plan. The charter rejected this time was selected by a charter commission, elected in November 1950, from among the options provided by state law.

In **Warren, Ohio,** on November 6 a charter commission of fifteen was elected to draft a charter during the coming year. The council-manager plan is expected to be followed.

A new charter giving the council power to appoint a city manager has been approved by the voters of **Haper Woods, Michigan.** They also elected a council majority in sympathy with the new charter and the council-manager plan.

Voters of **Plymouth, Michigan,** a council-manager city since 1918, approved a new council-manager charter on October 1 by a vote of 460 to 166.

A campaign for the council-manager plan has been started in **Waukegan, Illinois,** by the Lake County Civic League.

Proposals have been advanced in the adjoining cities of **Champaign** and **Urbana, Illinois,** for consolidation under the council-manager plan. Champaign now has the commission plan and Urbana a mayor and board of aldermen.

Brookfield, Illinois, which has operated under a manager ordinance since 1947, adopted the state's statutory council-manager plan at the polls on November 10 by an overwhelming majority—1,662 to 135. More people voted at this special election than turned out for the regular election last April. Brookfield is the first village in Illinois and the first municipality in Cook County to act under the state's optional law. The election cost the village practically nothing since 50 persons donated their time and ten polling places were furnished free of charge.

In **Pine Bluff, Arkansas,** a special Chamber of Commerce committee has been investigating the council-manager plan, with the possibility of recommending it for that city.

All three members of the city commission of **Olathe, Kansas,** have endorsed the council-manager idea, following a series of articles on the subject in the Olathe *Democrat.*

A council-manager proposal in **Elwood, Kansas,** failed of adoption on November 6.

In **San Antonio, Texas,** on November 13 a council of nine was elected under the city's new council-manager charter. All successful candidates were supported by advocates of the new charter and obtained majorities so that no run-off election is necessary.

The Exchange Club of **El Paso, Texas,** has adopted a resolution urging early adoption of the council-manager plan and has presented it to Mayor Fred Hervey, who pledged his administration to a rewriting of the city charter along council-manager lines.

In **Brawley, California**, a council-manager ordinance was defeated on November 6 by a vote of 488 to 395.

Riverside, California, has elected a board of freeholders to draft a new charter. It is reported that a majority are favorable to the council-manager plan.

Sarnia, Ontario, which voted in favor of the council-manager plan in December 1950, is now operating under the plan.

Phoenix Voters Sustain Good Government

In its first test at the polls, the present council-manager government of Phoenix, Arizona, on November 13 was overwhelmingly endorsed by the voters. Re-elected for another two years were the incumbent mayor and six councilmen.

Since they assumed office in January 1950, the present elective officers, in conjunction with City Manager Ray W. Wilson, have provided Phoenix with the most effective municipal government in its history.[1] Although council-manager government was established in Phoenix in 1914, it did not operate successfully until the amendment of the city charter in 1948 to eliminate several inherent weaknesses and the election of the present mayor and council a year later.

A slate of seven candidates challenged the right of the incumbent mayor and councilmen to govern Phoenix. The opposition platform, which included ten points, recommended adoption of the ward system of electing councilmen and partisan elections in place of the nonpartisan ballot. It also criticized the administration for its selection of out-of-state residents to head four of the twelve administrative departments.

Despite a relatively unexciting campaign, 21,762 voters, or 47 per cent of the registration of 46,121, cast ballots. Individual totals of the victors ranged from 16,381 to a high of 18,016; those of the opposition from 3,722 to 5,405. The incumbents led in all 65 precincts except one, where an opposition councilmanic candidate obtained a slight lead. The Charter Government Committee, which had disbanded following its campaign in 1949 to elect the present mayor and council, was reorganized to support them a second time in the 1951 election.

Voting machines, rented from the county government, were used in Phoenix city elections for the first time.

An attempt, by initiative petition, to submit the question of a ward system to the voters at the November election proved unsuccessful when a superior court on October 17 ordered Phoenix officials not to place the proposed charter amendment on the ballot. The court held that there were insufficient signatures on the petitions because of fraud, forgery and false swearing. A Council for District Government, headed by one of the opposition candidates for the city council, circulated the ward system petitions.

The recent victory will give the administration the opportunity to engage in long-term planning and to provide continuity of management. In the course of the past two years, the administration has reorganized the city's administrative departments, installed numerous new procedures, strengthened the managerial and planning agencies, effected improvements in municipal services, equipment and physical plant, and reduced tax rates. There has been a surplus in the municipal till at the end of each of the past two fiscal years.

Paul Kelso

University of Arizona

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[1] See "Phoenix Makes New Start," by Paul Kelso, the Review, September 1950, page 383.

Boston, Philadelphia Elect under New Charters

On November 6 Boston and Philadelphia held their first municipal elections under their new charters, previously noted in this department. In Boston Mayor John B. Hynes was reelected by a majority of 77,389 over James M. Curley, former mayor, these two candidates having emerged from an elimination election in September, as provided by the new charter. In addition five out of the nine city council members and four out of five school committee members elected, on nonpartisan ballots, were among those supported by the New Boston Committee, a group which has advocated the new charter.

In Philadelphia a political overturn occurred with the election of Joseph S. Clark, Jr., and Richardson Dilworth, Democrats, as mayor and district attorney, respectively, and the election of fourteen Democrats and three Republicans to the council. Under provisions of the new charter, the voters chose ten councilmen by districts, electing nine Democrats and one Republican; and seven at large, five Democrats and two Republicans. In the election of at large candidates, the limited vote applied, each voter casting his ballot for five.

Charter Commissions Chosen in New Jersey

In Jersey City and Hoboken, both in Hudson County, New Jersey, charter commissions were elected on November 6 under the provisions of the state optional charters law. The vote in Jersey City was 25,935 to 14,635; that in Hoboken 6,441 to 2,101. In Jersey City five charter commission candidates sponsored by the organization headed by Mayor John V. Kenny ran unopposed.

The commissions could recommend either continuation of the present government of the cities concerned, the commission plan, or choose one of the state's optional charters—varying forms of the council-manager and strong-mayor plans are provided—for submission to the voters at a referendum election.

The Jersey City charter commission proposal was viewed as an effort to block a referendum on a change to the mayor-council form, petitions for which were filed by supporters of ex-Mayor Frank Hague before final adoption of the council's ordinance for election of a charter commission. By court decision, rendered after the election, the referendum on the mayor-council plan was upheld and is scheduled for December 11, leaving the status of the charter commission up in the air.

New Charter Sought in Tacoma

The city council of Tacoma, Washington, has authorized a freeholders' election for charter revision next March. In April 1951 Mayor John Anderson appointed a committee to study the needs for charter revision, headed by Hugh J. Tudor, president of the Municipal League of Tacoma, which submitted a report this fall.

Yonkers City Pay Referendum Loses

The proposal to compel the city government of Yonkers, New York, to pay each of 1,500 employees $500 more per annum[1] was defeated two to one in a referendum vote on November 6.

One factor in its defeat was a series of editorials in the Yonkers *Herald Statesman* which said that, in addition to requiring a substantial added tax—probably a 2 per cent sales tax—the proposal would freeze payrolls into the city charter, would grant uniform pay increases regardless of individual merit or need, with the increased pay in many instances exceeding prevailing wages for similar work in private employment, and would prevent city officials from exercising discretion and judgment in a basically administrative matter. The proposal excluded 830 teachers and 283 other employees of the Board of Education from the $500 boost but it had been predicted that a similar increase for these would necessarily follow.

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[1] See the REVIEW, November 1951, page 536.

A corresponding proposal of police and firemen in Kingston, New York, for a raise of $1,000 per annum, by popular vote, was ruled invalid by the city attorney as not specifying the means of raising the necessary revenue; this ruling was appealed to the courts and sustained by the Court of Appeals as well as by two lower courts.

Detroit Votes Four-year Terms, Pension Benefits

On November 6 the voters of Detroit approved a charter amendment providing four-year terms for all principal elective city officials, starting in 1954. They failed, however, to approve a separate proposition for four-year terms for constables. Thus there will be special elections for constables, starting in 1955, at a reported cost of $200,000.

Pension benefits for city employees were increased. For police and firemen disability allowances are made tax-free and pension benefits of widows of men dying in service after they could retire are protected. The latter provision was also made applicable for other city employees, together with cost-of-living adjustments for pensioners and an increase in the pension maximum.

A proposal to increase council salaries from $5,000 to $7,000 per year was defeated. A new street and traffic commission was authorized, to consist of four men appointed by the mayor for four-year terms. City agencies handling street and traffic matters are reduced from fifteen to five.

Council Sessions Broadcast in Minot, North Dakota

The city council of Minot, North Dakota, has approved a request of radio station KLPM for permission to broadcast its sessions. Mayor C. H. Kiehn cast the deciding vote, the council of twelve members being divided equally on the question.

Town Elects Dead Man as Supervisor

Although he died two days before the election, Leslie E. Maxwell was overwhelmingly elected town supervisor of Cambridge, New York, on November 6. A successor was to be chosen by the town board—all of whose members were reported to want the job.

Wage Referenda Results Vary

A number of referendum proposals to increase wages of municipal employees, especially police and firemen, were held on November 6. Out of eleven held in northern New Jersey municipalities, increases were voted in Bayonne, Bloomfield, Bound Brook, Closter, Deal, Fort Lee, Hillside, Roselle, Weehawken and Westwood. Belleville defeated a pay-rise proposal. Seven communities—Englewood, Fort Lee, Garwood, Lakewood, Lyndhurst, Neptune and West Orange—established a 40-hour week for policemen.

Voters of Bridgeport, Connecticut, turned down a pay increase proposal for police and firemen.

Texas Municipal League Holds Annual Meeting

At its annual meeting, October 21-24, the League of Texas Municipalities adopted several resolutions, including a statement of policy, stressing home rule and adequate revenue sources; pledges of cooperation with state and national agencies for civil defense and disaster relief and with the Texas Legislative Council on municipal problems (the legislature this year having requested the council to study revenue and other municipal matters as recommended by the league); and for establishment of a state communications commission to regulate long-distance telephone rates and assist cities in regulating local telephone rates.

Armistead Rust, mayor of San Angelo, was elected president for 1951-52.

New York Amendments Carry by Big Vote

Eight constitutional amendments were adopted by the voters of New York State on November 6 by majorities of from three to one to eight to one:

(1) Assures voters in military service and their families the right to absentee ballots, whether or not the country is at war;

(2) Exempts service personnel and inmates of veterans' hospitals from personal registration;

(3) Empowers the legislature to increase pensions for retired public employees;

(4) Pledges state credit for a maximum of $500,000,000 in Throughway bonds;

(5) Permits the Court of Appeals to hear appeals from non-final orders of the Appellate Division involving public agencies;

(6) Enables New York City to borrow $500,000,000 outside the debt limit to build the Second Avenue subway, with another $2,500,000 of state aid each year to pay debt service on money borrowed for building public schools;

(7) Increases jurisdiction of the city court of New York from $3,000 to $6,000, to clear congestion in the Supreme Court calendar;

(8) Permits judges of the Court of Appeals and Supreme Court justices to serve in the armed forces without resigning their judicial posts and authorizes the legislature to provide temporary replacements.

Illinois Legislature Aids Reorganization

Some 78 of 166 bills sponsored by the Illinois "Little Hoover" Commission have passed both houses of the 1951 legislature, reports the Council of State Governments. Among the more important were measures streamlining state civil service procedures, transferring the Division of Parks to the Department of Conservation as a first step in establishing a new Department of Natural Resources and Conservation, consolidating the various ex-officio election boards into a single state electoral board, and revising the powers of certain code departments. Also adopted were about a dozen bills resulting from the commission's findings but not introduced under its sponsorship, for example, a new state mental health code.

New Hampshire Establishes Legislative Council

The General Court (legislature) of New Hampshire has created a legislative council to work on legislative matters between sessions. The council is composed of three senators, nine house members and three private citizens. It is to prepare a legislative program on major state problems for the next session and consider matters referred to it by the legislature, the governor and his council.

Connecticut River Compact Ratified

The legislatures of Connecticut, Massachusetts, New Hampshire and Vermont have ratified the Connecticut River Flood Control Compact, which contemplates a system of public works to prevent flood damage in the river valley. Consent of Congress must be secured to make the agreement effective.

Constitutional Change Blocked in Kentucky

Despite valiant efforts of the League of Women Voters and others a proposed constitutional amendment to make amendment of the Kentucky constitution easier was badly defeated on November 6. The so-called Committee of One Thousand, which was weak in numbers but strong in finances, was revived to oppose the amendment. This group had fought the 1947 effort to call a constitutional convention. The amendment would have removed the present restriction against more than two amendments being submitted at one time and would have permitted the grouping of two or more amendments for a single vote.

Pennsylvania Outlaws Veterans' Preference for Promotion

A recent decision of the Pennsylvania Supreme Court nullified the ten-point bonus added to veterans' scores in promotion tests, provided for under the state's civil service law, according to the Civil Service Assembly. However, veterans' preference as it affects original appointments was sustained. This preference—ten points added to the grade—is given to disabled and non-disabled veterans alike, provided they score a passing grade on the initial examination.

The court assumed that military service gives veterans special fitness for public employment but that such an assumption does not apply in the case of promotion. Three justices dissented from this distinction.

First New York State Building Code Issued

The New York State Building Code Commission has promulgated its first code under the state building code law. It is applicable to one- and two-family dwellings and has an effective date of November 1, 1951.

Any municipality of the state may adopt the code by resolution and may withdraw applicability, if it so desires, at any time after one year of its adoption, under conditions set forth in the law. The code will be enforced by local building officials, who will be afforded consultative and technical services by the commission.

As required by the law, the code is formulated in terms of "performance objectives," in contrast to the specification codes in general use in about 350 municipalities in New York and in approximately two thousand municipalities in other states. It defines the objectives to be attained in terms of structure, sanitation, fire prevention and other forms of safety, without freezing into law specific methods or means of attaining safety.

The commission announced that it has started preparation of a multifamily dwelling code, to be issued next year, followed by a comprehensive code covering all types of building. The codes will be kept up to date by the commission, thus freeing municipalities of the burden and expense of drafting, promulgating, amending and otherwise servicing an individual local code.

Merit System Study Planned in Georgia

The Georgia Merit System of Personnel Administration and the Atlanta branch of the University of Georgia have made arrangements for carrying out research projects in merit system administration, according to the Council of State Governments. The plans call for the staff of the university to conduct research in areas suggested by the state merit system director. The results will be submitted to him for such use as he considers desirable.

Nebraska Legislative and Constitutional Proposals

The legislature of Nebraska has authorized referenda at the 1952 election on two proposed constitutional amendments, according to the Council of State Governments: one to raise legislators' salaries from $872 to $1,250 per annum, the other to create an elected six-member State Board of Education with power to appoint a commissioner of education, replacing the presently elective superintendent of public instruction.

The legislature has asked the Legislative Council to study the state taxation program and the question of annual legislative sessions.

Unicameral Legislature Sought by Missouri Group

A Missouri legislature of one house only, as in Nebraska, has received fresh support in the form of the Missouri Committee for One-house Legislature, headed by David Larkin, retired businessman. He has announced that petitions will be circulated to have the proposal presented for adoption as a constitutional amendment at the general election in November 1952.

Freezing Senate Size Proposed in Colorado

The Colorado Legislative Committee on Reapportionment has announced it will submit to the next session of the legislature a proposed constitutional amendment to provide Senate representation on a geographical basis instead of the present population basis. The population basis would be retained for the lower house. The Senate apportionment would be frozen as it now stands, regardless of future changes in population. Under-representation of Denver and other growing urban areas would thus tend to become more and more extreme.

The amendment would also establish senatorial and representative districts; each voter would vote for one senator and one representative.

Congress Takes Action on Funds for Civil Defense

Final congressional action on the national civil defense appropriation amounted to a reduction to $74,945,000 from the administration's request for $535,000,000 for the 1951-52 fiscal year. The Senate had sought to increase to $97,635,000 the House figure of $65,255,000.[1] The final action awarded $56,000,000 for emergency supplies and facilities, $11,195,000 for operations and $7,750,000 for contributions. Nothing was granted for protective facilities or for a procurement fund.

The Federal Civil Defense Administration has made allocations (up to October) to eleven states of about one-third of $20,000,000 provided in the appropriation for fiscal 1951 for first-aid stations and medical stockpiling. The funds must be matched by the states, with or without municipal help.

Many Attend Civil Service Conference

The 1951 conference of the Civil Service Assembly of the United States and Canada, held in Detroit in October, was attended by 686 public personnel people, including 51 Canadians and a dozen from outside continental United States. A popular innovation consisted of evening "work-shop sessions" of small groups desiring to discuss a particular problem. Elected as president was Charles H. Cushman, personnel administrator of Rhode Island.

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[1] See the REVIEW, October 1951, page 480.

County and Township . . . . *Edited by Elwyn A. Mauck*

Philadelphia Gets Consolidation

State Voters Approve Constitution Amendment

THE constitutional amendment consolidating the city and county governments of Philadelphia was overwhelmingly approved by the voters of Pennsylvania on November 6. Within the city the vote was 198,978 to 19,034. The proposal had previously been approved by the state legislature in 1949 and 1951. A similar proposal was defeated in a referendum in 1937.

The first step in consolidation was taken in 1854 when, under an act of consolidation, the boundaries of the city were made the same as those of the county and most of the local governments in the area were wiped out. Many county functions were turned over to the city. County officers, however, retained certain important functions, including the conduct of elections, assessment of property for local taxation, construction of county buildings and jails, recording of deeds and mortgages and the probating of wills. Eleven county officials were elective. County officers spent city tax funds to aid military and veterans' organizations and for some forms of public welfare.

All county offices, formerly the big prizes in local politics, are now merged with the city. Their employees, formerly appointed as a reward for political services, will come under the city's civil service provisions.

The 1951 amendment is in part self-enacting but certain enabling legislation must be passed by the state legislature to make consolidation complete.

Cities and Counties Cooperate on Planning, First Aid

Officials of Oakland County and the city of Pontiac, Michigan, are considering construction of a city-county office building. It would be under the jurisdiction of an authority which would finance the construction by issuance of revenue bonds. The bonds would be retired from rentals charged the occupying agencies.

In the state of Washington, Chelan County and the city of Wenatchee pooled resources to hire a professional planning consultant to aid in coping with the problem of rapid expansion in population. The development of a $55,000,000 aluminum plant and several large dams is resulting in a population increase of approximately a thousand persons per year in and around Wenatchee, a city with a 1950 population of 13,072. Faced with this fact, city and county officials have adopted regulations establishing an emergency zone around the city, conducted an aerial survey for the preparation of a new base map, and made an intensive study of all existing school facilities. This type of planning is the first of its kind in the state and is being watched with great interest by other cities and counties.

Santa Clara County, California, and San Jose have completed the first year of operation of their joint emergency first-aid station. The station is supervised by a board of seven members appointed by the city council, county commissioners and county medical society. No charges are made at the station but the list of county cases are forwarded to the county which then bills county patients for the service. The station is operated on a 24-hour basis.

Manager Vote Scheduled for Princess Anne County

Following the filing of petitions signed by some 1,730 voters, the County Circuit Court has ordered election officials of Princess Anne County, Virginia, to hold a referendum January 15 on adoption of the county executive plan. The order followed testimony to the effect that at least 10 per cent of the qualified voters of the county had signed the referendum petition.

The county executive plan is one of several optional laws available to Virginia counties. It differs from the state's optional county manager law in one important respect: the county executive does not have power of appointment of administrative officials but makes recommendations to the board of supervisors.

Charter Changes Discussed for Arlington County

The Arlington County, Virginia, League of Women Voters recently conducted its third annual Institute of Local Government at which numerous changes in its council-manager form of government were recommended. Richard S. Childs of the National Municipal League told the institute that changes should be effected to bring "those separate little islands of power—offices of treasurer, commissioner of revenue, sheriff and county clerk—under the jurisdiction of your county manager and your county board. It is a sheer myth that the people hold these officers responsible for carrying out their duties. They are technical jobs and should be done by people responsible to the manager."

Professor George Spicer of the University of Virginia told the institute he believed Arlington should not become an incorporated city at this time, as is being urged by many persons. A former chairman of the county board urged discontinuance of annual elections in favor of longer terms for board members.

The League of Women Voters plans to press for changing the tenure of the manager from one year to an indefinite period, transferring power of appointment of administrative heads from the county board to the manager and establishing a new office of legal counsel entirely separate from the office of commonwealth's attorney.[1]

Baltimore County Again Talks of Home Rule

A Voters League has been organized in Baltimore County, Maryland, for the purpose of circulating a petition to place the question of a home rule charter on the ballot in November 1952. A similar effort failed in 1950 because of insufficiency in the number of signatures obtained.

The league announced it would favor adoption of a council-manager form of government, which brought immediate reaction from the three county commissioners in opposition to the proposal. The president of the board stated: "I believe in keeping government in the hands of the people. The county manager system takes it out of their hands. If the county manager operates under a group of commissioners, it gives the commissioners a chance to escape their responsibilities. This form of government is a trend away from true democracy, which has worked pretty well in this country since the days of George Washington."

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[1] See the Review, November 1951, page 539.

Editor's Note.—In 1792 George Washington declared: "It has always been my opinion, and still is so, that the administration of the affairs of the Federal City (Washington, D. C.) ought to be under the *immediate* direction of a judicious and skillful superintendent, appointed by and subject to the orders of the commissioners, who in the eyes of the law are the responsible characters. One in whom is united knowledge of men and things, industry, integrity, impartiality and firmness. And that this person should reside on the spot."

Women's League to Study County Government

The League of Women Voters of New Jersey has begun a study of county government to determine its effectiveness in the over-all government structure. Techniques and methods of conducting the survey are being discussed and it is anticipated that the project will last two years. Health and welfare services, county finance and the place of the political party organization in the county are among the topics to be studied.

Jackson County, Missouri, Wins Award

Jackson County, Missouri, recently received the Municipal Finance Officers Association Certificate of Conformance for its 1950 annual financial report. This award is given for financial reports that meet the high standards established jointly by the association and the National Committee on Governmental Accounting. Jackson is the first county ever to receive the award, although it previously has been granted to the city and county of Honolulu and to 22 other municipalities.

Los Angeles County Fire Protection Districts Studied

A survey and description of the rather novel organization built up by the Los Angeles County fire protection districts, in conjunction with the county forester and the fire warden department, have been issued by the Bureau of Governmental Research of the University of California.[1] Prepared by James Trump and Morton Kroll, the study points out that the county's fire protection districts comprise a unique type of governmental organization brought about to serve a pressing need in unincorporated communities—many of them large and well populated.

"In recent years," say the authors, "with the urbanization of the Los Angeles metropolitan area there has been a steady, inevitable movement away from the special district idea in the fire protection field. . . . The trend is toward consolidation of fire protection districts and the time when the consolidated district will embrace all of the county territory is no longer in the indeterminate future. The fire protection needs of the district are becoming increasingly uniform and, as such, lend themselves to a centralized fire protection service."

IF BIG STEEL COMES TO TOWN

by Richard Martin

(Continued from page 582)

vide a high degree of uniformity.

The State Development Commission through its Planning and Research Division should continue to make technical assistance available to the towns and cities. Planning and zoning should regulate trailer camps and temporary housing. It should consider the likelihood that new trading centers will develop where parking is no problem. It should guide residential construction so as to reduce the cost of municipal facilities such as water, sewers, schools, highways, policing and fire fighting.

Thus far the new steel mill has not materialized. Nevertheless, the work of the committee has paved the way for dealing with the problems of future industrial expansion in a well populated state whose resources of land and water are limited.

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[1] *County Administered Fire Protection. A Case Study in a Metropolitan Area,* 1951. 86 pages.

Proportional Representation . . *Edited by George H. Hallett, Jr. and Wm. Redin Woodward*

(This department is successor to the Proportional Representation Review)

Ohio, Massachusetts Cities Hold P. R. Elections

Eight Councils, Six School Committees Chosen by Voters

NOVEMBER 6 marked the fourteenth use of P. R. for the election of the city council in Cincinnati and the thirteenth in its neighboring city of Hamilton, Ohio. In Massachusetts Cambridge chose its sixth P. R. council, Lowell its fifth, and four cities—Worcester, Medford, Quincy and Revere—used the system for the second time. School committees were also chosen by the Hare system in the Massachusetts cities.

Below are accounts of the elections in Cincinnati and Lowell. Others will be published in succeeding months.

Cincinnati Holds 14th P. R. Election

Cincinnati's fourteenth municipal election under the Hare system of P. R., on November 6, resulted in the reelection of the eight incumbent councilmen—four Charter, four Organization Republican—making the race.

The ninth and controlling seat, held by Charles P. Taft, Charter majority leader, who declined renomination in order to run for governor of Ohio next year, was won by an Organization Republican, Donald D. ("Lower the Boom") Clancy. Clancy, a 30-year-old lawyer, startled Cincinnati's otherwise sophisticated electorate with a sound truck, bill board, poster and newspaper advertising campaign that apparently developed the greatest money expenditure for a council race thus far recorded in the city's history.

Control of Cincinnati's council returned to the local Republican Organization after four years of admittedly successful and progressive Charter leadership. Mayor Albert D. Cash, Charter stalwart and recipient of the highest number of first-choice votes, stepped down December 1 to make way for Carl W. Rich, who in 1947 served for ten months as interim mayor following the appointment of his predecessor to the Ohio Supreme Court.

Few if any changes of significance in the city's administrative setup are expected to follow as a result of the election. From time to time City Manager W. R. Kellogg has been reported by city hall newspapermen as looking forward to retirement. Kellogg, however, was originally appointed in 1944 by an Organization Republican council majority and the new majority is expected to urge him to stay on.

Although the election result has been interpreted variously by political writers for the Cincinnati newspapers, all apparently agree that had Floor Leader Taft run again, the Charter group would have retained its majority. He has been one of the Charter group's most active campaigners.

Bad weather, the worst in the city's municipal elections history, severely handicapped the Charter forces, made up primarily of volunteer housewives and labor union supporters of Councilman Harry D. Proctor. Whereas the paid workers of the Organization Republicans stood in a cold, day-long rain, intermingled with snow, Charter volunteers were reduced to a few hours work in the early morning and late afternoon.

There was one notable exception. In the West End district, populated largely by Negroes, enthusiastic supporters of Charter Councilman Theodore M. Berry, militant civil rights crusader, worked hard to get out votes that heretofore have been predominantly Organization Republican. Berry ranked fourth highest in the final first-choice count.

Nineteen candidates made the race, the Charter group and the local Organization Republican committee both entering full tickets of nine, with one independent. The total first-choice vote was: Organization Republican, 71,075; Charter, 64,359; independent, 677, invalid, 8,371. The total vote cast, 144,682, while nearly 25,000 lower than in 1949, ran 15,000 to 20,000 above predictions made as a result of the bad weather.

Campaign Expenses

The campaign was featured by extremely lavish spending by the Organization Republican campaign committee as well as the supporters of Clancy. This committee reported expenditures of $50,631, highest in local history, the bulk for payment of ward and precinct executives and election day workers. This contrasted with the Charter total of $16,716, primarily for newspaper advertising, television and printing of literature.

Lack of a compelling issue after four years of successful leadership handicapped the Charter forces. Meanwhile, Cincinnati voters, comprising what has been for twelve years the arch-Republican city of the nation, apparently responded again to the traditional Organization Republican campaign cry, "You can't have a Republican in the White House unless you put us in city hall," a theme used without exception since the inauguration of Cincinnati's city manager—P. R. government in 1925.

Charles P. Taft's Independent Republican Committee, organized in 1950 to support the senatorial campaign of his brother, Robert A.Taft, entered the fray on behalf of three of the Charter candidates: Mrs. Dorothy Nichols Dolbey, A. E. Roberts and John H. Stewart. The Independent Republicans hoped that Taft's own first-choice following would transfer to these three. Although Mrs. Dolbey made a surprisingly good showing and on transfers became the Charter group's fifth-place entry, total support for the three failed to equal Taft's repeated showings in earlier P. R. races.

High man for the Organization Republicans was Potter Stewart, son of former Mayor James Garfield Stewart. Stewart and Douglass M. Allen, Jr., a *Times-Star* writer, ran a 1-2 campaign strongly supported by the *Times-Star* and *Enquirer*, both Republican papers.

Poorest showing among the incumbents was that of Jesse D. Locker, Organization Republican Negro and member of council since 1941, whose loss of leadership to Councilman Berry was heavily underscored by final results from the Negro precincts. Locker would undoubtedly have been replaced had it not been for the *Times-Star Enquirer* campaign for white support for Locker.

The *Times-Star*, for instance, warned its followers that several thousand white votes were needed for Locker in order to insure Organization Republican control of the new council. In view of the Organization Republicans' over-all campaign argument that control of the city is necessary to insure election of a Republican president in 1952, it appeared to many Republican voters as though their first-choice vote for Locker, however extraordinary and out of character it might normally be, was an imperative not to be ignored.

Although 140 precincts had been created since the 1949 election, the P.R. count was completed in the usual six-day period. Final results were known Sunday night and declared official Monday noon.

Forest Frank, *Executive Director*
Cincinnati City Charter Committee

Stirring Race Marks Lowell's Fifth P. R. Election

The Hare system of P. R., in force under the "Plan E" council-manager charter in Lowell, demonstrated its ability to give measured weight to cross-currents in popular expression in a close election November 6. The contest was referred to by the Lowell *Sun* as "one of the most stirring races in the history of Plan E elections in Lowell."

A total of 34,884 valid ballots was cast in the city council election. The final result was not apparent until near the end of the count, when Councillor Hockmeyer was defeated and former Councillor McMahon elected. The elimination of Councillor Sullivan, who also was defeated near the end of the count, resulted in transfer of a large number of votes to McMahon.

Councillor Janas led in the number of first choices and was first to reach the quota. Councillors Callery and Roy were reelected also and Councillor Ayotte was defeated along with Hockmeyer and Sullivan. Among the new councilmen elected was School Committeeman Beaudry. Evidently the preferences of the voters caused the substitution of some new faces without greatly altering the political complexion of the council.

The concurrent election of a six-man school committee on a separate P. R. ballot was featured by a sticker and write-in movement in favor of a late entry, Richard K. Donahue, which was so successful that he far outdistanced his rivals to secure election directly upon the count of first choices.

Backsliders Suffer from Distortions

Toledo's first municipal election since its repeal of P. R. in 1949 resulted in election of eight Republican candidates and one Democratic candidate to the city council. The outgoing council consisted of five Democrats and four Republicans. Under the new ward system a shift of comparatively few votes was enough to make the change.

In Long Beach, New York, which repealed P. R. after a short trial a few years ago, the Democratic party candidates made a clean sweep of the five-man council and the Republicans obtained no representation at all although their candidates polled almost a third of the votes.

Yonkers, New York, which abandoned P. R. at the same time as Long Beach, although it did not experience a landslide result such as those in Toledo and Long Beach, was subjected to other effects of non-proportional election systems—a minority party captured control of the city government. The same voters elected a Republican mayor in a city-wide contest and a council composed of seven Democrats and five Republicans in a ward-by-ward contest, the result in several wards being decided by a few dozen or a few score votes. In the twelve wards together, however, Republican candidates for the council polled 29,415 votes whereas their victorious opponents had only 26,174.

Although the mayor has a vote in the city council, the unproportional Democratic victory in the Yonkers council election was enough to wrest control of the council—and under the council-manager plan, of course, of the city government—from the Republicans, whose supporters were less strategically located with respect to district boundaries. Mayor Kristen Kristensen's victory was decisive, with a plurality of 8,016 votes, and represented a personal as well as a party victory. His party uniformly showed a preponderance of votes on a city-wide basis, electing also two justices of the peace and contributing pluralities to county judicial candidates.

Taxation and Finance • • • • *Edited by Wade S. Smith*

Industry Tax Exemption Schemes Flourish

Trend Criticised by Expert on Municipal Finance Matters

RECENT news stories telling of large industrial corporations which have negotiated contracts to move into new plants constructed for them by communities far from the company's former location serve to emphasize a trend toward the granting of extraordinary tax exemptions as an inducement to industry to locate in a given place. Since Mississippi adopted its "Balance Agriculture with Industry" program in the 1930s, a number of states have authorized the granting of tax concessions as an inducement to manufacturing establishments, such concessions ranging from the abatement of ad valorem property taxes for a stated period to the construction of factories with the use of the public credit, and their lease or donation to the favored industry.

Notable among such schemes enacted in the last several years are two 1951 laws authorizing cities to issue bonds for factory construction which will be repayable solely from rentals paid by the new industries occupying the plants. One of these acts, the Tennessee industrial building revenue bond act, was upheld by the Tennessee Supreme Court late in August in a test suit involving the right of the city of Elizabethton to float a $4,000,000 bond issue to construct a factory there for Textron, Inc., the well known textile concern. According to the Industrial Development Division of the Tennessee State Planning Commission,[1] similar industrial building revenue bond laws have been adopted by Alabama (the other 1951 enactment) and by Florida, Illinois and Kentucky.

Other recent laws granting concessions to new industry have been enacted in Oklahoma and Arizona. The Arizona statute prohibits the taxation ad valorem of manufacturers' inventories and assigns a preferential assessment ratio to factory equipment and machinery. The Oklahoma statute, passed this year, would have substituted for the ad valorem property tax a gross sales tax of one-tenth of one per cent on new industries with initial capitalization of at least $75,000. It was ruled invalid by the state attorney general, who stated it was in conflict with the uniformity clause of the state constitution.

The Oklahoma case is in line with a slight but perceptible trend to ease up in recent years on outright tax exemption features. These include the shortening of the period of exemption from ten to five years in Louisiana, the repeal of exemption statutes in Virginia and Georgia, the expiration without reenactment of a Wyoming exemption to beet sugar manufacturers, etc.

On the other hand, the organization of public or quasi-public industrial development agencies appears as a new wrinkle, both Maine and New Hampshire having established agencies to provide capital for new enterprises or for the expansion of existing concerns. These agencies assist in the securing of capital through the usual channels and also lend their own funds, usually at an interest rate somewhat higher than would be charged by a private lending institution.

At the same time these newer trends

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[1] *Tennessee Industrial Planning Newsletter,* October 1, 1951. Tennessee Planning Commission, Nashville 3.

are appearing, the outright use of the public credit to construct and equip new factories continues in Mississippi, the original BAWI program state. Earlier this year the city of Greenville, Mississippi, (population 30,000) issued the first $3,750,000 of a total of $4,750,000 of its authorized general obligation, unlimited tax bonds, which had been voted to build a new factory for the Alexander Smith & Sons Carpet Company of Yonkers, New York.

Pending is the issuance of $6,500,000 general obligation bonds by Meridian, Mississippi, to construct and equip a modern textile factory for Textron Mississippi, Inc., a Textron, Inc., subsidiary. Unlike the revenue bonds, these and other Mississippi local industrial plant bonds are payable from general property taxes if the rentals contracted to be paid by the manufacturing companies are not received.

Issuance of the growing volume of industrial plant bonds by cities is causing considerable concern among business and financial authorities. Not to the liking of many tax specialists are the tax exemption features inherent in the schemes, especially marked inasmuch as the income from the municipal bonds is free from federal income taxes whereas the corporate bonds which would otherwise be issued are taxable. Others foresee fiscal difficulties at the local level as, if and when business conditions alter the fortunes of the new industries occupying the plants.

Pertinent on this point are the comments of David M. Wood, distinguished partner of the well known firm of municipal bond attorneys, Wood, King & Dawson of New York city. He noted that three previous periods of extensive municipal financial distress and default on municipal bonds had followed the extensive use of state and local credit to aid private industry: in the early 1800s, following borrowing for canals and toll roads; following the Civil War when railroad aid bonds were the cause of the trouble; and following the real estate boom of the 1920s when use of special assessment bonds to install facilities for real estate speculators led to the building up of a large debt intended to be repaid by those benefited but actually either paid from general taxes or not paid at all. Mr. Wood asked:

"Are we witnessing the beginning of a new period of public aid to private enterprise? Are municipalities again going to incur burdensome debts in an effort to bring about universal prosperity by giving aid to the promoters? . . . Will our grandchildren say of us, as has been said of our ancestors, that our intentions were laudable but our judgment was bad?"[3]

Fewer Fiscal Issues Before Voters in 1951

Voters were confronted on November 6 with a considerably smaller assortment of fiscal measures than in recent years, according to preliminary returns. State bond issues to pay soldiers' bonuses, which had dominated earlier postwar fall election calendars, were absent this year and there seemed to be a smaller assortment of the usual bond proposals and constitutional amendments.

The biggest dollar stake before the voters was in New York, where two of the eight constitutional amendments approved had to do with state and local debt. One considerably alters the borrowing power of cities, counties and school districts and confers authority on New York City to incur up to $500,000,000 for additional transit (subway system) debt outside the debt limit. Another permits the state to pledge its full faith and credit to the payment of up to $500,000,000 of bonds for the New York State Throughway. Previously the Throughway Authority had been authorized to issue its revenue bonds for the purpose, to be supported solely from tolls. The pledge of the state's credit in addition will result in a substantially lower interest cost than would be possible with revenue bonds.

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[3] "Public Aid to Private Interests Poor Policy, Record Shows," by David M. Wood. *The Daily Bond Buyer*, New York. October 31, 1951.

Only state other than New York to consider a bond issue was New Jersey, where the voters approved $15,000,000 for buildings for the state teachers' college. In Pennsylvania, where an amendment was approved to authorize city and county consolidation in Philadelphia, a companion measure revising the debt limits was also approved.

New York City Sales Tax Yield Off

The slump in retailing which is plaguing some of the nation's merchants threatens to unbalance New York City's 1951-52 budget. According to an interim report of the city comptroller, collections of the city sales tax, next most important revenue after the property tax, are running well behind budget estimates.

The city sales tax was raised from 2 to 3 per cent beginning May 1, the increase being expected to raise 1951-52 sales tax collections $60,000,000 to a total of $208,000,000 for the year. For the first quarter—July, August and September, 1951—sales tax receipts were $42,299,359, or about $3,200,000 less than the estimated yield for the period of $45,000,000. For the first quarter of 1950-51, with the rate at 2 per cent, the yield had been $30,409,684. The city, like the merchants, is hoping that retail sales in November and December will move upward to at least offset the earlier lag in tax receipts.

Welfare Roll Publicity — a Return to Earlier Reporting?

Are we to see a return to the type of public financial reporting of an earlier day, when the published "financial statements" of many governmental units consisted mainly of page after page listing the names of persons and concerns to which funds had been disbursed during the year and the amounts of such payments? Perhaps, if the recent trend toward publicity of the public welfare rolls becomes extensive.

Commenting on the action of Indiana, Georgia and Illinois in enacting laws providing for the publication of names of welfare recipients, Lucy Freeman, in a series of articles in the *New York Times,* quotes Earl N. Parker, acting director of the Family Service Association of America, as stating that such publication "is class legislation stigmatizing all families compelled by circumstances beyond individual control to seek public aid. If logically extended," he says, "this would mean publicity for all persons benefiting from federal and state funds —including business organizations, farmers and veterans."

Such publicity, it may be noted, is nothing new in local government reporting. It comprised, in fact, the earliest and most elementary form of local government financial reporting—the endlessly lengthy listing of "warrants paid" which comprised 99.44 per cent of the fiscal reports of the average small or moderate sized unit even two decades ago and may still be seen in limited use by a few places today.

The development of adequate budgetary and accounting controls, greater confidence in the technical proficiency of administrative personnel and the realization that there are other and more important financial facts citizens need to know, has relegated to the discard pile the list of those to whom public funds were paid.

Citizen Action . . . . . . *Edited by Elsie S. Parker*

Massachusetts Gets Civic Education Director

Act Provides That Board of Education Make Appointment

ON September 25 Governor Paul A. Dever of Massachusetts signed a bill passed by the legislature "providing for the advancement of education for American citizenship." To quote the act, "The Department [of Education] is charged with responsibility for leadership in the cooperative study and fuller use, in the public schools and teachers colleges of the commonwealth, of teaching materials and methods, student activities, and administrative and supervisory procedures directed toward more effective preparation for the duties of American citizenship. The Board of Education shall appoint a director to carry out the purposes of this section, and shall provide said director with such facilities and assistance as may be requisite for the discharge of his duties."

Passage of the legislation, according to the Boston *Herald* of September 28, "is the outgrowth of work done by Dr. John J. Mahoney and Dr. Henry W. Holmes in the privately sponsored Civic Education Project at Harvard."[1] The project has prepared a number of civic pamphlets which, according to the *Herald*, "will prove extremely helpful in the new state program. And they have stirred the community into an awareness of the need for action. They should be proud indeed of this public recognition of their aims."

Among the publications of the Civic Education Project are these:[2] *And Crown Thy Good* (81 pages), *It Has Been Done* (97 pages), *They Made a Nation* (71 pages), *What Is Capitalism?* (103 pages), *Who Says So?* (62 pages) and *Why Don't They Think!* (88 pages). The program of the project is described in *To Sustain and Strengthen Democracy* (26 pages).

Teaching of Democracy Theme for Schools

Although instruction in civics and English, to prepare new Americans to qualify as citizens, has long been part of the Toledo public school's evening program, the Board of Education is placing increased emphasis on Americanization classes this fall. The program has been revamped and strengthened, reports the *Toledo Municipal News*, published by the Municipal League of Toledo, with plans for follow-up courses to give new citizens "an opportunity to use the adult education program for better understanding of America's cultural, economic and social background."

The Toledo public school system continues its excellent program for high school students on the study of local government. The seminar in local government promoted by the Board of Education and the Commission of Publicity and Efficiency, received an award from Freedoms Foundation, Inc., last spring. The foundation has presented the schools with sound films and books on the American scene. Previously Jesse W. Steiner, the high school instructor who originally suggested the government study, with one of his pupils, went to the foundation's headquarters at Valley Forge to receive honors awarded to Toledo's schools for the program.

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[1] See the REVIEW, March 1950, page 150.

[2] See also the REVIEW, December 1950, page 575.

The American Legion and its women's auxiliary have for a long time sponsored boys and girls state weeks. The Tar Heel Boys State was held in the spring at Chapel Hill, North Carolina, where 287 boys, representing counties, trained in city, county, state and federal government. The boys listened to lectures from government officials, staff members of the Institute of Government of the University of North Carolina, as well as university professors. Two boys selected at the meetings attended Boys Nation at the national capital, their expenses paid by the American Legion.

The Sunflower Girls State was held at the University of Kansas. Among other activities the girls heard lectures by staff members of the university's Bureau of Government Research.

Model United Nations

The State Tri-Hi-Y movement in Pennsylvania held a most successful Model United Nations Assembly at the State's Education Building, Harrisburg, in the spring. It was the culmination of six months of intensive study of the world organization and international relations by local groups, reports *National Hi-Y Ways.* Educators from all parts of the state served as advisors and resource leaders. This is the second such assembly—the first was held two years ago.

Coming down to the local level, the girls took over city hall at Jellico, Tennessee, for a week, under the guidance of Recorder J. H. Albright, making an attempt to keep the city's budget in balance, according to *Tennessee Town and Country.* Boys manned the police and fire departments and learned about city trucks, garbage collection and street cleaning. "A number of Tennessee communities cooperate with school and youth club authorities and turn over their jobs for one day or several days," says the Tennessee publication. "So far, no city has plunged into debt, floated an extra bond issue or made excessive purchases because of mishandling of the posts by the junior citizens."

At Big Stone Gap, Virginia, the first annual Youth Government Day was held under the auspices of the public schools. Over three hundred students voted for elective offices. Those elected to the council appointed a town manager, town attorney and fire chief. The manager, in turn, appointed various administrative officials. A *Progress Report* of the town council comments that the students "administered the affairs of the town in a very creditable manner for 24 hours." It is anticipated that Youth Government Day will become an annual event.

As students of the Middletown (Connecticut) High School took over administration of city affairs for a day, the youthful common council voted five to four in favor of a proposal to establish the council-manager plan. An afternoon feature was a session of the youth board of finance, which tabled a request of the selectmen's office for $15,000 for a steam shovel "because there was not enough money in the general fund." The group also tabled a resolution seeking $3,500 to renovate the council chambers but appropriated $50 for the washing of the municipal building's windows.

Four boys of Savannah, Georgia, received a trip to Washington and New York, financed by contributions from scores of Savannah business concerns and individuals, as a reward for their work under the auspices of the Junior Deputies of Chatham County (Savannah). Founded by Sheriff William C. Harris, the organization now has some 25,000 members, both boys and girls. Emphasis is on juvenile interest in civic affairs.

A group of 25 business and professional men from all parts of Arkansas have formed a nonpartisan citizens' steering committee to look into the financial problem of the Arkansas public schools, according to the National Citizens Commission for the Public Schools. The group hopes to set up a program of action to meet the crisis facing many school districts and to assist in preparing a long-range program of public school financing.

The Iowa Council for Better Education, a citizens' committee for the public schools, has been at work for the past twenty years. Starting with only a few participating groups, it includes 37 organizations having a special interest in public education.

"The School Problem Can Be Licked," reprinted from *Changing Times* (the Kiplinger Magazine), is available from the National Citizens Commission for the Public Schools, 2 West 45th Street, New York 19. The commission has also published *Education Molds Our Future—Better Schools Build a Stronger America* (24 pages) and *How Can We Help Get Better Schools* (55 pages).

"Get Out the Vote" Campaigns Flourish

Even though this has been an "off year" politically, much effort was expended by local citizen groups to secure a good turnout at the polls on election day.

The American Heritage Foundation, a nonpartisan organization which sponsored the Freedom Train, offered to help those interested by way of free mats on getting out the vote. The foundation plans next year to launch a "Register and Vote Campaign designed to bring out the largest vote in any presidential election." "We will invoke," says its announcement, "the assistance of all media on all levels; the active participation of national organizations through their community membership; and we plan to employ other appropriate techniques to impress on the people of this country that the first responsibility of citizenship is to vote."

The Cleveland Citizens League devoted four issues of *Greater Cleveland* to candidates and issues on the November 6 ballot. Voters' directories were issued also by the Detroit Citizens League, the Citizens Union of New York City, Civic League of Improvement Clubs and Associations of San Francisco and the Seattle Municipal League. All except the last make recommendations on both issues and candidates. The Seattle League comments on the suitability of the candidate for the office he seeks.

Leagues of Women Voters in Cincinnati, Toledo, Atlanta, Allegheny County (Pittsburgh) in cooperation with the Civic Club of Allegheny County, and numerous other communities, issued voters directories but without recommendations on candidates. Usually listed is biographical information, sometimes accompanied by candidates' replies to pertinent questions. The leagues frequently take a stand on ballot questions, listing recommendations for or against.

The Cincinnati Charter Committee, New Boston Committee, Worcester Citizens' Plan "E" Association, Cambridge Civic Association, Medford Plan E Civic Association, Hartford Citizens Charter Committee, Concord (New Hampshire) Council-manager Committee, as well as numerous other citizen groups, recommended and campaigned for slates of candidates for city council.

The Hamilton County (Cincinnati) Good Government League conducted a debate on "Campaign Issues" in which two city councilmen took part. The debate was followed by questions and answers and the report of the league's candidate endorsement committee. The league endorsed those candidates supported by the Cincinnati City Charter Committee and made recommendations on ballot proposals.

The Citizens' Council on City Planning of Philadelphia strongly supported two questions on the Philadelphia ballot — city-county consolidation and stabilization of the city's debt. The latter proposition, it is hoped, will aid in implementation of the City Planning Commission's capital program for 1952-57.

Work for Manager Plan

The Montclair (New Jersey) Committee for Council-manager, with P. Leroy Griffith as its chairman, waged a vigorous but unsuccessful campaign for adoption of the council-manager plan on November 6. Also joining in the campaign was the League of Women Voters. It staged a "Vintage of 1916" (year the present commission plan charter was adopted) show at a monthly meeting with costumes and carried the theme through the entire campaign.

Congratulations are in order for the citizens group of San Antonio, Texas, which waged such a successful campaign for the council-manager plan culminating in adoption of a new charter on October 2. The city was deluged with spot announcements over the radio and a number of twelve-minute radio talks were arranged. Members of the commission drafting the charter as well as other charter backers addressed local groups and a folder describing the new charter and the reasons for adopting it was mailed to every poll tax holder. On November 13 the group followed up its victory by electing its entire slate of candidates to the city council which will inaugurate the new charter.

The Glen Rock (New Jersey) Civic Association heard Richard S. Childs, chairman of the executive committee of the National Municipal League, speak on the council-manager plan.

In Rome, New York, the Citizens Committee for the Council-manager Plan staged debates, arranged talks before civic groups, and distributed literature in its campaign for a new charter.

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'Pilgrim's Progress'

A "Political Pilgrim's Progress" series in the *Ladies' Home Journal* has been initiated by Miss Margaret Hickey, public affairs editor of the *Journal* and a council member of the National Civil Service League which reports on the matter in its *Newsletter.* The series is aimed at securing the aid of women on the local level who wish to see government made more effective but who don't know where to start. Articles describing campaigns for better government will appear each month in the *Journal. Make a Start,* a "how to do it" leaflet, may be secured from Miss Hickey at the *Journal's* Office in Independence Square, Philadelphia.

Research Pamphlets and Articles

Auditor

What Has Happened to the Administrative Auditor? Miami 32, Dade County Research Foundation, *News Letter,* October 12, 1951. 2 pp.

Budgets

The Battle of the State Budget: 1951-53 Biennium. Hartford 3, Connecticut Public Expenditure Council, *Taxpayers News,* July-August 1951. 2 pp.

City of Baltimore Budget Background: Part 1, **City Budget-making for 1952 Is Under Way and Taxpayers Have Learned by Experience to Expect Municipal Costs to Increase Year After Year, No Matter What the Tax Rate May Be;** Part 2, **How the Municipal Budget Has Grown;** Part 3, **How the Money Was Raised to Meet the Budget Increase;** Part 4, **How the Per Capita Budget Increase Has Been Shared;** Part 5, **How Major Budget Items Have Increased 1946 to 1951;** Part 6, **How Total Budget Funds Have Been Apportioned to Major Functions and Purposes.** Baltimore 2, Commission on Governmental Efficiency and Economy, *Your Tax Dollar,* September 1951. 2, 2, 2, 2, 2 and 3 pp. respectively.

The City's Financial Problem. St. Louis 1, Governmental Research Institute, *Dollars and Sense in Government,* November 7, 1951. 4 pp.

Highlights of the 1951-52 City Budget. Providence 3, Governmental Research Bureau (bulletin), August 1951. 3 pp.

New City Budgets May Increase Your Taxes 40%. Woonsocket (Rhode Island), Taxpayers Association, *Your Business,* October 1951. 4 pp.

1952 Budget. Lackawanna (New York), Tax Research Bureau, *Comments,* October 1951. 6 pp.

Constitutional Conventions

Constitutional Conventions—Organization, Powers, Functions and Procedures. By Raymond Uhl, Robert H. Stoudemire and George R. Sherrill. Columbia, University of South Carolina, Bureau of Public Administration, 1951. 34 pp. 50 cents.

County Officers

A Guidebook of The County Judge and Other County Officers. By Huey Blair Howerton. University, University of Mississippi, Bureau of Public Administration, 1951. 41 pp.

Professional Staff Organization of County Administrators' Offices. By Harry L. Morrison, Jr. Martinez (California), Contra Costa County Taxpayer's Association, *Research Bulletin,* October 4, 1951. 6 pp.

First Institute for Clerks of Circuit Court in Wisconsin. Second Institute for Wisconsin Registers of Deeds. Third Institute for Wisconsin County Treasurers. Madison, University of Wisconsin, University Extension Division, Bureau of Government, 1951. 62, 71 and 103 pp. respectively.

Disaster

Flood Costs in Kansas. By Harriet M. Shedd. **Flood Control in Kansas.** By Marvin Meade. Lawrence, University of Kansas, *Your Government,* September 15 and October 15, 1951. 1 and 3 pp. respectively.

Education

City School Per Student Costs up 10%. Student-Teacher Ratio Downward Trend Continues. Madison, Public Expenditure Survey of Wisconsin, *Wisconsin Tax News,* October 31, 1951. 2 pp.

Financing Our Schools to Meet

Rising Budget, School District Relies Upon Four Principal Sources of Revenue. Philadelphia 7, Bureau of Municipal Research, *Citizens' Business,* October 1, 1951. 6 pp.

The Houston School Dilemma. Houston 2, Tax Research Association of Houston and Harris County, *TRA Special Bulletin,* August 1951. 2 pp.

Housing

San Diego Defense Housing Muddle. Flint 3 (Michigan), Civic Research Council, October 26, 1951. 2 pp.

Industry

Good Towns Attract Good Industries. Philadelphia 4, Associated Institutes of Government of Pennsylvania Universities, University of Pennsylvania, *Municipal Administration,* October 1951. 2 pp.

Land Use

Surveys, Subdivision and Platting, and Boundaries—Washington State Laws and Judicial Decisions. (Supplement to 1949 report.) Seattle, University of Washington, Bureau of Governmental Research and Services, September 1951. 9 pp.

Legislative Committees

1951 Interim Committees of the California Legislature. Los Angeles, Chamber of Commerce, State and Local Government Department, 1951. 47 pp.

Legislatures

Report on the 1951 Regular Session of the California Legislature. Los Angeles, Chamber of Commerce, State and Local Government Department, 1951. 59 pp.

Mental Health

Oregon Mental Health Laws. Portland 5, City Club, *City Club Bulletin,* October 19, 1951. 10 pp.

Municipal Automotive Equipment

Management of Boston's Automotive Equipment. Boston 8, Municipal Research Bureau, 1951. 109 pp.

Municipal Government

City Government Survey. Buffalo 2, Municipal Research Bureau, *Just a Moment,* October 19, 1951. 3 pp.

The Enemies of Good Government. By Harold Riegelman. New York 20, Governmental Research Association, *GRA Reporter,* September-October 1951. 3 pp. $1.

Parking

The Crane Street Parking Lot. (1) How Much Is It Used? (2) Do Receipts Cover Out-of-Pocket Costs? Schenectady 5 (New York), Bureau of Municipal Research, *Research Brevities,* October 19 and 26, 1951. 2 pp. each.

Personnel

Briefing the Proposed Personnel Plan. Boston 8, Municipal Research Bureau, *Bulletin,* September 21, 1951. 4 pp.

Planning

Regional and Metropolitan Planning. Toronto 5, Citizens Research Institute of Canada, *Effective Government,* October 10, 1951. 4 pp.

Police

What Technical Staff Should Conduct Fire and Police Examinations? Performance Budget Would Measure More Objectively Police Department's Needs. Milwaukee 2, Citizens' Governmental Research Bureau, *Bulletin,* September 14 and 24, 1951. 3 and 7 pp. respectively.

Primary

Cross Filing in Primary Elections. By Evelyn Hazen. Berkeley, University of California, Bureau of Public Administration, 1951. 37 pp. $1.

Public Relations

Now is the Time—to Start MPR Activity. By Pan Dodd Wheeler. Knoxville, University of Tennessee, Division of University Extension, Municipal Technical Advisory Service, *Tennessee Town and City,* October 1951. 6 pp.

Reapportionment

Redistricting Overdue—Despite Constitution's Mandate, Legislative Districts Have Not Been Reapportioned. Philadelphia 7, Bureau of Municipal Research, *Citizens' Business,* September 24, 1951. 4 pp.

Salaries

City Salary Increases. Waterbury 2 (Connecticut), Taxpayers' Association, *Governmental Briefs,* October 24, 1951. 3 pp.

St. Louis County Pay Schedules. Duluth 2, Governmental Research Bureau, *Citizen's Business,* November 2, 1951. 4 pp.

State Payrolls. Santa Fe, Taxpayers' Association of New Mexico, *Tax Bulletin,* October 1951. 16 pp.

Special Legislation

Shadow Over the City—Special Legislation for Tennessee Municipalities. By Catherine Fox Siffin. Knoxville, University of Tennessee, Bureau of Public Administration and Municipal Technical Advisory Service, 1951. 80 pp.

State Government

The Executive Branch of Louisiana State Government. Baton Rouge, Public Affairs Research Council of Louisiana, *PAR Report,* October 15, 1951. 8 pp.

The Maryland Budget System. First Interim Report. Baltimore 1, Commission on Administrative Organization of the State, 1951. Variously paged.

Taxation and Finance

Analysis of Appropriations Made by Nevada Legislature 1951 Session. By A. N. Jacobson. Carson City, Nevada Legislative Counsel Bureau, 1951. 19 pp.

Poughkeepsie Town Finances. A Survey Report on the Financial Structure and Operations of the Town of Poughkeepsie, New York. Part One: **Finances of Town Government.** Part Two: **Assessments and Property Taxes.** Poughkeepsie, Area Development Association, 1951. 26 and 17 pp. respectively. $1 each.

Property Taxpayers Get Relief! New 1951-52 Tax Bills Down! Los Angeles 15, Property Owners Association of California, *Tax Facts,* September 1951. 4 pp.

Receipts of California Cities 1948-49 and 1949-50. Payments by California Cities 1948-49 and 1949-50. Los Angeles 14. California Taxpayers' Association, *Tax Digest,* August 1951. 8 and 9 pp. respectively. 25 cents.

Real Estate Tax Sales in 1950. Increase in Real Estate Tax Sales Recorded: Two Cents on Each Dollar Levy Sold in 1950. Madison 3, Wisconsin Taxpayers Alliance, *Wisconsin Taxpayer,* July 1951. 2 pp.

Report of the (Massachusetts) Special Commission on Taxation. Part I: **The Tax System Today.** Part II: **The Taxation of Personal Incomes.** Part III: **Highway Fund Financing.** Part IV: **The Comparative Impact of Corporate Taxes in Massachusetts.** Boston, the Commission, 1951. 49, 86, 115 and 86 pp. respectively.

Revenues, Expenditures and Debt. State of Texas Compared with the 48 States. City of Houston Compared with Other Cities. Houston 2, Tax Research Association of Houston and Harris County, 1951. 64 pp.

Revenues of Small Alabama Cities. By Paul E. Alyea. University, University of Alabama, Bureau of Business Research and Bureau of Public Administration, 1951. 27 pp.

South Dakota State Finance. (Presented in graphs and charts with some interstate comparisons.) Vermillion, University of South Dakota, Governmental Research Bureau, 1951. 84 pp.

State Budget Tops Billion. Action by Legislature Reported. By Frank H Thill. Los Angeles 14, California Taxpayers' Association, *Tax Digest,* July 1951. 4 pp. 25 cents.

State Comptroller Attacks Council's Fiscal Plan. Hartford 3, Connecticut Public Expenditure Council, *CPEC Special Bulletin*, September 20, 1951. 4 pp.

State General Sales and Gross Receipts Taxes—1951. Salt Lake City 1, Utah Foundation, *Research Briefs*, November 1, 1951. 2 pp.

Statement on the Business Gross Receipts Tax Submitted to the Comptroller's Committee on Local Non-Property Taxes at Meeting of February 2, 1951. Syracuse 2 (New York), Governmental Research Bureau, *Research Memorandum*, August 1951. 12 pp.

Ten Years of Municipal Finance. Woonsocket (Rhode Island), Taxpayers Association, *Your Business*, August 1951. 4 pp.

Trends in Public Finance. As They Affect Citizens and Taxpayers in Tennessee. Significant Aspects of Federal, State and Local Government Finance as of June 30, 1950. Nashville 3, Tennessee Taxpayers Association. 1951. 21 pp. Tables.

The Utah State Tax Commission. Salt Lake City 1, Utah Foundation, *Research Report*, October 1951. 4 pp.

What Has Happened to City Revenues? 1939 to 1951. St. Louis 1, Governmental Research Institute, *Dollars and Sense in Government*, October 17, 1951. 4 pp.

Wyoming Round-up of 1951 Tax Levies. Cheyenne, Wyoming Taxpayers Association, August 1951. 29 pp.

Technical Services

Analysis of Technical Services Available to State and Local Agencies in Tennessee. By Virginia Holmes Brown and Hoyt Crider, Knoxville, University of Tennessee, Division of University Extension, 1951. 48 pp.

Taxicabs

Municipal Regulation of Taxicabs. By John R. Kerstetter. Chicago 37, American Municipal Association, 1951. 8 pp. Tables. 50 cents.

Traffic Control

Administrative Procedures for County Traffic Enforcement Officers. Second Institute 1951. Presented by the Wisconsin County Boards Association, the Wisconsin County Police and Police Radio Operators Association, the Bureau of Government of the University Extension Division, in cooperation with the Wisconsin Motor Vehicle Department. Madison, University of Wisconsin, University Extension Division, 1951. Variously paged.

Transit

A Discussion of Toronto Transportation Commission Financing for the Citizen. Toronto 5, Bureau of Municipal Research, *Civic Affairs*, July 20, 1951. 6 pp.

Effective Transportation—Philadelphia Needs a Policy and a Program to Solve Its Transportation Problem. Philadelphia 7, Bureau of Municipal Research, *Citizens' Business*, October 29, 1951. 5 pp.

The High Cost of Driving to Work. San Francisco, Bureau of Governmental Research, *Bulletin*, July 10, 1951. 1 p.

Truck Weights

1951 Highway Legislation. Important New Legislation for Truck Weights, Penalties and Speeds. Madison 3, Wisconsin Taxpayers Alliance, *Wisconsin Taxpayer*, August 1951. 5 pp.

Veterans Bonuses

Bonuses for Veterans of World War II. By Hideto Kono and Robert M. Kamins. Honolulu, University of Hawaii, Legislative Reference Bureau, 1951. 31 pp. 50 cents.

Water Supply

What is the Best Solution to the Water Supply Problem? Schenectady 5 (New York), Bureau of Municipal Research, *Research Brevities*, August 28, 1951. 2 pp.

Books in Review

The Interstate Compact Since 1925. By Frederick L. Zimmermann and Mitchell Wendell. Chicago, The Council of State Governments, 1951. xi, 132 pp. $2.

This handy monograph, the work of two men with rich experience in the field of interstate cooperation, is a valuable addition to the growing list of Council of State Governments publications and at the same time supplements the earlier Frankfurter and Landis study.

Zimmermann and Wendell, in a comprehensive manner, appraise the evolution of the interstate compact and, after defining a "compact," treat various problems of enforcement, national participation, state compacts with "foreign powers," and procedural aspects of making compacts.

Probably the most provocative section of the study is the final chapter, which attempts an appraisal of "Compacts and American Federalism." Here, the authors consider objections to the compact (*e.g.* the values of "informal cooperation" in our federal system) and assert the virtues of the compact: "The interstate compact can supply the requisite stability precisely because it is a formal device. . . . In general, its advantages rest on its legal strength and its flexibility. . . . In addition to its legal compulsion the compact possesses a moral force because of its status as a formal agreement." Further, they stress the great possibilities of the compact "as a means of administrative integration."

With respect to regionalism and river valley authorities, the authors pay their respects to the achievements of the TVA and argue persuasively that the TVA is not a ready-made formula to be applied elsewhere. One of their conclusions will probably irritate both the proponents of private ownership of the utility industry and those who feel that the states are technologically outmoded: "If public ownership of power is to grow, it may be well to consider whether it would not be in the best interests of a strong federal system to encourage public ownership by the states wherever practicable; if the bulk of the utility industry is to remain in private hands, some way of keeping clashes between national and state regulatory interests at a minimum should be found. . . . The interstate compact is well fitted to the solution of this problem."

Unfortunately, the discussions of both regionalism and urban development fail to develop any analysis of the vital problems of achieving and maintaining responsible government (*e.g.,* the problems resulting from rural domination of state legislatures).

Joseph E. McLean
Princeton University

Municipal Non-property Taxes: 1951. Chicago, Municipal Finance Officers Association of the United States and Canada, 1951. 47 pp. $1.50.

This is the eleventh in a series of studies of municipal revenues begun by the M.F.O.A. in 1935 and the third supplement to the association's 1945 study, *Where Cities Get Their Money.* Like its predecessors, its title is something of an understatement. The volume provides a terrific amount of information about a variety of licenses, fees, excises and other charges imposed both for revenue and for regulatory purposes.

Relating mainly to cities of 25,000 population and over, the current study brings down to date summary data as to rates and per capita yields of the major municipal sources of miscellaneous income. Although the series is intended primarily for the public official, this supplement stands on its own feet and will be as interesting to the layman as it is indispensible to the student.

W.S.S.

A Citizen Thinks of His Government. By Charles G. Morris. Philadelphia, Dorrance & Company, 1950. viii, 220 pp. $2.50.

Written "at odd moments in a busy life," the articles which go to make up this volume cover many phases of the author's wide experience — as lawyer, manufacturer, civil service reformer, legislator, and three-time candidate for governor of Connecticut. "It is intended," says the author in his "Rearword," "to present cold or hot facts to American citizens who have not had his opportunity to learn them." A few of the chapter titles include: The Right to Break Unjust Laws, The Deity Called Government, Consent of the Governed, Bungled Taxation, When Shall We Regain Our Freedom?, Is Legislative Control of Cities Justified?

Annual Report, City of Hartford, Connecticut. Hartford, Office of City Manager, 1951. 36 pp. Illus.

This third annual report under the council-manager plan is a prize example of good editing and presentation. It reports a switch to a 40-hour work-week for the 1,000 employees, a 43 per cent reduction in crime since 1946, the lowest fire loss in nine years (first of its class in the United States Chamber of Commerce National Fire Waste Contest), renovation of 46 per cent of the 207 miles of streets, progress on a $11,000,000 capital improvement program, better child care and a surplus of $815,000.

Additional Books and Pamphlets

(See also Researcher's Digest and other departments)

Accounting

Local Government Tax Accounting. New York 22, International Business Machines Corporation, 1951. 16 pp. Illus.

Bonds

State and Municipal Bonds Legal for Savings Banks in New York, Massachusetts and Connecticut. New York 4, *The Bond Buyer,* 1951. 28 pp.

Budgets

Budgetary Code and Its Use for Accounting, Budgeting, Purchasing (Effective January 1, 1952). Norfolk, Virginia, Bureau of Budget, 1951. 35 pp.

Building Codes

Abridged Building Code. Basic Building Code. New York, Building Officials Conference of America, 1950. 119 and 370 pp. respectively. Paper cover, $3 and $5; Cloth cover, $4.50 and $6.50 respectively.

State Building Construction Code Applicable to One- and Two-Family Dwellings. New York 19, New York State Building Code Commission, 1951. 51 pp.

Civil Rights

Civil Rights in America. Edited by Robert K. Carr. Philadelphia, American Academy of Political and Social Science, *The Annals,* May 1951. ix, 238 pp. $2.

Civil Service

Report to the Public on the New York Civil Service. 73rd Annual Report of the Civil Service Reform Association. New York 16, the Association, 1951. 14 pp.

Education

The New South Carolina. An address by Jeff B. Bates (State Treasurer of South Carolina). New York, The Municipal Forum of New York, 1951. 10 pp. (Apply William J. Riley, Chairman of Committee on Publications, c/o Drexel & Company, 14 Wall Street, New York 5.)

Employment

Planning Community Facilities for Basic Employment Expansion. Washington 6, D. C., Urban Land Institute, 1951. 28 pp. $3.

Law Practice

A Study of Unauthorized Practice of Law. By Edwin M. Otterbourg. Chicago, American Bar Association Committee on Unauthorized Practice of the Law, 1951. vi, 84 pp. $2.

Recreation

Recreation and Park Yearbook. A Review of Local and County Recreation and Park Developments 1900-1950. New York 10, National Recreation Association, 1951. 69 pp. $1.50.

Recreation for Older People in California. Prepared in collaboration with American Women's Voluntary Services of California and Department of Physical Education, University of California, Los Angeles, by State of California Recreation Commission. Sacramento 14, State Printing Division, Documents Section, 1951. 68 pp. 50 cents plus tax.

Service Charges

1950-51 Sanitary Service Charges in Tennessee. By Charles L. Crangle. Nashville 3, Tennessee State Planning Commission, 1951. 113 pp. $1.

Surveys

An Economic Survey of New Jersey. By Homer Hoyt. Trenton, New Jersey Department of Conservation and Economic Development, 1950. 88 pp. Tables.

Taxation and Finance

Annual Report of the [New York] State Tax Commission 1949-1950. (Part I of the Annual Report of the Department of Taxation and Finance.) Albany, The Commission, 1951. ix, 89 pp.

Large-City Finances in 1950. (The 39 cities covered are those having over 250,000 inhabitants in 1950.) Washington 25, D. C., Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, 1951. 57 pp.

The State and Local Revenue Outlook. Princeton, New Jersey, Tax Institute, 1951. 8 pp. 25 cents.

Supplement to Taxes Levied under Act 481—Types, Rates, Receipts. (Covers actions reported during period from January 1, 1951, to October 1, 1951.) By Marielle Hobart. Harrisburg, Pennsylvania Department of Internal Affairs, 1951. 12 pp. Tables.

Traffic Safety

America Needs Trained Drivers as Never Before. Washington, D. C., American Automobile Association, 1951. 20 pp. illus.

Delay the Millionth Traffic Death. The Millionth Man Campaign Kit. Chicago 11, The Advertising Council, Special Service Office, 1951. Variously paged.

Operation Safety. Program Kit on Traffic Safety Promotion. Theme for December, **Holiday Hazards.** Chicago 11, National Safety Council, 1951. Variously paged.

Operation Safety. Program Kit on Traffic Safety Promotion. November, 1951, theme: **Pedestrian Safety.** Chicago 11, National Safety Council, 1951. Variously paged.

Water

Water Development—Federal, State, Local Fields? Planning—Financing—Construction—Management. Report by Section on Water Problems. San Francisco, Commonwealth Club of California, *The Commonwealth* (Part Two), September 24, 1951. 24 pp. 25 cents.

Why Mr. Childs Makes Field Trips

Political philosopher and civic doer, Richard S. Childs is working at the National Municipal League office practically every day—except when he is out making speeches, as he was doing when the accompanying picture was taken.

Here Mr. Childs is surrounded by members of the League of Women Voters of Arlington County, Virginia, just before addressing that group's Institute on Local Government. The picture probably illustrates, writes Mrs. George C. Vietheer, president of the organization, "Why Mr. Childs makes field trips."

The development of Mr. Childs' interest in public affairs is not recent. Rather freshly out of Yale, he, with Woodrow Wilson and others, originated the short ballot movement which has done much to simplify the voter's task. A few years later he established himself in history by originating the council-manager form of government which, now in effect in more than 1,000 communities and counties, has done more to produce the kind of local government people want than any other single device.

For years Mr. Childs' attention was divided between a successful business career and active leadership of civic organizations until he reached the mandatory retirement age as a top official of American Cyanimid, when he joined the National Municipal League's staff as an unpaid volunteer.

In addition to carrying a heavy load of correspondence, research projects and seminars for foreign officials in the German and Japanese "democratization program," he is in considerable demand as a speaker before civic groups. Most numerous on his list of speaking engagements are state and local chapters of the League of Women Voters.

Jones Takes Formosa Post

Howard P. Jones, former NML secretary, will take over his new duties as executive officer of the American Embassy at Taipeh, Formosa, in January, according to news reports, relinquishing his post as director of the United States High Commission for Berlin. Mr. Jones, who was in turn civil service commissioner and deputy comptroller for the state of New York before entering military service, since the close of World War II has been with the State Department in Germany in various capacities.

REVIEWERS WELCOME

(Continued from page 562)

fine volume, . . . an interesting and well documented history of the League and its work.

—*Journal* of the American Judicature Society, August 1951

This important book places the momentous contributions of the League to American politics in their true perspective. It provides much invaluable information about the personalities and other influences which have helped to shape the League's work and program. The book is definitely "must" reading for all interested in the progress of local government.

—*The American City*, February 1951

Youngstown

Mayor Charles P. Henderson of Youngstown, Ohio, receiving a certificate from Allen H. Seed, Jr., NML director of field services, honoring citizens for backing the mayor's campaign to drive out racketeers. Presentation was made at a Rotary luncheon.

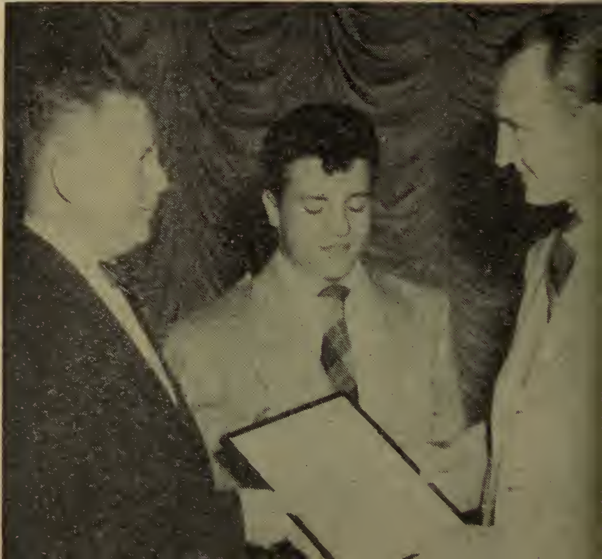
Portland

—Portland Press Herald

At Portland, Maine, Ric
ard S. Childs, chairman
the executive committee
NML, presents "All-Americ
Cities of 1950" award
Robert L. Getchell, acti
chairman of the city counc
in recognition of revival
town meetings on a neighbo
hood basis to inform citize
about their government.

Hartford

For its "junior city council" to promote interest of youth in public affairs, Hartford, Connecticut, receives "All-American Cities of 1950" award, co-sponsored by NML and *Minneapolis Tribune*. Left to right, Mayor Cyril Coleman, "Junior Mayor" Carmen Arace and Mr. Seed.



Ammunition

The publications listed below are indispensable tools for citizen groups seeking better government:

Campaign Pamphlets

Story of the Council-Manager Plan, 45 pages (1949)	$ .20
County Manager Plan, 24 pages (1950)	.20
Forms of Municipal Government—How Have They Worked? 20 pages (1951)	.25
Facts About the Council-Manager Plan, 8 pages (1951)	.05
City Employees and the Manager Plan, 4 pages (1949)	.05
Labor Unions and the Council-Manager Plan, 8 pages (1950)	.05
P. R., 12 pages (1948)	.05

Model Laws

Model Accrual Budget Law, 40 pages (1946)	.75
Model Bond Law, 20 pages (1929)	.50
Model Cash Basis Budget Law, 42 pages (1948)	.75
Model City Charter, 173 pages (1941)	1.50
Model Direct Primary Election System, 48 pages (1951)	1.00
Model Election Administration System, 42 pages (1930)	.75
Model Medico-legal Investigative System, 39 pages (1951)	.50
Model State Civil Service Law, 23 pages (1946)	.50
Model State Constitution, 72 pages (1948)	1.00

Other Pamphlets and Books

American County—Patchwork of Boards, 24 pages (1946)	.35
Best Practice Under the Manager Plan, 8 pages (1950)	.15
Citizen Organization for Political Activity: The Cincinnati Plan. 32 pages (1949)	.50
City Growing Pains, 116 pages (1941)	.50
Digest of County Manager Charters and Laws, 70 pages (1951)	2.00
Guide for Charter Commissions, 34 pages (1947)	.50
Manager Plan Abandonments, by Arthur W. Bromage, 36 pages (1949)	.50
Modernizing State Constitutions, 21 pages (1948)	.25
Proportional Representation—Illustrative Election, 8 pages (1951)	.10
Proportional Representation—Key to Democracy, by George H. Hallett, Jr., 177 pages (1940)	.25

Discounts on Quantity Orders — Write for Complete List and Description.

National Municipal League

299 Broadway **New York 7, N. Y.**

A Councilman Speaks — On the City Council

"Sourcebooks" for all City Councilmen

By Arthur W. Bromage
$1 each, Postpaid

George Wahr Publishing Company
105 North Main Street Ann Arbor, Mich.

1951 Digest of County Manager Charters and Laws

1. Review of state constitutions which permit county manager structures
2. Digest of proposed Model County Charter (now in draft form)
3. Digests of 12 constitutional provisions, 8 optional laws and 16 charters permitting effective county manager positions in 16 states.
4. Digest of 5 other county charters providing appointive executives in four states.

Loose-leaf, mimeographed $2 postpaid

National Municipal League

299 Broadway New York 7, N. Y.

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